WORKERS VANGUARD

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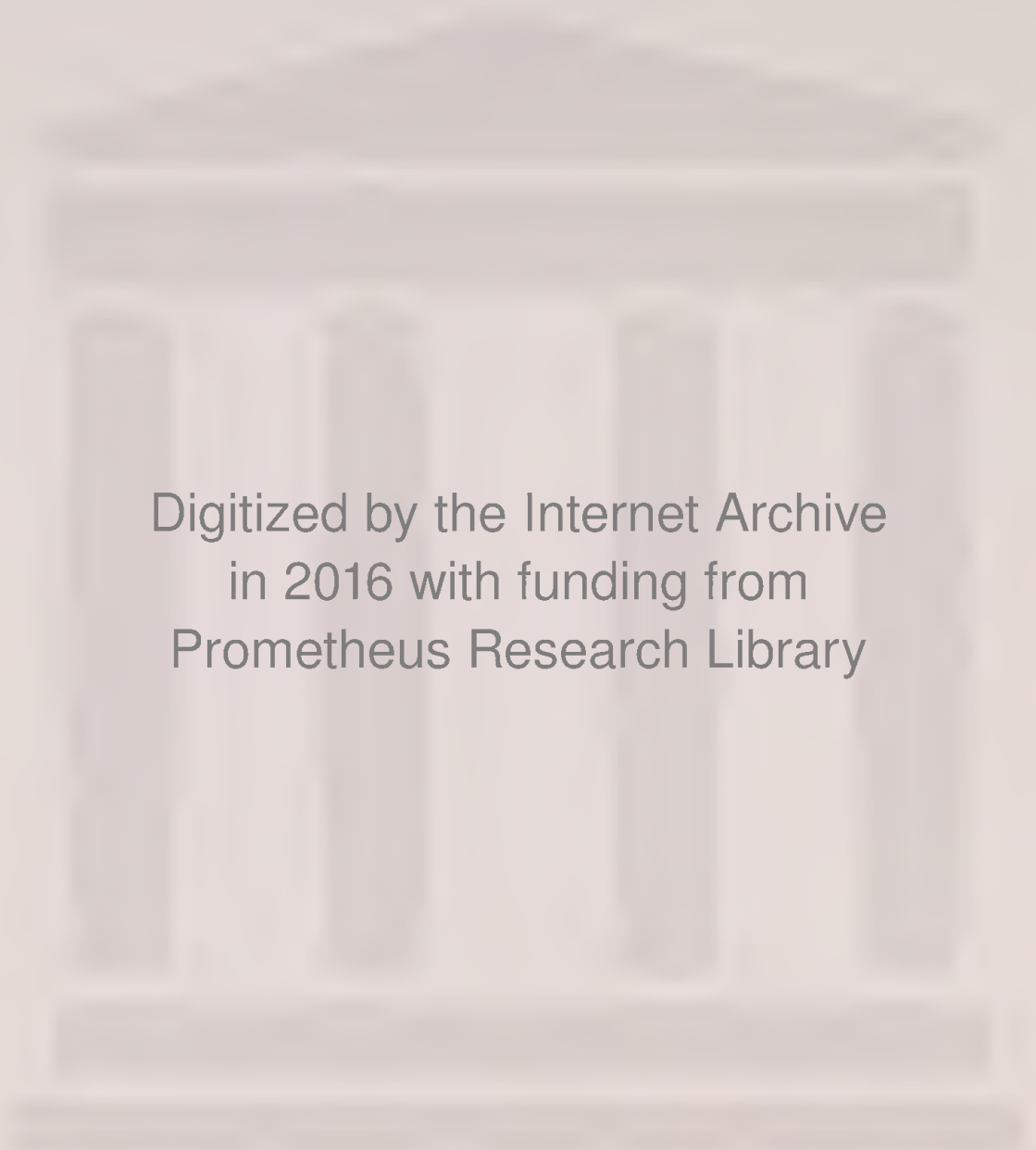
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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 614 — 13 January 1995

Defend the Clinics with Mass Mobilizations! No Reliance on Cops and Troops!

Anti-Abortion Bloodbath in Boston

It was 10 a.m. Friday, December 30, the last working day before the New Year's holiday. The waiting room of the Planned Parenthood clinic in Brookline, Massachusetts was crowded with women waiting for appointments, men who had accompanied them, medical aides and staff. Anti-abortion terrorist John Salvi walked in the door and at pointblank range fired five shots from his .22 calibre rifle into the neck and chest of clinic receptionist Shannon Lowney. Then he turned on the others, leaving three wounded lying near Lowney's body on the reception room floor.

Nine minutes later, the methodical executioner Salvi arrived at Preterm Health Services two miles up Beacon Street and continued his rampage. "Is this Preterm?" he asked receptionist Lee Ann Nichols. "Yes," she replied, and Salvi opened fire, killing her and wounding two others. The cops didn't catch up with Salvi until the next day, after he had shot out the windows of the Hillcrest Clinic in Norfolk, Virginia, terrifying the 40 people inside.

The slaughter in Brookline is only the latest and worst episode in an escalating campaign of terror and assassination by ultrarightist anti-abortion fanatics who operate under the cover of Operation Rescue and other organizations of the grotesquely misnamed "Right to Life" movement. This campaign has already claimed the lives of two abortion doctors, Dr. David Gunn, assassinated in Pensacola, Florida in March 1993, and Dr. John Bayard Britton, who along with his bodyguard James Barrett was gunned down in Pensacola in July 1994. In Vancouver, Canada, gynecologist Garson Romalis barely survived a sniper attack at his home last November 8.

Shannon Lowney and Lee Ann Nichols were committed providers of women's health services who refused to back down in the face of threats and intimidation from the anti-abortion fanatics. Shannon Lowney, 25, was a passionate social activist whose convictions had taken her to Ecuador to aid poor villagers and to Maine to counsel battered children and pregnant teenagers. Outside the Planned Parenthood clinic, bigots would daily taunt her as "Public Enemy No. 1"; inside, she used her language skills to counsel Spanish-speaking clinic visitors. Lee Ann Nichols, 38, had only been at Preterm for a short time, and previously worked as a telephone counselor at a nearby clinic, where she was known for her dedicated work with patients who called in frightened and upset.

AP

Shooting victim is rushed to hospital after anti-abortion terrorist's rampage at Preterm Health Services clinic in Brookline, Massachusetts, December 30.

In Boston and across the country, the bourgeois feminists of NOW (National Organization for Women), and Planned Parenthood respond by calling for the FBI and federal marshals to "protect" the clinics. This is a dangerous dead-end strategy aimed at fostering illusions in the capitalist state and demobilizing abortion rights supporters who are outraged at the murders of these clinic workers and want to drive the anti-abortion terror mobs off the streets.

When the liberal civil rights movement appealed for federal intervention, U.S. troops and marshals were brought into Little Rock (1956) and Birmingham (1963) *to clamp a lid on organized black self-defense*, while FBI agents rode along with the KKK. The whole apparatus of the capitalist state exists to enforce the oppression and exploitation of minorities and workers. They are no defenders of women's rights. We honor Shannon Lowney and Lee Ann Nichols by waging a socialist fight for the liberation of women, here and around the world. *For mass mobilizations to defend the clinics—no reliance on cops and troops!*

"Right to Life" Killers

The media portrays the murderer, John Salvi, as a lone "social misfit." The *New York Times* (2 January) mainly headlined "Authorities Trying to Find the Reason for Clinic Attacks." But Salvi was linked to a number of fascistic anti-abortion outfits. He met with leaders of "Massachusetts Citizens for Life." He distributed photographs of supposedly aborted fetuses, obtained from the anti-Semitic "Human Life International" outfit. He demonstrated with Operation Rescue, and last May 14 the scripture-quoting assassin attended a "prayer vigil" outside the same Planned Parenthood clinic where he would carry out his bloody carnage.

Salvi's rampage shows evidence of meticulous planning and methodical execution. How did he travel so quickly between the two Brookline clinics? What led Salvi to the Hillcrest Clinic in Norfolk, Virginia the day after his Brookline massacre? This otherwise unobtrusive facility has been subjected to repeated arson attacks. It is a major target of anti-abortion fanatics such as Donald Spitz,

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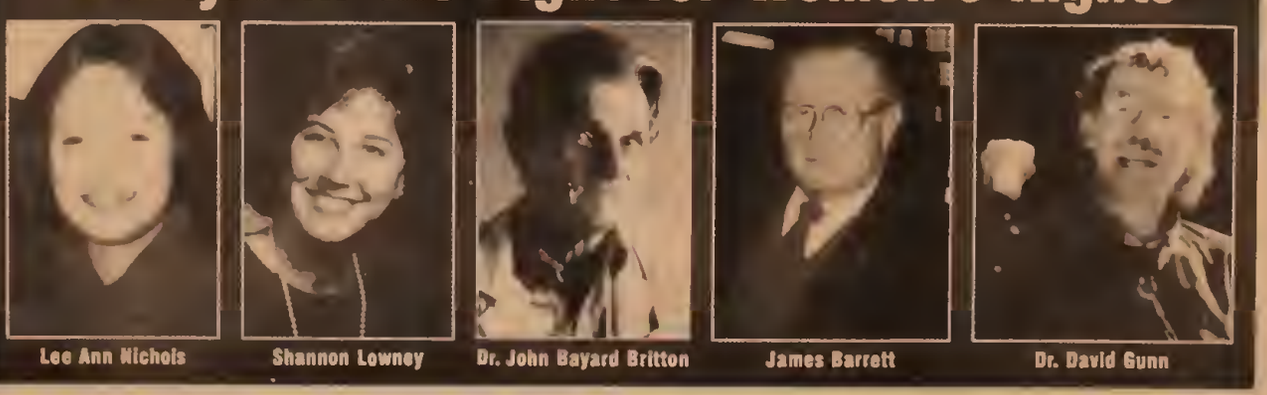
Martyrs in the Fight for Women's Rights



Lee Ann Nichols — Shannon Lowney — Dr. John Bayard Britton — James Barrett — Dr. David Gunn

Credits from left to right: Nichols Family, AP, St. Petersburg Times, People, Miller/Montgomery Advertiser

Young Spartacus

SWP Bans Communist Travel to Cuba

Young people fighting for revolutionary change naturally identify with the targets of rapacious U.S. imperialism. Thus, many involved in protests against California's anti-immigrant Prop. 187 and in opposing the colonial occupation of Haiti have taken up the fight for Cuba. The Spartacus Youth Clubs defend the Cuban Revolution against imperialism and capitalist counterrevolution from within. SYC members have signed up to travel to Cuba on international brigades. Ironically, it is purported leftists in the Socialist Workers Party—not the imperialist warmongers—who have banned communists in the SYC from travel to Cuba.

On the eve of their departure, two young women were kicked off a brigade organized by the SWP and its youth affiliate, the Young Socialists. In Toronto, Spartacus Youth Club member Fiona received a phone call from a woman at the SWP's Communist League affiliate about a "very serious matter"—membership in the SYC. Fiona reported:

> "She said that I was in an opponent political group that was 'hostile to the Cuban Revolution'—at this point I stopped her and pointed out that we defended the Cuban Revolution unconditionally. She went on to say that we were 'hostile to the revolutionary government' and wanted to 'basically overthrow' it, that the brigade is being hosted by the Young Communist League of Cuba who are pro-government. She said that since we were basically being invited by the government, my membership was incompatible with the purpose of the brigade."

The SWPer explained that it was "nothing personal," but "New York" had decided. She added that if Fiona "ever decided to quit" the SYC, she would be "welcome" to go on another brigade!

Almost simultaneously in San Francisco, SYCer Carrie was banned from the brigade. After working overtime to raise the money to make the trip, Carrie was told that only $500 of the $600 in checks she had given to pay for the trip would be returned. She was left with barely $20 to her name. In addition, there are the hundreds of dollars the banned brigadistas paid for non-refundable airline tickets.

The SWP's claim that the Spartacists are "hostile to the Cuban Revolution" is a lying provocation. (See letter from the International Communist League to the Cuban government below.) But who are Jack Barnes & Co. to decide who defends Cuba? Counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe has greatly intensified the imperialist economic squeeze on Cuba. Yet *the SWP hailed Boris Yeltsin's ascension to power*, claiming it as a "giant victory" for Soviet workers and ignoring the peril this posed for Cuba. When German imperialism rammed through the capitalist annexation of the East German deformed workers state, the SWP declared: "German Reunification: A Step Forward for Communism." With "defenders" like these, who needs enemies?

In contrast, we Spartacists steadfastly stood for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states against capitalist restoration. We warned at the time of Yeltsin's August 1991 counterrevolutionary countercoup that the end of Soviet aid to Cuba would be a set-up for U.S. attack. Just as a number of our older cadres participated in brigades and trips to Cuba in the 1960s, in the 1980s Spartacus Youth League members went on work brigades to Nicaragua and raised "Nicabucks" to defend the revolution against the CIA's contras. We called to "Defend, Complete, Extend the Nicaraguan Revolution!" The Barnesites politically subordinated themselves to the Sandinistas, even acting as stool pigeons against their own "comrades." Members of the Argentinian Simón Bolívar Brigade (part of the SWP's "International") were deported from Nicaragua, then beaten in Panama, after they voiced criticisms of the Sandinistas.

The SYCs' participation in solidarity brigades is part of the fight to extend socialist revolution internationally, which is central to defense of the Cuban Revolution.

TROTSKY

LENIN

Lessons of the "Spartakist Uprising"

January marks the anniversary of the murder of revolutionary Marxists Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht by the troops of the German Social Democratic government following the defeat of the 1919 "Spartakist uprising." Revolutionary Russian workers closely followed the mass strikes and demonstrations that swept Germany after the overthrow of the Kaiser at the end of World War I. The Bolsheviks understood that their revolution could survive only through its extension to the advanced capitalist countries. Red Army leader Leon Trotsky, writing from the front lines of the Civil War that was racking the young Soviet workers state, emphasized that key to leading the German proletariat to power was forging the newly formed Communist Party into a revolutionary fighting organization based on experienced cadres.

In order to understand the German workers' revolution, one must judge it not simply by analogy with Russia's October revolution but by taking the internal conditions of Germany's own evolution as one's starting-point.

History has so turned out that in the epoch of imperialist war the German Social-Democratic Party has proved—and this can now be stated with complete objectivity—to be the most counter-revolutionary factor in world history.... When the war came, that is, when the moment of maximum historical testing arrived, it turned out that the official organisation of the working class felt and acted not as the proletariat's organisation for combat against the class state, but as an auxiliary organ of that class state, serving to discipline the proletariat. The working class was paralysed, since bearing down upon it was not only the full weight of capitalist militarism but also the apparatus of its own party. The ordeals of the war, its victories and defeats, tore the German working class out of its paralysis, freed it from the discipline of the official party. The latter split asunder. But the German proletariat had no revolutionary fighting organisation....

The Russian working class which accomplished its October revolution had inherited from the preceding epoch a priceless legacy in the shape of a centralised revolutionary party. The pilgrimage of the Narodnik intelligentsia to the peasantry, the terrorist struggle of the Narodovoltsi, the underground agitation of the pioneer Marxists, the revolutionary demonstrations of the first years of the century, the October general strike and barricades of 1905, the revolutionary 'parliamentarism' of the Stolypin period, very closely bound up with the underground movement—all this prepared a numerous body of revolutionary leaders, tempered in struggle and bound together by the unity of the programme for social revolution.

History bequeathed nothing like that to the German working class. It is compelled not only to fight for power but also to create its organisation and train its future leaders in the very course of this struggle. True, in the conditions of the revolutionary epoch this work of education is being carried through at feverish speed, but time is nevertheless needed for it to be accomplished. In the absence of a centralised revolutionary party with a fighting leadership whose authority is universally recognised by the worker masses, in the absence of leading combat nuclei and leaders, tested in action and proved through experience, in the separate centres and areas of the proletarian movement, when this movement broke out into the streets it became, of necessity, intermittent, chaotic, creeping in character. These strikes, insurrections and battles which flare up are at present the only form available for the task of openly mobilising the forces of the German proletariat, freed from the old party's yoke, and, at the same time they are the sole means of training new leaders and building the new party. It is quite obvious that such a road calls for enormous exertions and demands countless sacrifices. But there is no choice. This is the only road along which the class revolt of the German proletariat can develop until final victory.

—Leon Trotsky, "A Creeping Revolution" (April 1919)

Letter to the Cuban Government

8 January 1995

Government of the Republic of Cuba
Unión de Jóvenes Comunistas
Instituto Cubano de Amistad
con los Pueblos

Dear Comrades,

We received word at 22:30 Thursday night, 5 January, that two young women supporters of the International Communist League—one in Toronto, Canada, and another in San Francisco, U.S.A.—who were scheduled to go on a solidarity youth brigade to Cuba, departing Friday, were informed at the last minute by the organizers of this brigade, the Socialist Workers Party, that they were excluded from the trip. The SWP told them that they were not allowed because they were members of the Spartacus Youth Clubs, youth groups of the ICL in North America, making the lying assertion that we are "against the Cuban Revolution."

These young revolutionaries wanted to visit Cuba as a statement of their solidarity and defense of the gains of the Cuban Revolution against the bloodthirsty U.S. imperialist rulers. That the SWP would ban them from making this trip, particularly at this time of great peril in the face of U.S. imperialism's attempt to starve Cuba into submission, is criminal. It clearly shows that for the SWP defense of Cuba is subordinate to its own petty sectarian advantage in North America.

The claim that we do not support or are even "against" the Cuban Revolution is nothing other than a cynical provocation. The SWP knows only too well that we have, since our inception as the Revolutionary Tendency within their organization in 1961-63, stood for the unconditional defense of the Cuban Revolution against imperialism and counterrevolution. And, unlike the SWP, which panders to Democratic Party liberals, we have never flinched from our revolutionary duty to defend Cuba against Yankee imperialism. At the time of the October crisis of 1962, while the SWP claimed that "the Soviet retreat on the missile issue under Kennedy's threats warded off the immediate danger of war," the RT warned that the Stalinist policy of "peaceful co-existence" is "opposed to the spread of the Cuban Revolution and to independent workers' action, which are the only guarantees of Cuba's defense."

The International Communist League is not only well-known for our defense of the Cuban Revolution, we consistently and uniquely stood out as the defenders of the gains of the Russian Revolution which were embodied, albeit in a deformed way, in the former Soviet Union and countries of Eastern Europe. The SWP hailed Boris Yeltsin's August 1991 counterrevolutionary countercoup, claiming this was a "giant victory" for Soviet workers. In contrast, the ICL called on Soviet workers to "defeat Yeltsin/Bush counterrevolution" and warned that Yeltsin's victory placed Cuba more than ever in peril.

Following Moscow's September 1991 announcement that Soviet aid to Cuba was being terminated and Soviet military forces would be withdrawn from your country, the Spartacist League/U.S. held an emergency solidarity demonstration at the Cuban Mission to the UN, proclaiming "DEFEND CUBA!" and warning "Soviet Pullout—Setup for U.S. Attack!" And in the wake of the *gusano* riot in Havana last August 5, we declared that Trotskyists must "stand shoulder to shoulder with the working masses defending Cuba against imperialism and internal counterrevolution."

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The closing date for news in this issue is January 10.

No. 614 **13 January 1995**

Prosecutors Acknowledge Man's Innocence...And Execute Him!

State Murder in Texas

Shortly after midnight, January 4, the state of Texas executed Jesse Dewayne Jacobs *with full knowledge of his innocence* in a 1986 murder case.

Jacobs had initially confessed to the murder, then recanted. In order to convict him, the prosecutor called his recantation "hogwash," but later used Jacobs' revised testimony in convicting his sister of the same crime. Despite this, the hanging judges of the U.S. Supreme Court twice voted 6-3 to deny a stay of execution.

In his final words, Jacobs bitterly proclaimed: "I have news for all of you—there is not going to be an execution. This is premeditated murder by the State of Texas. I hope by my death, I'm that little bitty snowball that starts to bury the death penalty" (*New York Newsday*, 8 January). His fate gives the clearest possible proof that capital punishment is nothing but *a legal license for the state to kill*.

The execution provoked worldwide outrage. The Rome daily *La Repubblica* (5 January) headlined, "USA, State Homicide." Even the Vatican mouthpiece, *L'Osservatore Romano*, denounced the execution as "monstrous and absurd." The U.S. ruling class is intent on further speeding up the machinery of legal lynching, and the reactionary sweep in the November elections gave them a green light to do so.

Texas is indeed the capital of capital punishment, U.S.A. Among the over 370 people languishing on Texas' death row is black frame-up victim Gary Graham, whose long fight for freedom has won support ranging from famous actors and singers to Texas' Catholic bishops. Graham is seeking to overturn a murder conviction on the basis of overwhelming proof of his innocence, but under American capitalist "justice" this is no defense if you're poor, black or Hispanic.

The Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee demand that the racist death penalty he abolished. Below we print a letter from the PDC on the eve of Jacobs' execution to Democratic Texas governor Ann Richards, who rushed to kill him before her term expired.

* * *

3 January 1995

Governor Ann Richards
Austin, Texas

Governor Richards:

We are outraged at the scheduled execution of Jesse Jacobs. The U.S. Supreme Court has affirmed the racist application of the death penalty in the *McCleskey* case. In the *Herrera* case, the Court held that someone could be executed before his appeals are exhausted. And yesterday the Court affirmed the execution of an innocent man. What more needs to be said to demonstrate the death penalty is barbaric and an outrage against justice and decency?

Texas has a sordid history of innocent men on death row who only through years of legal battles and publicity were able to escape excruciating and horrifying death. We have only to mention Randall Dale Adams and Clarence Brandley. Such cases express the class and race bias which underlie the death penalty in capitalist America.

The case of Jesse Jacobs is particularly heinous. The state has admitted that he is not guilty of the murder for which he is about to be put to death. Two years ago, in the case of Leonel Herrera, Texas' assistant Attorney General told the Supreme Court that it would not be unconstitutional to execute someone the state knew to be innocent of the crime charged. Now the state of Texas is about to again do just that, take the life of a man known to be innocent.

We demand that you stop the execution of Jesse Jacobs.

Very truly yours,
Paul Cooperstein

Cops Execute Homeless Man A White House Christmas

The death of Marcelino Corniel, from gunshot wounds received in front of the White House, is an indictment of U.S. capitalist brutality and racist injustice. On December 20, a 33-year-old homeless man, suffering from old burn wounds over 75 percent of his body, is asleep on a park bench. An arrogant cop wakes him with a nudge from a nightstick. It's daybreak and the tourists are coming. The cops hustle the homeless away from the White House like so much trash.

Tired, angry and in pain, Marcelino Corniel stumps across the street to the White House, cursing the cops and the yuppie Clinton. He has a knife taped to his hand, probably for night protection in the park and because three of his fingers were fused together as a result of his burns. He is quickly surrounded by Park Police and Secret Service agents, their trigger fingers itchy after a string of "security glitches" at the White House. Marcelino is given no chance to surrender, and is shot through the chest and leg—an intentional kill.

Corniel was part of what the ruling class calls the "underclass." They put him there. He was one of thousands arrested in the 1992 Los Angeles upheaval, charged with violating the National Guard-enforced curfew although he had a steady job as a graphics pressman. After losing his job and suffering the accident which disfigured him, he ended up on the street.

In the colonial backyard of U.S imperialism, Central and South America, police murder of "undesirables" is called "social cleansing." From Brazilian homeless children to Mexican transvestites, the death squads have shifted their gun sights to target these "eyesores." This year saw demonstrations of Brazilian slum dwellers chanting, "We are not disposable people!" This chant is an echo of the Memphis sanitation strikers of 1968, who proclaimed on their placards, "I Am a Man!"

In the days following this shocking execution, there is *not one word of protest* from the reformist black leaders. The killer cop is quietly reassigned. The FBI says prosecutors were getting ready to charge *Corniel*, with violent assault on a federal officer. The servile bourgeois media loudly drags out the "violent" criminal record of the dead victim. The authorities, from Clinton (speaking through his press secretary) on down, loudly proclaim they stand behind their killer cop. The black misleaders, from the Congressional Black Caucus to the Farrakhanites, remain silent from political cowardice toward the White House and class contempt toward the ghetto masses—exemplified by Marcelino Corniel.

Independent

In cold blood: D.C. Park Police shoot down Marcelino Corniel outside the White House, 20 December 1994.

It is too late to bring justice to Marcelino Corniel, but his death cries out for protest. Marcelino was summarily executed in the street. Meanwhile, thousands are on death row, the majority black and Hispanic, awaiting legal lynching by the machinery of state murder. Foremost among them is Mumia Abu-Jamal, the crusading black journalist and former Black Panther who faces death on frame-up charges of killing a Philadelphia cop. Jamal is known as "the voice of the voiceless"—Corniel was the "voiceless" in the street. Fighting to avenge the murder of Marcelino and countless other victims of racist cop atrocities, we must mobilize to save Jamal and abolish the death penalty.

Following the lead of Clinton, who during the presidential campaign orchestrated the execution of a brain-damaged black man to show he was "tough on crime," the states and federal government are revving up the assembly lines of death, expanding massive armies of cops, building new prisons to be filled with poor, mostly black and Hispanic men. From the White House to Capitol Hill, bipartisan racist reaction reigns in Washington. Their program for the homeless, welfare mothers, immigrants is death, through slow starvation or a cop's bullets. The working class and minority poor need their own party to lead the revolutionary fight against this genocidal assault. ■

Jamal Legal Defense Needs $$$

The fight to save death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is taking a critical turn. On January 17, Tom Ridge takes office as the new governor of Pennsylvania. A former prosecutor, Ridge campaigned on a "tough on crime" and pro-death-penalty platform. His election means that time is running out for Jamal and all of the more than 170 men and women on the state's death row.

For 13 years, Mumia Abu-Jamal has been fighting the racist legal lynchers who are determined to push him into the death chamber. Jamal's attorneys, led by Leonard Weinglass and including the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, are racing against time to file an application for a new trial in Pennsylvania state court in the next couple of months.

This is only the start of a long and costly process to save Jamal from the executioner. The legal defense needs lots of financial help. Jamal is up against the vast financial resources of the state. In recent years, cases which have successfully overturned death sentences and freed the innocent defendant have cost at least $1 million in legal fees and expenses.

To help raise funds, Jamal's legal team initiated the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal. Actors Ossie Davis and Mike Farrell are co-chairmen of the Committee. Advisors include Whoopi Goldberg, Harry Belafonte, Ed Asner, E.L. Doctorow and Sonia Sanchez.

Your support is urgently needed. Tax-deductible contributions for the defense should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

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Boston...

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a signer of the infamous "Defensive Action" statement justifying the murder of abortion providers (see "The Anti-Abortion Terror Network," page 5).

Liberal bourgeois feminists thought that with Clinton in the White House, they had won on abortion. Yet deadly violence against clinics has escalated. The "1994 Clinic Violence Survey Report" by the Feminist Majority Foundation states that while there was a slight decrease in vandalism and clinic blockades, "anti-abortion extremists are increasingly turning to death threats as their primary strategy." Nationwide, *one-quarter of abortion clinic staff members have received death threats*. And they're not crank calls: 22 percent of clinics report that their workers are picketed at home, and 18 percent reported stalking. In the month before the slaughter in Brookline, death threats at the Planned Parenthood clinic increased when it became known they were testing the RU 486 "abortion pill."

Dr. Warren Hern, at the Boulder Abortion Clinic in Colorado, has been a frequent target of the mobs—the clinic added four layers of bulletproof windows after somebody fired five shots at it in 1988. The harassers are no longer "the little old ladies in hair curlers," he told *WV*. "We have recently had some seriously crazy people out here, who want me seriously dead." In Reno, Nevada, Dr. Damon Stutes' clinic was firebombed four times. He opened the West End Women's Medical Group clinic in November, which *Time* magazine (9 January) described as "a high tech fortress with solid steel doors and magnetic locks, bullet-resistant windows, infrared motion detectors, panic buttons to summon police and a 70-ft. setback planted with thorn trees." Dr. Stutes is the only abortion provider in a 200,000-square-mile area and knows he is a major target. *Time* reported:

> "After a busy day at the clinic, Dr Damon Stutes, 43, changes out of his surgical scrubs and climbs into his four-wheel-drive truck, custom built for high-speed chases. He slides open his Berretta pistol to make sure it is loaded. Pointing a remote control toward a video screen on the garage wall, he flips through eight channels, each offering a different camera view of the outside grounds. As the garage's metal door slides open, he tucks a bulletproof vest between his body and the truck window and steps on the gas."

This is what it takes to provide abortion services in America today!

Dr. Stutes is a member of the NRA and firmly believes in the right to armed self-defense. At a January 2 abortion rights protest in San Francisco, one woman carried a sign boldly proclaiming "I'm Pro-Choice and I Shoot Back." They understand reality, that the liberals' program of reliance on the state means disarming abortion providers and clinic defenders in the face of anti-abortion terrorists.

WV Photo

Boston, December 31: Demonstration at Massachusetts state house in wake of bloodbath at two Boston-area abortion clinics. Spartacist contingent calls for militant mass mobilizations to defend the clinics.

"Operation Rescue" Targets Boston

There should be no surprise that the anti-abortion terror spawned in the Klan-infested backwaters around Pensacola should reappear in Boston. The racist mobs which attacked black children being bused to school in the 1970s have re-emerged to attack housing integration. The police use the racist "anti-crime" crusade as an excuse to terrorize black people in the housing projects. Last May, the KKK staged a fascist provocation for "Neighborhood, Home, Family and Country" in South Boston. And in October, some 10,000 joined an anti-abortion march sponsored by Massachusetts Citizens for Life, presided over by Bernard Cardinal Law.

In November, zealots from Operation Rescue met on the Harvard University campus on the topic "Shutting Down America's Abortion Mills." O.R. is behind the notorious "No Place to Hide" campaign which tracks abortion providers to their homes and distributes "wanted" posters to facilitate their assassinations! To counter this sinister provocation, the Boston Spartacus Youth Club called a united-front demonstration outside the building where the terrorists were holed up. The SYC leaflet noted, "Don't be fooled by the cloak of academic respectability that Harvard provides—what Operation Rescue stands for is seen in rivers of blood!" The Harvard meeting was a front for the terror campaign that led to the murders of Shannon Lowney and Lee Ann Nichols weeks later.

Across the country, the Spartacist League and SYCs joined in demonstrations protesting the Brookline clinic massacre. Some 2,000 outraged protesters turned out in Boston the day after the killings. SL signs called for "Free Abortion on Demand!" "Right-to-Life Bigots = Pro-Death Penalty Racists, Anti-Abortion Murderers!" and "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!" Backed by a raft of local Democrats and the state attorney general, NOW implored the anti-abortion forces to "cease their inflammatory rhetoric that has fostered this climate of fear and violence" (*Boston Globe*, 1 January)—as if moral suasion ever stopped a rabid dog! Spartacist slogans calling for "No Illusions in Cops or Troops" and "No to Gun Control" cut across this bourgeois program for passive defeat.

NOW's strategy is to pressure Attorney General Janet Reno's Justice Department to send in the FBI and federal marshals to "protect" abortion clinics. This same "General" Reno ordered the April 1993 assault resulting in the incineration of more than 86 members of a small, integrated religious commune near Waco, Texas. The feminists who helped install Bill and Hillary Clinton in the White House are now paralyzed as their "New Democrat" darlings conciliate right-wing forces down the line. The *New York Times* (31 December 1994) noted: "Since Mr. Clinton was elected, abortion-rights groups have walked a tightrope, lobbying the Administration for tougher enforcement measures while avoiding direct criticism of White House or Justice Department officials...."

Now that the liberal feminists' illusions of legislative "clout" have been dissipated with the incoming anti-abortion Gingrich-Dole Republican Congress, you may see some popular-front parades. With anger building after the New Year's massacre, Boston NOW felt compelled to call for a mass rally in Boston on January 22, anniversary of the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision, which formally legalized abortion nationally. Acting as "best builders" of this ladies auxiliary of the Democratic Party, the Socialist Workers Party issued a call, "All Out for January 22 Demonstration in Boston" (*Militant*, 16 January). But even a mass liberal *diversion* was too hot for NOW, whose program comes down to "Hillary on horseback." So the January 22 "rally" will be a hot-air indoor meeting, due to the danger of "inclement weather."

The SWP wants "federal troops to Boston." At a NOW "community strategy meeting" January 4 at Brookline High, SWP leader Maceo Dixon demanded, "If Clinton could send troops to Haiti," then "he could send troops to Boston" to defend the clinics! So the SWP buys the lie of a "humanitarian" colonial occupation and wants the same in Boston! The SWP makes a mantra of its calls for "federal troops" to the rescue. During the Vietnam War, they called on the U.S. Army, which was napalming Vietnam, to supposedly defend black people in Mississippi! Their call for troops to "enforce" busing in Boston in the '70s was no less a betrayal.

Meanwhile, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) has danced around the issue of troops, calling vaguely to "Fight Attacks on Abortion Rights" (how?). These social democrats always tail what's popular in bourgeois opinion. But that doesn't defend women's rights. In North Africa and the Near East their program is to tail after Islamic fundamentalists who would keep women imprisoned in the veil! To defend abortion rights and stop the fascistic terrorists requires first of all a *break with the Democrats*, and with all those who would tie the fate of women to the capitalist rulers. Urgently needed is a *fighting workers party* that mobilizes the power of labor to champion the cause of all the oppressed in a struggle for socialist revolution.

A December 31 statement by the Boston Spartacist League called to avenge Shannon Lowney and Lee Ann Nichols by stopping anti-abortion terror with mass mobilizations to defend the clinics:

"'It is necessary to drive off and disperse the rightist mobs and the Operation Rescue scum who lay siege to the clinics!' Clearly this is the question of the hour and a life-and-death question at that. What is necessary is a massive outpouring of outrage, mobilizing working women and their allies backed up by the social power of the labor movement, to defend the clinics, safeguard and expand a woman's right to all medical facilities and stop the murderous thugs cold.

WV Photo

San Francisco, January 2: Demonstrators honor Shannon Lowney and Lee Ann Nichols.

"But some NOW-type liberals are counseling more pressure be put on the capitalist state to 'protect' us. This is not just foolish, it is dangerous. Massachusetts already has a statewide injunction supposedly limiting anti-abortionists and then there's the federal 'Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances' law. The families of Shannon Lowney and Lee Ann Nichols can take no consolation from these pieces of paper, but such laws will be used as an excuse to harass clinic defenders and pro-abortion demonstrators. And the predictable liberal cries for more 'gun control' can only disarm the very people trying to defend abortion rights....

"We must fight for free abortion on demand to mobilize working and minority women in the fight for abortion rights. We must see this recent atrocity in the light of the current right-wing assault on women's rights as both Newt Gingrich and Bill Clinton prepare to starve poor women and children in their efforts to 'end welfare as we know it.' What is needed is nothing less than an all-sided fight for women's rights."

Defend the clinics! Take a stand! Free abortion on demand! For women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■

NPR Airs Anti-Abortion Terrorist, Gags Mumia Abu-Jamal

Anti-abortion terrorist Paul Hill, the killer of Dr. John Britton and James Barrett, was given a platform on *Donahue* and other national TV shows to spew his filth that killing abortion doctors was "justifiable homicide," over a year before his Pensacola rampage. Now John Salvi wants to go on the Barbara Walters show to brag about his slaughter in Brookline. After Hill received a death sentence in November, Daniel Ware, an anti-abortion fanatic from Houston, went on National Public Radio to threaten that, if Hill is executed, "blood will run in the streets like nobody has ever seen" (*New York Times*, 1 January).

So the liberal NPR has no qualms about broadcasting these screaming reactionaries as they *recruit for murder* on "public radio." Yet the voice of black radio journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal cannot be heard. Former Black Panther Jamal sits on Pennsylvania's death row after being framed up by the Philadelphia police. Known for his passionate advocacy of the cause of black people and the poor, Mumia's columns appear in *Workers Vanguard* and many other newspapers. Yet NPR abruptly canceled a planned series of commentaries by Jamal last year, after complaints from the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police.

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal—Abolish the racist death penalty!

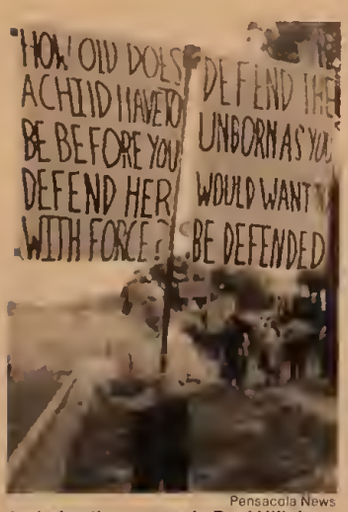
Clinic Killers Aren't "Loners"

The Anti-Abortion Terror Network

As abortion clinic killer John Salvi was arraigned in Norfolk, Virginia on January 1, a group of bloodthirsty anti-abortion protesters led by Donald Spitz and David Crane demonstrated outside the courthouse proclaiming Salvi a hero for murdering two women and wounding five others during his terror spree against clinics in Boston and Virginia. Spitz and Crane are the directors of Rescue Virginia, which has targeted the Hillcrest Clinic in Norfolk that has been the object of repeated arson attacks. They are also signatories of the statement circulated by Paul Hill, the cold-blooded assassin who shotgunned an abortion doctor and his bodyguard in Pensacola, Florida, justifying the murder of abortion providers. While most of the media is quick to label Salvi yet another "loner," Salvi was working with groups that are part of a wide-ranging anti-abortion terrorist movement.

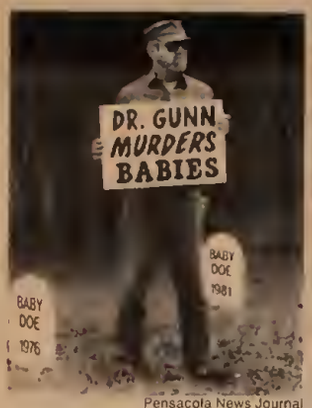
In fact, it takes a detailed wall chart to display all the interconnections between the plethora of groups spun off by these terrorists to carry out their "holy war" against abortion. In an article unusual for the bourgeois press, *U.S. News & World Report* (14 November 1994) recently published an inquiry into the anti-abortion terrorist world which "documented an extensive pattern of meetings and organizational links, which suggests that some acts of violence perpetrated against abortion clinics may not be the acts of loners.... Records show that some prominent abortion opponents who denounce violence have a pattern of contacts and meetings with the very criminals they claim to reject." There is also plenty of evidence tying the clinic killers and anti-abortion mob leaders to nativist fascists like the Ku Klux Klan.

Take the infamous declaration, signed by many prominent anti-abortion leaders, declaring that "use of lethal force" against abortion doctors and "their accomplices" is "justifiable." The Pensacola "Defensive Action" group which issued this obscene incitement to murder was begun by Paul Hill after Dr. David Gunn was assassinated in 1993 by Michael Griffin. Griffin was "counseled" by John Burt of Rescue America, a "former" Klansman who declares that the KKK and fundamentalist Christians are "pretty close...fighting for God and country. Some day we may all be in the trenches together in the fight against the slaughter of unborn children." Burt was



Pensacola News

Anti-abortion assassin Paul Hill demonstrates outside Pensacola Ladies Center, where he later gunned down Dr. John Britton and James Barrett. Hill circulated statement supporting murder of abortion providers.



Pensacola News Journal

Harris/U.S. News & World Report

Left: "Ex"-KKKer John Burt, shown here in 1991, "counseled" Michael Griffin, who murdered Dr. Gunn in 1993. Right: Randall Terry, founder of Operation Rescue, which targets abortion doctors for violent attack.

the "spiritual adviser" for two men convicted of a 1984 Pensacola clinic firebombing. He also aided Hill in tracking down Dr. John Britton, who after the murder of Dr. Gunn was the sole abortion doctor in Pensacola.

One technique they used was to issue a "wanted" poster with Britton's picture, just as Randall Terry's Operation Rescue had done with Dr. Gunn. In an article titled "Anti-Abortionists and White Supremacists Make Common Cause" (*Progressive*, October 1994), Loretta Ross noted that the KKK originated this practice against abortion doctors in 1985. The Confederate Knights of the KKK rails: "More than ten million white babies have been murdered through Jewish-engineered legalized abortion since 1973.... This is just one of many tools used to destroy the white race and we know who it is." After Hill shot down Dr. Britton and his escort James Barrett last July, the Florida Templar Knights of the Ku Klux Klan sponsored a rally supporting Hill. And Tom Metzger, leader of "White Aryan Resistance," declared that "WAR condones the killing."

As *U.S. News & World Report* notes, "two men, Joe Scheidler and Randall Terry, were the driving force" in the mid-80s in organizing and stepping up murderous attacks against clinics. "One of those meetings took place in a Pensacola steakhouse with about 40 other anti-abortion activists. It was at this meeting, participants say, that Terry first laid out his plan for the organization that would become known as Operation Rescue." Scheidler's outfit was called Pro-Life Action League, and among its members was Donald Spitz in Norfolk and John Burt in Pensacola.

In 1990, Operation Rescue "went underground" to make itself harder to hit with lawsuits. But recently Terry took up another organizational affiliation, with the U.S. Taxpayers Party (USTP). Terry is planning to run for office in New York state in 1996 on the Taxpayers Party line. This group, headquartered in Vienna, Virginia, has overlapping leadership with the fascist Liberty Lobby and the Populist Party (which ran KKKer David Duke for president) as well as the John Birch Society. The USTP spews out anti-Semitism straight out of the notorious tsarist police forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, and argues that all federal tax and welfare programs should be eliminated. USTP state assembly candidates in Wisconsin declared last year that abortionists should be "put to death" (*Milwaukee Sentinel*, 19 August 1994).

As Planned Parenthood Federation (PPF) researchers revealed this summer at a New York City press conference, the U.S. Taxpayers Party has also become a focus for armed "militias" being organized by white supremacists, Christian fundamentalists and anti-abortionists. In a videotape of a USTP convention in Wisconsin last May, Milwaukee pastor Matthew Trewhella is captured calling for militias to attack abortion clinics and doctors. On sale for $1 at the Taxpayers Party convention was a 100-page manual, *Principles Justifying the Arming and Organizing of a Militia*, which advises: "Eight men make an effective house assault team. While four men give suppressive fire, the other four can advance on and enter a house or small building." Another manual used by "militia churches," issued by the "Army of God," suggests: "If terminally ill, use your final months to torch clinics; by the time the authorities identify you...you will have gone to your reward."

Boston clinic killer John Salvi has his own direct ties with this crowd, distributing literature of Human Life International (HLI), one of the largest organizations of the anti-abortion terror network. Salvi's statement after his arrest, claiming that "free masons persecute the catholic people," has been portrayed by the mainstream press as psychotic ramblings. Wrong. This is the ideology of fascistic Roman Catholics like HLI. Human Life International was founded in 1981 by Father Paul Marx with encouragement from the Vatican. HLI leader Marx writes that "the enemies of life and family are always the same," which he identifies as "feminists, Freemasons, Communists, secular humanists, and the ubiquitous International Planned Parenthood Federation" (*Front Lines Research*, June 1994).

HLI is linked to Dr. Siegfried Ernst, a German neo-Nazi anti-abortion leader, and Wolfgang Borowsky, who was a leader of the Freedom for Rudolf Hess Committee. HLI's annual conference in California last April was addressed by O.R. head Randall Terry. When speaking to the national media, Terry tries to distance himself from the anti-abortion bombers and gunmen. But in a radio interview after Dr. Gunn was killed, Terry said of courageous Colorado abortion doctor Warren Hern, "I hope he is executed. I make no bones about it."

While groups like Planned Parenthood have dug up much evidence of a fascistic abortion terrorist network, the liberals' "answer" is to look to the government. Last summer, after the Pensacola killings, Reno's Justice Department formed a "Clinic Violence Task Force," but then drastically cut it back, claiming "the threat had abated," according to *Time* (9 January)! As experience from the civil rights movement to the 1979 Greensboro massacre to Illinois state police protecting a KKK provocation on Martin Luther King weekend last January shows, the bourgeois state protects its dogs of war, held in reserve to be unleashed against the left, labor and minorities. It will take a workers revolution to sweep away these fascist killers once and for all. ■

Cuba...

(continued from page 2)

In the past 30 years, many members and supporters of our organization have traveled to Cuba to show our defense of the revolution. Most recently, in November 1994 a Mexican supporter of the ICL attending the World Solidarity with Cuba Conference in Havana distributed to delegates the latest issue of our Mexican publication *Espartaco*, with the headlines "Yankee Imperialism: Out of Haiti! Hands Off Cuba!" and "Clinton's Provocations Threaten Cuba." At the same time, where we have criticized the government of Fidel Castro, even sharply, it has been at those junctures where its policies have, in our view, undermined the defense of the Cuban Revolution. Notably, in recent years we have condemned the execution of General Arnaldo Ochoa, a Hero of the Revolution, and warned against the dangerous destabilizing effects of legalizing commerce in dollars, which gives Yankee imperialism greater leverage for economic blackmail.

The stakes in Cuba today are tremendous. We stand in solidarity with all those, in Cuba and throughout the world, who are determined to fight to defend the revolutionary gains. We alert them to the fact that some who now talk of easing the vicious U.S. embargo do so with the aim of increasing counterrevolutionary pressures on Cuba. Just as occurred throughout East Europe and the Soviet Union, restoration of the old society in Cuba would destroy the social gains made possible by a collectivized economy. And the return of the *gusano* scum from Miami would also unleash rivers of blood. At the same time, we note that U.S. imperialism is not monolithically strong. The Zapatista Indian peasant uprising and recent peso crash in Mexico have deeply shaken Washington's NAFTA euphoria, while militant workers struggles from Brazil to Italy show that the class struggle continues unabated.

Especially in this hour of maximum danger, we declare that Cuban workers and collective farmers desperately need their own organs of class rule—councils of workers power, of revolutionary workers democracy to break through the barrier of bureaucracy and mobilize the Cuban masses in defense of their hard-won gains against the threat of counterrevolution from within or without. And to break out of the present impasse, we insist that Cuba must not and cannot stand alone. The best defense of the Cuban Revolution is to fight for workers revolutions in the U.S. and throughout Latin America. This is our commitment.

The SWP's petty anti-communist ban, refusing to allow our young supporters to be part of a solidarity brigade to Cuba, is a blow against the Cuban working masses and against the struggle for international working-class revolution. It is a despicable act which we vigorously protest.

Fraternally,
Jan Norden
for the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

East Europe: Five Years of Counterrevolution

Platforma Spartakusowców

Warsaw, May Day 1992: 15,000 demonstrate against capitalist "shock treatment" dictated by IMF.

Part 1: The Fall of Polish Solidarność

The victory of Bulgaria's Socialist Party in parliamentary elections in December is the latest in a series of sensational electoral comebacks by the political heirs of former Stalinist ruling parties in East Europe over the past couple of years. Western imperialist observers greeted these dramatic popular repudiations of the results of "democratic" capitalist counterrevolution in the former deformed workers states with consternation, typified in such headlines as "Red Tide Sweeps Across Eastern Europe," "Back to the Future," "Welcome Back, Lenin." The *Warsaw Voice* (24 July 1994) pointed to the seeming paradox of the electoral triumphs of the ex-Stalinists turned social democrats in Poland, Hungary and Lithuania: "Postcommunists are returning to power across Central and Eastern Europe, and especially in those countries which seemed to be carrying the banner of democratic and free-market reforms longest and holding it up the highest."

At first glance Poland, Hungary and Lithuania would seem to be the last places in East Europe where the old Stalinist parties could make a political comeback. For these were the very countries where the forces of anti-Communism and anti-Soviet nationalism were strongest. During the 1980s, Lech Walesa's clerical-nationalist Solidarność movement in Poland, actively promoted by Western imperialism, was the vanguard for capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc. The Hungarian Stalinist bureaucracy—softened and corrupted by decades of "market socialism"—totally abdicated in 1989-90, leaving the political field open to reactionary nationalists. And the Sajudis regime in Lithuania was the first to declare its independence from the USSR in 1990.

However, the very strength of the anti-Communist nationalists in these countries produced a powerful backlash against them when *in power* the capitalist counterrevolution brought not the expected prosperity but pauperization. Between 1989 and 1993, industrial employment fell 22 percent in Poland, 28 percent in the Czech Republic and 41 percent in Hungary. Two out of five Polish families now live below the official poverty level. Sixty percent of Hungarians say "it was better under Communism," a sentiment widely echoed from the Baltic to the Balkans. In Belarus, not only do a majority of people favor a return to the days of the Soviet Union, but the capital of Minsk recently restored a statue honoring Feliks Dzerzhinsky, the Polish Lithuanian revolutionary who was the first head of the Bolshevik Cheka state police!

First in Lithuania in 1992, then in Poland a year later, in Hungary last spring and now in Bulgaria, former Stalinist ruling parties have ousted and displaced the right-wing nationalists who spearheaded the counterrevolution. Of course, these parties were never really communist, but rather the political apparatus for the rule of conservative bureaucracies which parasitically rested atop the collectivized economy. Deprived of their sinecures, they have renounced even the label of "Marxism-Leninism" and present themselves as born-again social democrats. Yet their growing popular support stems in good measure from their association with the economic security working people enjoyed in the Soviet bloc deformed workers states, and their promises to provide a social "safety net" to counteract the immiseration of the "free market."

AP

Protest in front of Polish parliament against anti-abortion bill, 1989.

Unlike Russia, where Stalinist hasbeens join with fascists in a chauvinist "red-brown" opposition coalition, the ex-Stalinists in East Europe had to define and defend themselves against victorious right-wing nationalism. Thus they continued to he identified in popular consciousness with socialism and the interests of the workers. The East European ex-Stalinist social democrats wear two faces. To the workers, the unemployed, the aged, they offer "capitalism with a human face," as it's called in Poland: tempering the transition to a market economy with "social justice." But to the new capitalist entrepreneurs and Western imperialist agencies, they present themselves as efficient technocrats. Aleksander Kwasniewski, the yuppie head of the Polish Social Democrats, says, "I believe in protecting growth at any price."

The ex-Stalinists' newfound commitment to a "market economy" is more than just political opportunism. As the Soviet-bloc bureaucracies were collapsing in 1989-90, factory managers, financial apparatchiks and their cronies ripped off the productive assets under their control. This is called *nomenklatura* privatization. A recent study of East Europe indicates that half the top managers in the private sector were former directors of state enterprises. Thus, while the ex-Stalinist parties appeal to the working class, they also represent in a direct way

the interests of a large section of the new capitalist exploiters.

There Is No Capitalism with a Human Face

In its election platform, the Polish Social Democracy (SdRP) promised to preserve the "historical socio-economic gains of People's Poland" while pursuing construction of a market economy and integration into the world capitalist market. Like Western bourgeois politicians, these former Stalinists evidently know that election promises are made to be broken! The job security and social benefits East European workers used to have were necessarily based on a centrally planned and collectivized economy. Enterprises could effectively guarantee lifetime employment because they were insulated by the state monopoly of foreign trade from the competitive pressure of the world capitalist market.

The economic devastation inherent in capitalist restoration has also been greatly intensified by the disappearance of the Soviet market along with the current depression and increased trade protectionism in West Europe. East European working people may have resented Moscow's political overlordship, but they benefited from the economic arrangements of the Soviet bloc. The USSR provided oil, natural gas and mineral ores at well below world market prices, while importing industrial goods whose poor quality and relatively high prices made them unmarketable in the West. And when the now-capitalist regimes of East Europe turned to the West, they found the door slammed in their faces. The European Common Market (now European Union) has imposed new import barriers on everything from steel tubing to baby calves. Imperialist states practice "free market" economics when it's in their interest to do so.

Mass unemployment, the closure of giant factories and the overall pauperization of East Europe are not simply the result of "free market" dogmatism, the strategy of "shock therapy" or any other *changeable* government policy. Any government—whether pro-Western neoliberal, Christian nationalist or ex-Stalinist—which accepts the framework of capitalist restoration will oversee the further impoverishment of these societies. Polish and Hungarian workers who believe that the new "left-wing" governments can and will change things for the better are bound to be frustrated. Polish Social Democrat Jerzy Wiatr admitted as much: "Now that we're in power, the tension is much greater. The grass roots wants us to be more and more socialist."

It is in large measure to dampen such expectations from their working-class base that the Polish and Hungarian social democrats eagerly sought to govern in popular-front coalitions with bourgeois parties, in the case of Hungary even despite the Socialists' absolute parliamentary majority. But as the social democrats preside over continuing pauperization, demoralizing the workers and

Szulecki/NY Times

Pohl/NY Times

Warsaw: Many poor and elderly get one meal a day, with Red Cross food coupons. Right: Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs, well-fed architect of "shock treatment" capitalist austerity, from Bolivia to East Europe.

shattering pervasive hopes for some measure of security, they can easily pave the way for far more reactionary forces who scapegoat Jews and other minorities for the economic and social devastation produced by capitalist restoration. There is a real danger that just as disillusionment with the anti-Communist nationalists impelled the masses to the left, so disillusionment with the ex-Stalinist parties in power could bolster the fascistic right.

For a Socialist United States of Europe!

There is no way out of growing immiseration, imperialist domination and nationalist pogromism short of *socialist revolution* on the basis of Leninist *internationalism*. "Socialism in one country," propounded by Stalin in 1924 following the death of Lenin and subsequently propagated in East Europe in such colors as Gomulka's "Polish road to socialism," was an all-sided lie aimed at justifying the conservative bureaucracy's hostility to world socialist revolution. In their struggle to defend and extend the gains of the October Revolution, the Trotskyists opposed the anti-revolutionary, nationalist Stalinist dogma and fought to uphold the Leninist program of international proletarian revolution. This is what the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), which opposed capitalist counterrevolution down the line from East Berlin to Warsaw to Moscow, fights for today.

When the Stalinists' professed "real existing socialism" manifestly failed in the 1980s, many East Europeans came to believe that the road to a society of plenty could be attained through integration with the wealthier capitalist West. But the line pushed by Reaganite "neoliberals" and social democrats alike—that if only East Europeans accept a few more years of hardship during the "transition to a market economy," these countries will end up like West Germany or Scandinavia—is clearly proving to be a lie. Rather, capitalist restoration is transforming the former Soviet bloc countries into imperialist neocolonies, with the conditions of the workers substantially and permanently worse than in the 1970s-80s.

East Europe was fundamentally more backward—economically and socially—than West Europe during the entire capitalist epoch and, in fact, since the late Middle Ages. The planned, collectivized economies of the postwar era brought enormous economic development and social progress to East Europe but could not raise this region to the level of the advanced capitalist—i.e., imperialist—West. This is true even if one discounts the specifically Stalinist bureaucratic deformations: widespread managerial parasitism and corruption, a tendency toward national economic autarky, etc.

Full employment was achieved and maintained only by grossly overmanning enterprises so that production costs in East Europe were far above world market norms. In order to maintain consumption levels while countering NATO's military buildup, during the 1970s and '80s most Soviet bloc regimes cut back on productive investment and also borrowed heavily from Western banks. As a result, both industrial plants and infrastructure (transportation, communications, etc.) became increasingly obsolescent by Western standards. Seeking to avoid the costs of retooling and relocation and fearing social upheaval if factories were closed, the Stalinist regimes continued to subsidize large enterprises even when there was little need for their output. The landscape of East Europe and the former USSR is dotted with industrial dinosaurs which not only cannot survive in the present capitalist environment but would have no place in a genuinely socialist economy with a high level of technological dynamism.

The resources needed to modernize the economies of East Europe, Russia and the other former Soviet republics, as well as the so-called Third World, can only come from socialist revolution in the imperialist centers, so that the productive wealth of North America, West Europe and Japan can be used to create an internationally planned economy. Especially in the past few decades, workers in East Europe are inclined to dismiss the Marxist and Leninist program of international proletarian revolution as "red soap bubbles," what Americans call pie-in-the-sky. A wonderful idea, they say, but it can never happen in the real world. However, the real world is not at all static.

Even during the Cold War, East European workers and intellectuals were responsive to shifting political developments in the capitalist West. The worker/student revolt which shook the French bourgeois order in May 1968 contributed to the budding proletarian political revolution in Czechoslovakia under the banner of "socialism with a human face" a few months later. Conversely, the ascendancy of the bourgeois right represented by Reagan, Thatcher and Kohl in the late 1970s and early '80s encouraged and conditioned the growth of counterrevolutionary forces in the Soviet sphere. Hardline capitalism in the West appeared to be a permanent and dominant feature of the modern world.

However, capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc has itself *destabilized the bourgeois order in West Europe*. To begin with, it has coincided with the worst economic downturn in the region since the Great Depression of the 1930s. With 20 million unemployed from Scandinavia to Iberia, West European youth share the prospect now faced by Poles and Hungarians of *never* getting a decent job. Driven by competitive pressures to lower labor costs, which have become far higher than in the U.S. and Japan, the West European bourgeoisies are moving to dismantle the "welfare state," which provided free or inexpensive medical care, relatively generous pensions, unemployment insurance, sick leave and other benefits. These social measures were granted to gain the support or at least neutrality of workers loyal to social-democratic and Stalinist parties in the Cold War against the Soviet Union. Today, the "welfare state" has lost its central political rationale.

In demanding cuts in wages and benefits, German and French industrialists hold over their workers the threat of shifting operations to low-wage countries, which now include East

Der Spiegel

Aleksander Kwasniewski, head of ex-Stalinist Polish Social Democrats.

Europe. German industrial spokesman Tyll Neckar exulted, "Right on our doorstep in Eastern Europe, for the first time we have a vast pool of cheap and highly trained labor" (*New York Times*, 8 August 1993). The Italian working class—the most combative in West Europe—has confronted a far-right government including fascists for the first time since Mussolini was strung up by Communist partisans in 1945. And throughout Europe, there has been a groundswell of racist attacks on immigrants and refugees, including the tens of thousands displaced by capitalist counterrevolution and nationalist fratricide.

Thus, in their own way the working masses of West Europe also face immiseration and impoverishment in the post-Soviet "New World Order." They've responded with militant defensive struggles best exemplified by the victorious 1993 Air France strike and repeated strike actions in Italy. Meanwhile, a layer of youth is being drawn into the streets, not only in response to cutbacks but notably in opposition to resurgent fascist terror and state racism against immigrants.

However, the rising line of class struggle in Europe, East and West, has been narrowly economic and nationally limited. What is lacking is the revolutionary and internationalist perspective embodied in the European workers movement

continued on page 8

Der Spiegel

In 1980, Solidarność leader Lech Walesa led workers into embrace of the reactionary Catholic church hierarchy.

East Europe...

(continued from page 7)

at the time of its foundation by Marxists and reaching its highest level in the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky. The program of a Socialist United States of Europe, far from being utopian, is the only realistic alternative to the further degradation of the working class, from the coal mines of Silesia to the auto plants of northern Italy.

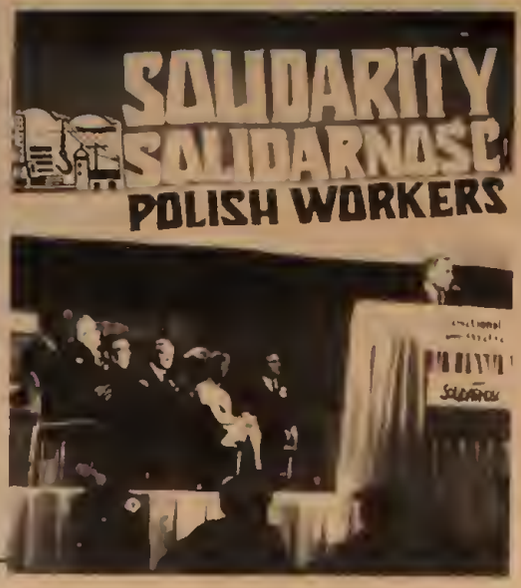
Poland: Counterrevolutionary Solidarność in Power

The victory of the Democratic Left Alliance in 1993 appeared all the more startling given that Poland was the birthplace of the first mass counterrevolutionary movement in East Europe. Born during a major strike wave in August 1980, Solidarność initially drew on legitimate worker grievances. Three times earlier —in 1956, 1970 and 1976—workers' upsurges had brought Poland to the brink of proletarian political revolution. But despite the whitewashing denials of Western fake leftists, Solidarność represented a departure from the earlier pro-socialist struggles of the Polish proletariat. From the outset, the movement was led by a coterie of clerical-nationalists around Lech Walesa and braintrusted by a circle of social-democratic intellectuals like Jacek Kuron. The Solidarność leadership collaborated closely with the church hierarchy directed by the new Polish Pope Karol Wojtyla and with Western, especially American, imperialism.

When in the fall of 1981 Solidarność consolidated around a program of open counterrevolution, we Spartacists denounced it as a "Polish company union for the CIA and Western bankers" and raised the call, "Stop Solidarność counterrevolution!" We indicted the Stalinist bureaucracy for having driven the bulk of the historically socialist Polish proletariat into the arms of clerical-nationalism and called for proletarian political revolution to install a regime based on the rule of authentic workers councils (soviets). To be sure, many of the workers who looked to Walesa & Co. were not won to capitalist restoration, although that's what Solidarność' program amounted to. The task of Trotskyists, however, is not to pander to false consciousness among the workers at any point in time but to uphold the historic interests of the international proletariat.

In contrast, numerous fake leftists marched to the tune of Cold War social democrats like France's Mitterrand, competing in efforts at "solidarity with Solidarity." Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec) even abetted the CIA and its conduits in the AFL-CIO and German social-democratic labor bureaucracies in funneling funds and technical equipment to Walesa & Co. The USec shamelessly boasted how they were "thanked for [their] solidarity effort" by Solidarność even *after* triumphant counterrevolution had begun administering capitalist "shock therapy" to the Polish working masses (*International Viewpoint*, 26 March 1990).

Solidarność' initial bid for power was temporarily spiked by an effectively bloodless countercoup in December 1981 by the regime of General Wojciech Jaruzelski, under pressure from and actively supported by Brezhnev's Kremlin. But by the late 1980s, the bankrupt Stalinist bureaucracy had begun implementing its own variant of capitalist "market reforms." When a new wave of strikes and protests erupted in 1988 and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev renounced any assistance to the Warsaw bureaucracy, the Jaruzelski regime agreed to negotiate a power-sharing deal with Solidarność in the so-called Round Table talks. After Solidarność won an overwhelming majority in June 1989 elections for the Sejm, the lower house of parliament, the Stalinists simply abdicated power.



WV Photos

Spartacists expose Solidarność as company union for the CIA and Wall Street, September 1981. Right: AFL-CIO tops and Democratic politicians join General Haig (at podium) in Reagan administration's 1982 "Day of Solidarity" with Solidarność.

The Solidarność government immediately introduced an economic "shock treatment" formerly associated with Latin American juntas. The program, devised by finance minister Leszek Balcerowicz and Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs, eliminated both industrial and consumer subsidies, removed import barriers and allowed the zloty to depreciate to its "free market" level. Unemployment soared to over 400,000 within six months and 1.2 million by year's end; real wages fell by 40 percent. In his self-aggrandizing tract, *Poland's Jump to the Market Economy* (MIT Press, 1994), Sachs arrogantly complained of an "ethos of social equality" left over from "the communist period." But the sentiment of millions of Poles was voiced by a steelworker who exclaimed: "We've all been cheated. Cheated by Solidarity. Cheated by the people who run things, by the government, by the ones with the power" (*Los Angeles Times*, 28 July 1992).

The Polish working class soon turned on the Solidarność government the same weapons it had previously directed against successive Stalinist regimes—strikes, plant occupations and protest marches. Since the spring of 1990, Poland has experienced the highest constant level of militant working-class struggle in Europe, East or West. The Solidarność trade union, which had by then shriveled to less than 2 million members, adopted a policy of "maintaining a protective umbrella" over the new capitalist government, further discrediting itself. At the same time, the institutions associated with the deposed Stalinist regime gained a new lease on life.

The former official All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) was now three times larger than the Solidarność union. Having dissociated itself from the Jaruzelski government during the Round Table talks, the OPZZ was able to pose as a champion of working-class interests against the capitalist "reforms" pushed by both the decomposing Stalinist regime and the new counterrevolutionary government. Meanwhile, the Stalinist Polish United Workers Party, buried under the rubble of the bureaucracy's collapse, was purged of its old guard by a layer of young technocrats exemplified by Aleksander Kwasniewski and transformed into the SdRP. In late 1990, the SdRP and OPZZ (joined by a police "trade union" and a section of the pro-Solidarność Polish Socialist Party) set up the SLD left alliance as their electoral vehicle.

In the face of ongoing working-class resistance, the nascent bourgeois state teetered from one short-lived government to another. Newly elected president Walesa quickly became an object of popular ridicule as he feuded endlessly with the myriad factions into which Solidarność had disintegrated. When in the summer of 1992 Poland was convulsed by the biggest strike wave since capitalist counterrevolution, the Solidarność union predictably acted as a Trojan horse for the government of Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka. But it was the OPZZ which played the pivotal role in derailing a strong impulse at the base to transform the upsurge of labor militancy into a general strike which could have shattered the still fragile bourgeois order in Poland.

Given her initially effective hard line against the trade unions, Suchocka was being called the Polish Margaret Thatcher. But Poland has neither an entrenched bourgeoisie nor a substantial, well-off petty bourgeoisie to provide the social basis for implementing Thatcherite policies by "democratic" means. The new Polish entrepreneurs are capitalists without capital, while the counterrevolution has ruined much of the petty bourgeoisie, especially the peasantry. Indeed, a key factor leading to the downfall of the Suchocka regime was the disaffection of the large class of agrarian smallholders. As agricultural subsidies were eliminated while exports dwindled, farm incomes in Poland *fell by half* between 1988 and 1993.

The Suchocka government finally fell in the wake of another major strike wave in the spring of 1993, after rejecting an SLD offer of support in exchange for a de facto coalition. Walesa, evidently believing the moment had come to satisfy his bonapartist ambitions, dissolved the Sejm and set up his own personal party, the Non-Party Bloc to Support Reform, whose initials (BBWR) were identical to Marshal Pilsudski's bonapartist party in the late 1920s-early '30s. But the September 1993 elections resulted in the humiliation of Walesa, the downfall of the Solidarność regime and the end of the first period of capitalist counterrevolution.

Der Spiegel photos

Lech Walesa (far left), admirer of fascistic interwar Polish dictator Marshal Pilsudski (left).

SLD Kneels Before Walesa, Clerical Reaction

Despite a shrill anti-Communist campaign emanating from the presidential palace, the press and the pulpits, the SLD came out way ahead of its opponents. With its ally, the Polish Peasant Party (PSL), the two parties garnered a solid two-thirds majority of the Sejm. Suchocka's party came in a distant third, Walesa's BBWR and Leszek Moczulski's fascistic Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) barely made it over the 5 percent hurdle for Sejm representation, while the various "Christian nationalist" parties lost all their seats.

Western bourgeois spokesmen were taken aback by the leftist mood of the Polish masses revealed in the elections. However, hardheaded observers understood that nothing much would change, since the ex-Stalinists were committed to operating within the narrow framework established by capitalist restoration. The SLD declared it would cede authority to Walesa to directly appoint the key ministers of defense, interior and foreign affairs. The Social Democrats gave the post of prime minister to Waldemar Pawlak of the Peasant Party. Originating as an agrarian front group for the Stalinist regime, after 1989 the PSL became a bourgeois party with strong clerical sympathies, reflecting the traditional backwardness of its base. On the other hand, the PSL, desirous of increasing subsidies for its rural constituency, was slightly less committed to strict monetarist austerity than its Social Democratic partners in this popular-front government.

For many Poles, a vote for the SLD was not only a vote against IMF-dictated immiseration but also against the oppressive role of the Catholic church. Shortly after coming to power, Solidarność introduced religious instruction by Catholic priests in the schools, followed by a law requiring the media "to respect the Christian value system." In early 1993, abortion was outlawed, with doctors subject to two years' imprisonment for performing the operation. And in one of its last acts, the Suchocka government secretly signed a concordat with the Vatican, granting the Catholic church authority over marriage and divorce, among other privileges.

Opinion polls continue to register an overwhelming majority in favor of legalized abortion and against church interference in civil society. Anti-church sentiment has become so intense that last year in a village near Lublin a church was set on fire, with graffiti on the entrance reading, "God does not exist." The ex-Stalinists claim to oppose Poland becoming a "fundamentalist religious state." But on this front, too, they have in no way undone the previous work of the Solidarność-led counterrevolution.

When Walesa vetoed a bill liberalizing the abortion ban in July, the SLD did nothing.

The SLD ran on the slogan, "It doesn't have to be this way any more—reforms should work for people." But no less an authority than Leszek Balcerowicz, architect of the original "shock treatment," judged that this "government has not departed radically from the previous economic program" (*Warsaw Voice*, 1 May 1994). Confronted with strikes by coal miners and steel workers last spring, SLD deputy prime minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz denounced them as "a manifestation of disrespect for the law"! Meanwhile, the OPZZ acts as labor enforcers of IMF-dictated immiseration for their "comrade" government ministers.

The OPZZ's criminal treachery in the service of this popular front of capitalist austerity paves the way for a rightist backlash. The SLD can't even deliver on its minimalist promises of alleviating the pauperization and theocratic tyranny which are engulfing the Polish working people, but instead only carries out the economic program of the hated Suchocka/Solidarność regime. Shortly after the elections, ex-labor minister Kuron told the *Moscow Times* (10 December 1993):

> "The contradiction between people's expectations and the demands of the market economy...is so great that it can nullify any political activity. The governments of Solidarity fell apart when faced with this contradiction, and the same lot will overtake the new Cabinet which has 'driven' into this contradiction at full speed."

Kuron's prediction is obviously self-serving, but not without truth. The official Solidamość union now poses as a champion of working-class interests while revving up its anti-Communist demagogy and making overtures to openly fascistic forces. Since the SLD came to power, Solidarność has organized a series of protests and strikes which have sought to channel a genuine sense of anger and betrayal in a reactionary political direction. At an anti-government demonstration in Warsaw last May, Solidarność leader Marian Krzaklewski surrounded himself with "bodyguards" from the fascistic National Movement, while anti-Communist marchers spewed anti-Semitic epithets and chanted, "SLD to Cuba!"

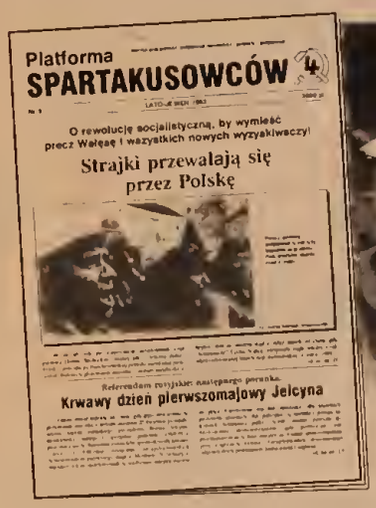
Competing with Krzaklewski's formation is Solidarność 80, led by Marian Jurczyk, who had been a spokesman for the virulently anti-Communist and anti-Semitic wing of the original Solidarność. Over the past few years, this right-wing union has managed to seize on the opening provided by the corporatist policies of Solidarność and the gross conciliationism of the OPZZ, leading a series of militant strikes in the Silesian coal fields and elsewhere. Recently, Solidarność 80 has itself split, with the new Serpien (August) 80 partially displacing it. While claiming to be only for "pure economic struggle," Serpien 80 is no less prone to populist nationalism, railing, "It doesn't make sense to oppress a Pole in order to please Italians, Belgians and Spaniards."

Nationalist rhetoric is today common currency in Poland. This was manifested in a bitter month-long strike and occupation at the Huta Warszawa steel works (which has been bought up by the Italian Lucchini group) last June, which was led by Solidarność and supported by the OPZZ. Instead of appealing for solidarity action by the combative Italian workers, the union leaders sought to divert workers' anger into chauvinist outbursts against "alien" capital. Meanwhile, prime minister Pawlak denounced the strikers for playing into the hands of foreign competitors (*Trybuna*, 16 June 1994).

Polish nationalism is not only thoroughly reactionary but a sham. Despite its vaunted "independence" during the interwar period, Pilsudski's Poland was little more than a cat's paw for French imperialism, particularly against the Soviet Union. Today, French leaders dream of reasserting influence in Warsaw, while Poland has become virtually a subsidiary of the Frankfurt banks. Both Suchocka and the SLD acquiesced to German demands to set up holding camps for immigrants and refugees expelled from the Fourth Reich, and deported Roma (Gypsy) refugees in Poland back to Romania.

For the Communism of Lenin, Luxemburg and Liebknecht!

To fight the economic devastation wrought by the restoration of capitalism, the working class must break through the political framework defined by the anti-Communist nationalists of Solidarność on the one side and the ex-Stalinist social democrats on the other. Moreover, the workers cannot defend even their standard of living without taking on the broader social reaction imposed by the nascent capitalist state and its Vatican sponsors: the ban on abortion, the attempt to regiment young people through religious indoctrination,



Platforma Spartakusowców

Spartakusowska Grupa Polski calls for worker-minority mobilizations to smash anti-Semitic fascists. A genuinely communist party must be built in the internationalist tradition of Lenin and Trotsky's Comintern.

the resurgence of Polish chauvinism and anti-Semitic and anti-Roma racism.

To fight mass unemployment, it's necessary to fight to take up the cause of women workers, who are being forced back to "hearth and home" by clerical reaction and the elimination of day-care centers and other social services. And ultimately, to reverse the effects of capitalist restoration it is necessary to sweep away the bourgeois state through a *socialist revolution* which would organize a collectivized economy. Not the bureaucratic mismanagement of the former Stalinist regime but democratic central planning by authentic organs of workers rule (soviets). This requires the construction of a *revolutionary workers party*, a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard, to mobilize the proletariat in struggle for its class interests and act as a tribune of all the oppressed.

Significantly, while many workers have supported the industrial actions led by Solidarność 80, they do *not* embrace the clerical-nationalism which is at the core of Solidarność' ideological outlook. But the danger remains that growing frustration and disgust with all the parliamentary parties, their sleazy maneuvers and broken promises will generate popular support for strong-man rule—a new Pilsudski—which would crush the workers movement. The vote on the concordat and the abortion reform bill provoked a reactionary frenzy by the right. Walesa has also moved to assert direct control over the military, an aide explained, "because of the return last year of former communists to government" (London *Guardian*, 28 November 1994). Meanwhile the fascistic KPN, despite its modest electoral support, has nearly doubled in size over the past few years, claiming over 30,000 active members.

The reformists are utterly defenseless in the face of fascist and rightist mobilizations. SLD/OPZZ leaders refused to lift a finger when a gang of fascists brazenly forced their way into last year's May Day march in Warsaw—directly in front of the SLD contingent—and attacked elderly marchers. Yet a number of SdRP youth joined with the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski in agitating for effective workers action to drive the fascists out.

Many of the workers and youth who support the Democratic Left Alliance would like to see a genuinely socialist Poland, restoring the economic security of the old "Communist" system but without its Stalinist bureaucratic deformations and oppressiveness. Some entertain the illusion that the SdRP can be pressured to take up the cause of socialism and look to the "left wing" around Leszek Miller (who has criticized Kwasniewski for capitulating to clerical reaction). But the SdRP is, and can only be, an *obstacle* to the struggle for proletarian revolution; it must be split along class lines, breaking pro-socialist elements from illusions in reformism and winning them to the fight for an *internationalist* revolutionary party.

The social-democratic SdRP/SLD and its Stalinist predecessor share in common a *nationalist*, and hence reformist, perspective. The bureaucracy of the Polish deformed workers state was far from monolithic, encompassing both a layer of Jewish Communists as well as anti-Semites, both hard-line Stalinists and reformers. In fact, Poland more than any other country of East Europe saw every brand of Stalinist self-reform politics—and their demise. But all wings of the bureaucracy saw themselves as balancing between the working class on the one hand and imperialism and domestic reaction on the other. Immediately after returning to power following the workers upsurge of 1956, Władisław Gomulka made massive concessions to the church and the peasantry. In 1968, Mieczyslaw Moczar orchestrated a vicious anti-Semitic purge which drove out the few remaining thousands of Polish Jews who had survived Hitler's Holocaust, many of them veteran Communists like heroic World War II spy Leopold Trepper. The chauvinist frenzy also repelled a layer of idealistic young Communists who later became ideologues for Solidarność counterrevolution.

The transformation of a section of the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy into social democrats corresponded to the logic of the politics of "socialism in one country." Already in 1928, at the time of the Sixth Congress of the Stalinized Communist International, Trotsky warned that this nationalist dogma represented "the beginning of the disintegration of the Comintern along the lines of social-patriotism" (*The Third International After Lenin*). By the next Comintern congress in 1935, the Stalinists had explicitly embraced reformist class collaboration under the banner of the "People's Front." Writing on "The Comintern's Liquidation Congress" (August 1935), Trotsky noted, "Nothing now distinguishes the Communists from the Social Democrats except the traditional phraseology, which is not difficult to unlearn." Indeed not. Today SdRP "left" Lezsek Miller opines, "Experience has shown that the famous debate between the revolutionary Lenin and the evolutionary Kautsky has been settled in favour of the latter" (London *Financial Times*, 18 March 1994).

The Spartakusowska Grupa Polski (SGP), section of the International Communist League, calls for building an authentically communist vanguard party based on the revolutionary internationalism which animated the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky. The SGP stands on the ICL's record of opposition both to clerical-nationalist Solidarność and to Stalinism and social democracy. The SGP opposed a vote to the cravenly pro-capitalist SLD in 1993, saying, "There's nothing for the working class to vote for in the upcoming elections" (*Platforma Spartakusowców*, Summer/Fall 1993). Our comrades have put forward a program of struggle directed not only against attacks on jobs and living standards but also against the abortion ban and racist reaction.

Other Polish groups claiming to stand to the left of the Social Democrats are marked by tailing whatever is momentarily popular as they wallow in Polish nationalism. Without exception, in 1981 these tendencies *cheered Solidarność counterrevolution*, and in the 1993 elections they all gave *open or backhanded electoral support to the SLD social democrats*. This is true of the GSR (Workers Self-Management Group), associated internationally with the Morenoite tendency, and the Mandelite USec supporters around the paper *Dalej!*, as well as the followers of Tony Cliff around the grotesquely named *Solidarność Socialistyczna* and the Militant Tendency represented by *Ofensywa*. Catering to backward prejudices fostered by the right-wing Solidamość 80 and the economist Serpien 80, these outfits vehemently denounce the SGP's call on the working class to champion the cause of the oppressed, i.e., fighting anti-Semitism and the oppression of women, gays and Roma.

The Polish working class must rediscover its own internationalist traditions represented by the Party Proletariat of Ludwik Waryński, the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania led by Rosa Luxemburg, Leo Jogiches, Julian Marchlewsky and Feliks Dzerzhinsky, and the early Communist Party. These proletarian leaders fought for the revolutionary unity of the Polish, Russian and German workers, embodied in the heritage of the "Three Ls," Lenin, Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. The early Polish communists understood that the liberation of Polish workers and peasants from exploitation by the capitalists and landlords, from the reactionary obscurantism of the Catholic church and from imperialist oppression by both the Russian tsarist autocracy and Western finance capital could be achieved only within the context of a European-wide revolution.

This fundamental truth remains no less valid today. As the founding declaration of the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski stated four years ago:

> "The drive to restore capitalism revives and intensifies all the 'old crap' of the prewar social order, from reactionary clericalism to Pilsudskiite nationalism and anti-Semitism ... Polish communists must fight relentlessly against Pilsudskiite nationalism, which subjects the workers to the dictates of the IMF while spewing out anti-Russian and anti-German chauvinism. Only proletarian internationalism offers a way forward."
>
> —*WV* No. 513, 2 November 1990

Indeed, the bitter experience of capitalist restoration in Poland demonstrates that the dictatorship of the International Monetary Fund can be destroyed only by the dictatorship of the international proletariat ■

On Slogans Regarding the Former Soviet Union

Following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR in 1991-92, we raised the slogan of "Reforge the Soviet Union on Leninist Principles!" The consolidation of a capitalist state in Russia with its own imperial ambitions to dominate the territories of the former USSR has led to discussion within the International Communist League over what slogans are appropriate under these changed—and changing—circumstances. The article "The Caucasus Cauldron" in WV *No. 613 (30 December 1994) raised the call "for a voluntary federation of socialist republics." A meeting of the International Secretariat of the ICL concluded that it was an error to use this as a slogan and passed a resolution stating:*

To raise as an immediate *slogan* a call for a federation of socialist republics which do not now exist—i.e., without at the same time explaining that we do not know the course and pace of the future necessary socialist revolutions in the different nascent capitalist countries in the territory of the former USSR—easily lends itself to an interpretation that we foresee a new revolutionary upsurge originating in the same areas as animated the 1917 October Revolution, that we envisage retaining the geographical borders of the ex-Soviet republics, etc. Given the past history of Great Russian domination, including in the Stalinized USSR, and the huge escalation of national chauvinism today as both a motor force and consequence of capitalist counterrevolution, with the associated appetites on the part of Russia's new rulers to play a role as a regional colonial and imperialist power, the question of a federation of unequal partners must be approached with great caution. Moreover, while the slogan's reference to "socialist republics" was intended to make explicit the need for socialist revolutions against capitalism—and to overcome the problem of our earlier slogan whose reference to "reforging the Soviet Union" would be understood in today's ex-USSR as congruent with the nationalist drive for a Great Russian *derzhava*—our Marxist use of the term "socialist" is far from unambiguous to an ex-Soviet audience given the decades-long Stalinist claim that the bureaucratically deformed USSR was a "socialist country." In this context, "socialist republics"—like "Soviet republics"—can sound like a call to return to the good old days of Stalin's Russia, including on the national question.

At the same time, the breakup of the Soviet Union has revealed a situation of considerable interpenetration of peoples and of economic production units which were inherited from and geared to a (bureaucratically) centralized planned economy. Thus in a number of regions (particularly eastern Ukraine, Crimea, northern Kazakhstan) a democratic resolution of the national question cannot be achieved except through a socialist federation or federations of workers states transcending national boundaries. It is necessary to emphasize the voluntary character of any such federations (as opposed, for example, to the Transcaucasian Federation that Stalin sought to bureaucratically impose), and to be particularly aware of the dangers inherent in any union of vastly unequal partners (e.g., Russia and the other republics of the former USSR). We cannot foresee today the contours of such federations, possibly embracing states that were not constituent parts of the former USSR. Increasingly as time progresses and now-capitalist Russia pursues its imperial appetites, socialist revolutions may well tend *not* to duplicate the structure of the workers state that grew out of the tsarist empire.

To be thrust back into a new period means that we have to put front and center the struggle for proletarian revolution in the regions of the former Soviet Union.

Caucasus...

(continued from page 12)

this in October 1993 during the mass murder of opponents of Yeltsin's bloody bonapartist coup in Moscow. They supported the establishment of police regimes in major Russian cities after the coup, including official pogroms against and deportations of peoples from the Caucasus and other national minorities. The bourgeois opposition to Yeltsin's Chechen adventure is concerned with neither the Chechen people nor "democratic principles." They are jockeying for position and worried that the Russian invasion will set the Caucasus aflame while the army is unreliable. The "democrats" are no less dedicated to capitalist Russia's imperial interests in the "near abroad," but fear that the current military adventure will delay or cancel the foreign loans and investment so desperately needed if these aspiring capitalists are to solidify their ability to exploit and suck profits from the workers throughout the lands of the former Soviet Union.

Gorzhkov/Dukor

Anatoly Maltsev

In December protest outside Kremlin, woman's sign reads: "Return our Sons from Chechnya." Right: Bodies of Russian soldiers line path on outskirts of Grozny.

The "opposition" of the various petty-bourgeois nationalists of the Stalinist organizations likewise has nothing in common with the defense of Chechnya. They seek to use this crisis of power to prove their usefulness—as anything from an electoral machine to potential stormtroopers—to the anti-Yeltsin wing of the new bourgeoisie which holds in reserve the option of using a potent mix of xenophobic frenzy and nostalgia for the Soviet Union to line up the despairing masses behind the interests of the Russian bourgeoisie.

During the 12 December Moscow demonstration in Pushkin Square, members of the RKRP (Russian Communist Workers Party) and other Stalinist parties, standing shoulder to shoulder with Black Hundreds and monarchists, shouted anti-Semitic slogans at the "democrats." The statement of Zyuganov's KP-RF (Communist Party-Russian Federation) is in the same vein as General Lebed's ravings, in essence denouncing Yeltsin for indecisiveness in "establishing order" in Chechnya. Not one of these parties can say anything about the crimes of the Stalinist bureaucracy in deporting whole peoples from their homelands. This includes the entire Chechen people, who by Stalin's 1944 order were punished with deportation to Central Asia. NKVD troops wiped out at least one whole village which refused to leave.

The Chechen adventure has exposed and deepened the sharp political divisions within the Russian officer corps, as leading military men like Lebed and deputy defense minister Boris Gromov publicly denounce Yeltsin's actions. The protracted difficulty in taking Grozny indicates that the soldiers are unwilling to fight, as well as being poorly supplied, poorly trained and poorly led. With Yeltsin's support in public opinion polls falling to 15 percent, the Chechen war could well lead to his downfall, or alternatively to a desperate attempt at a presidential coup aimed at crushing his legion of opponents within the country's new capitalist ruling elite. The working people of Russia must oppose moves from any corner—whether Yeltsin or anti-Yeltsin elements —to place its neck in the yoke of bonapartist dictatorship.

Among "democrats" and pacifists, and many pseudo-socialists, it has become popular to compare the present invasion of Chechnya with the introduction of Soviet troops into Afghanistan in 1979. This comparison is entirely false. The Soviet Union was a workers state, albeit ruled by a parasitic bureaucracy, and the Soviet Army intervened in a *civil war* in support of a modernizing left-nationalist government under attack by Islamic feudalist reactionaries. Soviet troops in Afghanistan fought on the side of social progress against the CIA-backed *mujahedin* cutthroats. Soviet intervention made possible democratic reforms in Afghan society, such as literacy and granting women elementary civil rights. At the same time, it was a measure of defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism, which sought to make Afghanistan into a base of operations on the USSR's southern flank.

We Trotskyists of the International Communist League declared, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and "Extend the Social Gains of October to the Afghan Peoples!" We criticized the Stalinist bureaucracy under Brezhnev and his successors as it sought to use Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as a bargaining chip with Western imperialism; further we condemned the Soviet-backed Afghan regime for not carrying through even basic democratic reforms in a futile attempt to conciliate Islam. When Gorbachev attempted to "appease" the imperialists by pulling Soviet troops out in 1989, this was a betrayal of the interests of the Afghan *and Soviet* peoples, paving the way for the later victory of the counterrevolution and the destruction of the Soviet Union.

Russia's present regime, centered around Boris Yeltsin, arose out of that counterrevolution. Those who cry, "No more Afghanistans" over Chechnya also cheered while the Soviet workers state was being strangled; today, their liberal pacifism seeks to dupe the oppressed and the workers into believing that the capitalist Russian *derzhava* (great power) can have a democratic face.

The Western imperialists, who massively supported the Afghan *mujahedin* against the Soviet Army, initially declared Moscow's Chechen adventure to be an "internal" Russian affair. This was in keeping with their general line of backing Yeltsin and opposing the national fragmentation of the now-capitalist Russian state. However, the NATO powers have become concerned that the military debacle in Grozny and the prospect of a long guerrilla war in the Caucasus is further destabilizing the fragile counterrevolutionary order in Russia. At the same time, the leaders of the counterrevolution in East Europe, such as Polish president Lech Walesa, see Moscow's invasion of the northern Caucasus as signaling a more aggressive, imperial-minded Russia which may soon threaten them. Hence Western capitals are now calling for a "negotiated solution" to the Chechen conflict. Thus Yeltsin's Caucasian adventure shows signs of developing into an international crisis enmeshed with interimperialist rivalries as in the Balkans.

The full-scale assault on Chechnya is another in the series of wars unleashed by capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the destruction of the Soviet Union. This includes the fratricidal slaughterhouse that is now Bosnia and the six-year Armenian-Azeri mutual slaughter over possession of the Nagorno-Karabakh enclave. Both Western and Russian bourgeois commentators often try to blame the explosion of nationalist hatreds in East Europe and the ex-USSR on the legacy of "Communism." On the contrary, it was the Bolshevik Revolution which liberated the oppressed nations of the tsarist "prison house of peoples" as Lenin called it. In 1914, Lenin wrote:

> "The interests of the Great-Russian proletariat require that the masses be sys-

Bridgestone-Firestone Rubber Workers:

For Mass Pickets to Stop the Scabs!

DECATUR, January 8—Hundreds of striking Bridgestone-Firestone workers attending a meeting of United Rubber Workers (URW) Local 713 here today angrily defied the company's threat to replace them with permanent scabs. After six months on strike, the vote was unanimous to stay out.

The company had demanded that workers crawl back by January 6 and "apply" for their jobs or be terminated. "You think I'm going to stand out on the streets for six months and then go back in?" asked one striker. "No f—ing way! If we do, it'll be living hell." Wages would be slashed by 30 percent. Another worker told the Decatur *Herald & Review*, "I'll eat grass before I'll go back to what they're offering." Such militant determination must be fused with a winning strategy to *shut down Firestone*.

"Bridgestone Bets It Can Defeat Rubber Workers' Strike," the company brags to the *Wall Street Journal* (27 December 1994). Bridgestone-Firestone, the largest tire company in the world, with revenue of $10.7 billion in 1993, is trying to carry out "Caterpillar II." It was here in central Illinois, in April 1992, that the United Auto Workers leadership surrendered to company threats and ordered CAT strikers back to work, where they underwent months of harassment and victimizations before walking out again last summer. The Caterpillar strike is continuing, as UAW misleaders allow CAT management to get away with massive scabherding.

Since August, the URW tops have allowed hundreds of scabs to waltz across the union's picket lines. Then in late December the company fired 36 workers—including two URW Local presidents—at its plants in Decatur, Des Moines, Oklahoma City and Noblesville, Indiana. One of those fired, Mike Miller of Des Moines Local 310, is being railroaded by the feds: we demand that charges be dropped against Miller and all victimized rubber workers!

On January 4 came the announcement that the scabs would replace those on strike. Company ultimatums demanding that workers cross the picket lines or be fired were sent out to some particularly vulnerable strikers, like those close to retirement. Scabs were even sent to try to enter today's Des Moines Local meeting. Union members reportedly "took out the garbage" in short order.

At the Decatur meeting, strikers told *WV* that increasing numbers of URW members are ready to build mass pickets to stop the scabs. "People are finally getting your message. We need 500 guys at each gate," said one striker. "What are the cops going to do? What's the company going to do, fire us?" he said bitterly. Indeed, Decatur's industrial east side, where striking Caterpillar workers and locked-out Staley unionists are fighting for their jobs alongside the rubber workers, should be paralyzed by picket lines. Thousands of unionists throughout the Midwest have traveled to Decatur, only to be sent home after being marched from one plant gate to another, never putting a halt to the scab production.

If called out, workers would flock to Decatur and other cities in labor's "war zone" to take part in mass picket lines that stop the scabbing. This would be a tremendous energizing force for labor nationwide. But instead, the URW tops are running the strike into the ground while pushing poisonous anti-Japanese chauvinism.

Firestone's go-for-the-throat assault against the union has been several years in the making. The Japanese-owned Bridgestone Corporation bought out Firestone in 1988, amassing $2.5 billion in debt. The union tops entered into a series of labor-management "cooperation" schemes that saddled several URW locals with giveback agreements. Last spring Bridgestone-Firestone decided to trash the pattern contract negotiated by the URW with Goodyear, demanding drastic changes in work rules and scheduling as well as a two-tier pay scale. On July 12, the URW pulled out 4,200 workers at only half of Firestone's ten North American facilities. Now they have been out for over six months—the longest strike in the history of the rubber union.

When the company began hiring scabs at the end of the summer, URW president Kenneth Coss advised strikers to "remain calm and united" while urging reliance on the election of more Democratic Congressmen and passage of their "striker replacement bill." But this has only emboldened the company and the authorities, whose cops have beaten and gassed strikers in the "war zone." Now the URW tops are looking to federal mediators, but if the Clinton administration steps in, it won't be to help the strikers. Clinton just got finished breaking the strike of Soo Line rail workers.

As they left the Decatur meeting today, some workers repeated the union tops' line that "this is how the Japanese do business." Throughout the strike, the URW misleaders have peddled the worst anti-Japanese protectionism, portraying the strike as "World War II, Part II," a "patriotic" battle against "foreign" capitalists. Joining local Democratic Party politicians at a press conference, Local 713 president Roger Gates labeled Firestone's assault on the union "another sneak attack" like Pearl Harbor (Decatur *Herald & Review*, 8 January). This is racist crap, and a barrier to the international workers solidarity that is desperately needed—for Japanese rubber workers and longshoremen to stop the export of tires; for Mexican, Canadian and U.S. auto workers to refuse to mount those scab Firestones on the cars. Bridgestone workers facing wage cuts in Japan have a crucial stake in a URW victory, but they aren't likely to respond to workers waving racist placards saying, "Nuke 'em" with another Hiroshima!

The capitalists know that the fastest way to kill labor solidarity is to push national chauvinism, the program of boss-worker "unity" against a foreign "enemy." But another striker had it right: "I don't care if they're American or British or Japanese. They all do business the same way." Indeed, it is the *American* corporations and their government that have taken the lead in smashing unions.

The labor bureaucracy's program of protectionism and reliance on the capitalist Democratic Party has put the rubber strike in grave danger. The response of the URW tops to the company's scab hiring? They're heading for Las Vegas to enact a dues increase! Control of the strike must be put in the hands of elected strike committees composed of the best militants in order to hammer out a program to *win* this labor battle. This must include spreading the strike to all Firestone facilities and mobilizing labor in mass picket lines to halt the scabbing. A fighting strike leadership would also appeal directly to auto workers to "hot cargo" Firestone tires and to truckers and rail workers to choke off supplies to the Firestone plants.

The way to shut down production is to occupy the plants, like Akron rubber workers did in 1934, the first big industrial sit-down strike in the country. A solid plant occupation here would make Decatur Strike City, a real *class war zone*, and turn around the strikes by besieged Caterpillar and Staley workers.

Workers must oust the present die-on-your-knees misleaders of labor who wave the flag for the Democrats. What's needed is a class-struggle leadership fighting to forge a multiracial, internationalist workers party to lead a victorious struggle against the capitalists of all countries. ■

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tematically educated to champion—most resolutely, consistently, boldly and in a revolutionary manner—complete equality and the right to self-determination for all the nations oppressed by the Great Russians."

—"On the National Pride of the Great Russians" (December 1914)

These internationalist principles were embodied in the Soviet federated workers state that arose out of the 1917 October Revolution, which also provided for various forms of regional autonomy and cultural and language rights for peoples who were still in a pre-national stage who lacked the basis for a separate political economy.

However, the defeat of proletarian revolution in the rest of Europe, centrally Germany, and the resulting imperialist encirclement of Soviet Russia led to the bureaucratic degeneration of the workers state under the bloody bonapartist rule of Joseph Stalin and his heirs. The resurgence of Great Russian chauvinism fostered by the Stalinist bureaucracy undermined the political foundations of the Soviet Union and triggered in response anti-Soviet nationalism among the non-Russian elites of the USSR. Thus the basis was laid for the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, which in turn has further obstructed and fragmented the organization and consciousness of the working classes involved.

The principles of proletarian socialism are fundamentally antagonistic to bourgeois nationalism in all forms. Thus we oppose not only the imperial-minded Great Russian chauvinism of Yeltsin & Co. but the Chechen nationalism of strongman Dudayev and the Islamic fundamentalism that he seeks to promote, including employing troops trained by the Afghan *mujahedin*. We are for class opposition to Russian aggression in Chechnya, for organized working-class action against it. The defense of Chechnya's people is in the interest of the multinational working class of Russia! As proletarian internationalists we insist on the right of Chechnya to decide its own fate, including recognizing that independence will inevitably intensify the drive to purge Chechens (and other Caucasian people) from Moscow and other Russian cities.

Today the peoples of the Caucasus—a patchwork of ethnic and linguistic groups—again face a Russia pursuing imperialist aspirations to control the region's wealth and borders, while the local national bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces attempt to get rich through deals with competing imperialist backers. An internationalist, revolutionary workers movement fighting for a democratically planned, egalitarian economy and true equality between the peoples of this region could rally the working masses of all the Caucasian peoples to overcome the raging fratricidal national conflicts. An authentically communist, Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party must be forged in sharp struggle against all variants of nationalism, and in particular against the chauvinism of the Great Russian oppressor.

Hands off Chechnya! Defeat the Russian invasion!

Defend national minorities against oppression and discrimination! For the right of Chechnya to decide its own fate!

For united working-class action against Yeltsin's regime of capitalist immiseration and Great Russian chauvinism!

Fight for socialist revolution throughout the lands of the former USSR!

—International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)
Moscow, 10 January 1995

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Statement of the International Communist League

Smash Yeltsin's Invasion of Chechnya!

The following statement was issued by the International Communist League in Moscow on 10 January.

On December 11, the government of Boris Yeltsin launched a full-scale military invasion of the republic of Chechnya, on the northern slopes of the Caucasian Mountains, which declared its independence from Russia when the Soviet Union broke apart in late 1991. The Chechen people are now being slaughtered as Russian warplanes bomb and strafe civilian targets. The capital city of Grozny—an industrial center of 400,000 inhabitants—is being reduced to rubble. Yet despite overwhelming Russian military superiority, the determined Chechen forces have repelled the assault on Grozny, inflicting heavy casualties on the Russian Army and taking a number of prisoners of war.

The International Communist League stands for *defeating the invading Russian forces*, whose attempt to subjugate the Chechens can only bring mass terror to this Caucasian people. Furthermore, Chechen resistance is severely weakening would-be Tsar Boris' dictatorial regime, thereby creating a potentially favorable opportunity for the working people of Russia, of all nationalities, to defend themselves against the economic devastation wrought by the capitalist counterrevolution. But the present conditions of political chaos will sooner or later lead to a bonapartist outcome.

The working class is the only force that could by revolutionary mobilization prevent the consolidation of a dictatorial capitalist regime presiding over mass immiseration. But the Soviet proletariat was politically atomized by decades of Stalinist bureaucratic rule, and under today's conditions of economic collapse and disorder the working people deeply despair of taking any effective action. In order for the workers in the former USSR to be able to take power, they must first become conscious of themselves as a *class* which under the leadership of a Marxist vanguard is capable of fighting for its own revolutionary class program.

The unstable capitalist regime that arose in Russia as a result of the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state remains isolated and crisis-ridden. Despite Yeltsin's bloody crackdown on the old parliament in October 1993, he has an extremely narrow—and narrowing—base of support among Russia's new ruling elite. The head of his bodyguard, Aleksandr Korzhakov, has reputedly now become the power behind the throne. A major aim of the Kremlin's Caucasian military adventure was to strengthen this weak bonapartist regime by appealing to Great Russian chauvinism and anti-Caucasian prejudices. In addition, the invasion of Chechnya aims to preserve control over the Caucasus, its oil and other resources, and to crush the determination of the Chechen and other Transcaucasian peoples to resist Russia's attempts to establish itself as overlord and gendarme in the region.

La Repubblica

Yeltsin's savage bombardment of Grozny is reducing the capital of Chechnya to rubble.

Since Chechnya, under strongman leader Dzhokhar Dudayev, a former Soviet air force general, declared its independence when the Soviet Union came apart following Yeltsin's seizure of power in August 1991, Moscow has sought by all means at its disposal to rid itself of the troublesome Chechen leadership, and to replace it with one more subservient. Toward this aim, Moscow has financed bloody fratricidal slaughter, supplied arms to Chechen oppositionists, sent in mercenary units and sought to impose a puppet regime. When the plan to oust Dudayev "from within" collapsed, Moscow rulers went over to direct intervention.

This intervention represents a blow against all the peoples of the Caucasus. During their advance toward Chechnya, the Russian troops were met by groups of protesting residents of neighboring Ingushetia. Among those killed was the Ingush minister of health. In Ingushetia, Ossetia, Dagestan and Abkhazia, solidarity has been voiced with the Chechen people. Ever since coming to power, the Yeltsin regime has sought to use for its own ends the national conflicts that have racked the Caucasus as a result of capitalist counterrevolution.

Last year, the Kremlin coldbloodedly monitored the bloody fratricidal slaughters in Ossetia and Ingushetia, and then declared a state of emergency in both republics (consolidating its military presence), *after* Ossetian nationalists had carried out mass slaughters of Ingushetians. At the same time, Dudayev's appeal to Islamic fundamentalism against the Russians can only fuel a resurgence of nationalist and communalist violence in the northern Caucasus, some of whose peoples (e.g., the Ossetians) are historically largely Christian.

The introduction of troops takes place against the backdrop of a state-orchestrated attempt to whip up racist anti-Caucasian hysteria, backed up by ominous police and army patrols in Moscow and other Russian cities. The mass of the Russian population, in the grip of impoverishment and unemployment, voices no support to the intervention in Chechnya. A columnist for the influential daily *Sevodnya* writes that all the government's analyses predicting an easy victory and a groundswell of public support for the war "turned out to be 100 percent wrong" (*Moscow Times*, 20 December 1994).

The working people of Russia must understand that the invasion of Chechnya is being carried out by the same forces that repeatedly used the OMON paramilitary squads to disperse demonstrations protesting Yeltsin's capitalist impoverishment (Moscow, Army Day, February 1992), and used the army as strikebreakers (air controllers strike, August 1992). What is needed is for the workers to reacquire a consciousness of their internationalist class interests, in order to organize opposition to the war independent of those elements of Russia's new bourgeoisie who are appealing to widespread pacifistic opposition to Yeltsin's Caucasian adventure in order to boost their own political fortunes.

The invasion has evoked protest from many bourgeois politicians, particularly the "democrats," who up to now have consistently supported Yeltsin. Moreover, they have been joined by prominent anti-Western nationalists, exemplified by Lieutenant General Aleksandr Lebed, commander of the 14th Army in Moldova. In voting in the Duma (lower house of parliament), only the fascistic party of Vladimir Zhirinovsky and the faction of former finance minister Boris Fyodorov have supported the invasion. Yegor Gaidar, the darling of the IMF, and Grigori Yavlinsky, author of the infamous plan for the deindustrialization of the former Soviet economy, appeared on television denouncing the introduction of troops and warning of police-state dictatorship. This is pure hypocrisy.

These people *require* a police state against the workers. They amply showed

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AFP

Chechen fighters use disabled Russian tank for cover.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 615

27 January 1995

Capitalism's Racist Hitmen

Clinton, Gingrich Take Aim at Blacks, Immigrants

Palmer/U.S. News & World Report

Lehman/SABA

Harrity/U.S. News & World Report

Democrat Clinton joins forces with Republican Gingrich's contract on black America. "Welfare reform" means starvation for millions of single mothers and their children.

Last month *Time* magazine reported Washington, D.C. audiences' reaction to a play based on Charles Dickens' novel, *A Christmas Carol*, set amid the poverty of 19th century London. Scrooge's response to a request for alms for the poor—"Are there no prisons? No workhouses? No orphanages?"—brought gasps from crowds who were hearing identical words from the incoming Congress, which is about to throw millions of poor people off welfare and onto the streets.

Under legislation based on Republican leader Newt Gingrich's "Contract With America," two and a half million unwed mothers on welfare, two-thirds of whom are black, and five million children would lose their meager benefits. In the same spirit of gratuitous cruelty, another bill would abolish financial aid for over 800,000 children with debilitating diseases like cerebral palsy!

The "Contract With America" is a contract *on* black America. In the name of "personal responsibility" and "family reinforcement," it calls for ripping black kids out of their mothers' arms and putting them up for adoption or placing them in orphanages. Gingrich's obscene espousal of the merits of orphanages (now known as "congregate care facilities") is not really meant to fill their cruel hallways—after all, they cost on the order of $50,000 per year per child. Rather the plan is to "discourage welfare dependence" by *letting children and their mothers starve*.

The right wing won the November elections on a racist backlash of anti-welfare, "anti-crime" demagogy, coupled with nativist frenzy that led to the passage of California's Prop. 187 barring "illegal" immigrants from health care and schooling. Congressional Republicans now promise legislation excluding *legal* immigrants from unemployment insurance and supplementary Social Security benefits, while President Clinton has chimed in with a proposal for massive spending increases to police the Mexican border. Reflecting the hypocrisy of the anti-immigrant hysteria, the Republicans object to Clinton's call for increased inspection of factories where undocumented workers are employed at sub-minimum wages.

Immigrants account for a tiny portion of welfare payments, while they pay a full share of taxes. But along with black welfare moms, they make a convenient scapegoat for those whose living standards have fallen drastically thanks to union-busting and deindustrialization by the capitalist ruling class.

Bipartisan War on the Poor

We noted at the time that Prop. 187 "is part of a broader racist offensive whose *main and central target is the black ghetto poor*" (*WV* No. 612, 9 December 1994). California governor Pete Wilson, who won re-election by pushing this immigrant-bashing initiative, has now called for dismantling affirmative action in education and business—through a proposal called the "California Civil Rights Initiative," no less! On the federal level, the Supreme Court is expected to rule in favor of a "reverse discrimination" case challenging federal "set-asides" for minority businesses.

Until recently, no politician would have dared threaten Social Security—the centerpiece of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal reforms (although to keep the allegiance of the Dixiecrats, FDR excluded black sharecroppers and domestic workers, who formed the large majority of Southern blacks at that time). Among so-called "entitlement" programs, Social Security—unlike welfare—accounts for a significant part of the federal budget. In fact, Social Security is a separate, self-financing program which consistently runs a *surplus*, which is then ripped off by the government for its budget expenditures. From the right-wing Cato Institute, which calls for "privatizing" Social Security, to a bipartisan commission last summer which proposed drastic cuts in benefits, Social Security has now become a target for budget slashers. The current attempt to deny benefits to immigrants and disabled children is a wedge against Social Security as a whole, but because it covers the entire employed population, any threat to the Social Security system also gores the middle class and will encounter widespread opposition.

Jesse Jackson and other black Democrats are complaining about White House "silence" in the face of this all-sided assault on the poor. But Gingrich's Republicans are implementing with a vengeance Clinton's 1992 campaign promise to "end welfare as we know it," demanding that the black poor get jobs that don't exist in industries that don't exist. Shortly after Gingrich took office as Speaker of the House, he and Clinton declared a "truce" and agreed to explore "common ground," including a constitutional amendment sanctifying prayer in public schools. Now "liberal" Health and Human Services secretary Donna Shalala tells Congress that poor mothers who don't work should "lose their welfare benefits, and the children could be taken away from the parents...and placed in foster care or group homes or put up for adoption."

Meanwhile, Washington, D.C. mayor Marion Barry, not too long ago the victim of a racist government vendetta, has joined the chorus condemning black single mothers, saying they should be forced to use the Norplant birth control device or get thrown off the rolls. Only a few years ago, calls for forced sterilization of black welfare mothers were universally condemned as the ravings of the fringe racist right!

Under the "workfare" scam passed by the Democratic Congress in 1988, many welfare recipients have to find work or lose their payments. Numerous state and city governments are already trying to force people off the welfare rolls and into jobs like highway maintenance and food service at minimum wage, as a way to bust government employees' unions. But at bottom, as we wrote in "Genocide U.S.A." (*WV* No. 463, 21 October 1988): "This is not welfare reform, it's a plan to turn the ghettos into vast cemeteries—because *there are no jobs to get*. The aim of this legislation

continued on page 12

For a Revolutionary Workers Party That Champions the Cause of All the Oppressed!

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New Orleans Cop Death Squad

Recently New Orleans has been rocked by reports charging the city's police department (NOPD) with widespread corruption, drug dealing, protection rackets—and racist murder. The most explosive revelation involves the coldblooded execution of Kim Marie Groves, a young black mother of three children.

Kim Groves was shot through the head outside her home on October 13. Hours earlier, she had filed a brutality complaint against NOPD cops Len Davis and Sammie Williams after she saw them pistol-whipping a son's friend. A few minutes after Groves was killed, Davis called Williams on police radio with an "NAT"—necessary action taken.

Davis knew almost immediately that Groves had filed a supposedly confidential complaint against him with NOPD Internal Affairs. And the FBI, which had a wiretap on Davis as part of an undercover investigation of the NOPD, knew that the hit had been ordered—they just let it happen! Davis, who is black, had acquired a reputation around the Desire public housing development he patrolled as the "Desire Terrorist." Davis is now charged with ordering a contract for Groves' murder by "drug-dealing gangsters," and is facing drug charges along with eight other NOPD cops.

But this is not a matter of a handful of "rogue cops." The NOPD tops the country's police departments in "civil rights" brutality complaints. Asked about stemming the city's rising murder rate, even the head of the Metropolitan Crime Commission replied, "My smart answer is to fire more police officers."

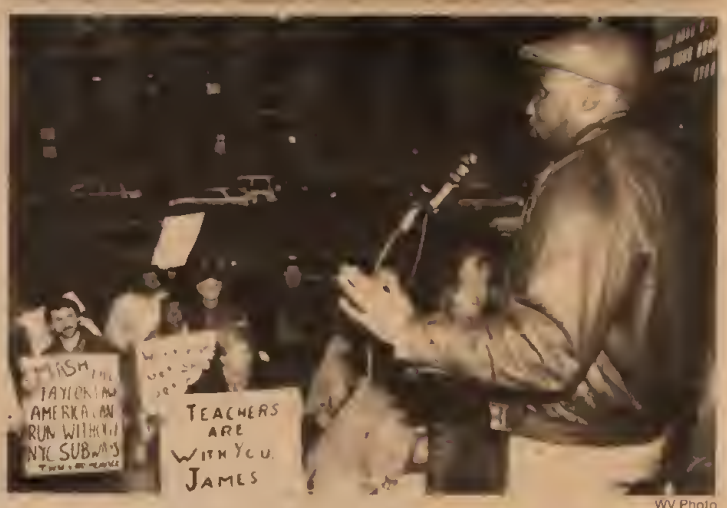
The New Orleans police have a record of brutal racist murder and cover-up which goes back decades. In 1980, four people were gunned down execution-style in the black ghetto of Algiers after a cop was found dead, while scores of other blacks were dragged into police headquarters and beaten. In 1990, after another white cop had been killed, Adolph Archie, a black man, was hauled off to the dead cop's precinct. An autopsy showed that Archie had had *every bone in his head broken.*

The racist NOPD death squads put the lie to the black Democrats' vacuous talk of "empowerment." New Orleans has had a string of black mayors; indeed, the father of current mayor Marc Morial was in office during the 1980 Algiers slaughter. This impoverished, predominantly black city is surrounded by racist white enclaves which are notorious as a bastion of support for KKKer David Duke. A few years ago, the suburb of Metairie, which helped boost Duke into the state legislature in the 1980s, even erected a wall aimed at keeping neighboring black people out.

In the wake of Kim Groves' murder and the latest exposures of the NOPD, the FBI is being portrayed as a protector of black rights. Meanwhile, liberals like the ACLU call for a "Police Accountability Task Force." Any talk of "reforming" the NOPD is dangerously misguided. The cops are the repressive apparatus of the capitalist ruling class, and they are especially needed by the rulers to keep black and working people down in a local economy which, except for tourism, has all but collapsed with the decline of the port of New Orleans and plummeting oil prices. And contrary to the myth pushed in the movie *Mississippi Burning*, the feds are enemies of black rights who have a history of setting up civil rights activists for murder, from Viola Liuzzo in Alabama in 1965 to the Greensboro massacre in 1979.

The social power to stop racist cop terror rests with the integrated ranks of New Orleans teachers, transit and southern Louisiana oil workers. It will take socialist revolution to sweep away the racist rulers and their hired guns, who are responsible for the killing of Kim Groves and countless other victims of cop death squads. ■

All Out to Defend James Frazier!



WV Photo

James Frazier addresses transit workers and other supporters at March 1994 rally outside Transit Authority headquarters.

Jury selection for the trial of black transit worker James Frazier will now take place on February 8, after being postponed earlier this month. It was over a year ago, in October 1993, that a cop shot Frazier in the back of the head as he sat in his car on a Brooklyn street. Frazier's left eye was blown out. To cover up their crimes against James Frazier, the D.A. and the cops want to put him away for up to *fifteen years* on charges of gun possession!

Speaking at the New York Partisan Defense Committee Holiday Appeal benefit in December, Frazier told the crowd, "The cops didn't expect me to survive, the doctors didn't expect me to survive, and during that time the cops even attacked me in the hospital." He thanked those who have turned out in his support at previous court appearances, stressing, "The judge notices that support in court. I really believe that if I didn't have that support, I'd have been just another ordinary black man driving a fancy car that was shot."

Divisions of Frazier's union, Transport Workers Union Local 100, are calling on transit workers to come out to the trial. The Labor Black League for Social Defense is mobilizing all opponents of racist cop terror to fill the courtroom at the February trial. To help defend brother Frazier, call us at (212) 267-1025. **All out to stop the racist persecution of James Frazier! Fill the courtroom!** ■

Capitalism, Fascism and the Holocaust

TROTSKY

LENIN

This month marks the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Red Army's liberation of the Nazi death camp at Auschwitz, where two million Jews, as well as Gypsies, Slavs and Communists, were exterminated. When the Nazi death camps were revealed to the world in the last months of World War II, the U.S. ruling class and its propagandists hypocritically denounced the unspeakable atrocities of Hitler's Germany in order to bolster support for "democratic" American imperialism. At the time, the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party explained that fascist barbarism was a product of decaying capitalism which could only be eradicated through international workers revolution.

The Lublin death camp murders are simply part of the general Nazi pattern of systematic extermination of "inferior races," primarily Jews. Less publicized, but even more "effective," are extermination centers at Auschwitz, Birkenau and Oswiecim where three and a half million Jews have reportedly been put to death.

These hideous crimes reveal the true face of fascism. Fascism is organized mass murder to save the ruling class. Spawned and financially supported by the German capitalists, the Nazis took power to prevent a proletarian revolution and to prepare for the next imperialist war. The rich still own Germany. The Nazi party is simply the tool of the bosses. The complete destruction of the workers' organizations and parties and the imposition of a more terrible oppression, taught the German working class a lesson as to the true nature of fascism. Economic and national oppression, now coupled with wholesale physical extermination, has taught the European peoples the same lesson....

Hitler's approaching defeat by no means signifies the end of Fascism. The Allies are not fighting Fascism as a system, but imperialist Germany as a rival. This is no war of ideologies, Churchill admitted. Furthermore, there is nothing specifically "German" about fascism. It can grow in the United States due to the same causes that operated in Germany....

The European proletariat will rise in the coming revolution to destroy the Fascist scourge. They will make short shrift of the Lublin murderers.

—"Lublin Mass Murders Reveal Rotting Capitalist System,"
Militant (16 September 1944)

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Drop the Charges Against Malcolm X's Daughter!

Protest Sinister Government Set-Up of Qubilah Shabazz!

Robin Pralzer

Qubilah Shabazz (second from right) with family at New York City opening of Spike Lee's film on Malcolm X.

In a blatant set-up by the feds, Qubilah Shabazz faces up to *90 years in prison* on charges of "conspiring" to arrange the assassination of Nation of Islam (NOI) leader Louis Farrakhan, supposedly in retaliation for the murder of her father Malcolm X 30 years ago. This crude and cynical frame-up has provoked an outcry of denunciation from many black leaders, and is treated with skepticism even by much of the bourgeois media. As a protest statement (reprinted below) by the Partisan Defense Committee notes, the Shabazz case recalls the FBI's murderous COINTELPRO program of surveillance and provocation against black militants and civil rights leaders. At Shabazz's arraignment last week, demonstrators outside the Minneapolis courthouse displayed a banner with images of Malcolm, Martin Luther King and murdered Chicago Black Panther leader Fred Hampton reading, "The Real Hitmen: The Feds."

The government's star witness is one Michael Fitzpatrick, a high-school classmate of Shabazz who lured her to Minneapolis with promises of marriage and now claims that she tried to hire him as a hitman. Fitzpatrick has a long history as an FBI provocateur. In the mid-1970s, he joined the fascistic Zionist Jewish Defense League (JDL), which carried out terrorist attacks against Soviet officials and cultural groups as well as U.S. leftists and blacks. After being convicted in the 1977 bombing of a Russian bookstore in New York, Fitzpatrick became an FBI informer. Even one of his former JDL cohorts denounces him as a "set-up artist, who goes from group to group setting people up." In the 1980s, he was expelled from an anarchist collective after trying to lure other members into bombing government buildings. Several months before getting involved with Qubilah Shabazz, he was busted on a cocaine-possession charge, which is due to come to trial shortly.

The feds' scheme to entrap Shabazz is so transparent that a couple of government officials involved in the case blew the whistle to the press. Their account of taped conversations between Fitzpatrick and Shabazz, reported in the *Washington Post* (19 January), clearly prove that Shabazz was being set up:

> "'She's not pleased. She's coming up with objections, reasons why he shouldn't do it,' one official said, describing the contents of the tapes. 'He's talking about the righteous sanctions to have Minister Farrakhan killed. She objects that innocent people could be killed. She's worried that there might be retaliation—by Farrakhan's people against the Jews.'"

So now this sensitive, intelligent, soft-spoken woman, who already lived through the torment of seeing her father gunned down when she was four years old, has to go through the torture of a government frame-up. Even Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam have denounced the government conspiracy against Shabazz.

The invidious set-up of Qubilah Shabazz was orchestrated at the highest levels of the Clinton Justice Department. Administration officials at first tried to duck the uproar by claiming that they had not been kept informed of the seven-month "investigation." But Janet Reno herself was forced to admit, "We have been working with the United States attorney" in Minneapolis. Not only were Justice Department bigwigs fully involved, but they even assigned one of their lawyers to permanently monitor the case.

The Shabazz affair has revived allegations that Farrakhan may have been involved in the murder of Malcolm X. Last year, Malcolm's widow Betty Shabazz, when asked if she thought Farrakhan had anything to do with her husband's assassination, replied: "Of course.... Nobody kept it a secret." Farrakhan has denied being directly involved. But Farrakhan did make it clear at the time that Malcolm was "worthy of death." And a recently opened documentary, *Brother Minister. The Assassination of Malcolm X*, shows Farrakhan in a 1993 speech thundering in reference to Malcolm X: "And if we dealt with him like a nation deals with a traitor, what the hell business is it of yours?"

Brother Minister also recalls how the FBI contributed to fanning the flames of conflict between Malcolm X and Nation of Islam leader Elijah Muhammad by sending bogus letters and circulating false stories. This was but a small part of the FBI's notorious COINTELPRO program which targeted many black militants and leftists, especially the Black Panthers, many of whom were shot down or railroaded to prison as part of a campaign to "neutralize militant black nationalist" groups. Now it turns out that the former chief of police in Minneapolis had carried out "surveillance" against the NOI and other black groups as a member of the infamous NYPD Red Squad (Bureau of Special Services) at the time of Malcolm's assassination in New York.

The future American workers revolution will avenge the murder of Malcolm X.

* * *

18 January 1995

David Lillihaug, U.S. Attorney
Minneapolis, MN

Dear Mr. Lillihaug:

The arrest on January 12 of Malcolm X's daughter, Quhilah Bahiyah Shahazz, on charges of hiring a hitman to murder Louis Farrakhan is a maliciously inspired, transparent case of government entrapment. The gratuitous torment of Malcolm X's family thirty years after his assassination—the culmination of years of hounding by the U.S. government's racist police forces and other enemies of black freedom—was immediately met with disbelief and revulsion, particularly by black Americans, whose centuries of subjugation in this country have imbued them with a keen sense of recognizing rats when they smell them.

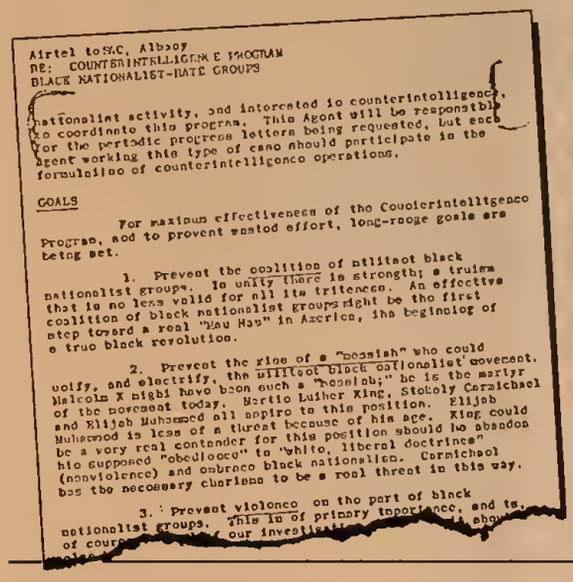
The government informer at the center of this set-up, Michael Fitzpatrick, has a long record of engaging in criminal plots in association with the Jewish Defense League, including the bombing of a pro-Soviet bookstore in New York City in 1977, and of acting as a provocateur against the left. One can only suspect that federal authorities made a deal with Fitzpatrick, who is currently facing cocaine-possession charges in Minnesota.

Your employment of this certified right-wing terrorist to entrap Ms. Shahazz recalls the infamous Gary Rowe, who, as the FBI's top "informer" in the Alabama Ku Klux Klan, helped carry out the 1963 bombing of Birmingham's 16th Street Baptist Church, where four black girls were killed, and was implicated in the nightriders' 1965 murder of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo. We will also never forget Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agent Bernard Butkovich, who helped set up the Klan/Nazi murder of five leftists in Greensboro, North Carolina in 1979.

Your persecution of Quhilah Shabazz is all too reminiscent of the FBI's COINTELPRO campaign of the 1950s and '60s to destroy black militancy, represented particularly by Malcolm X, whom we honor as a courageous truth-teller for black America. We demand that all charges against Qubilah Bahiyah Shabazz be dropped.

Yours truly,
Paul Cooperstein

cc: U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno



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RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

nationalist activity, and interested in counterintelligence, to coordinate this program. This Agent will be responsible for the periodic progress letters being requested, but each Agent working this type of case should participate in the formulation of counterintelligence operations.

GOALS

For maximum effectiveness of the Counterintelligence Program, and to prevent wasted effort, long-range goals are being set.

1. Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength; a truism that is no less valid for all its triteness. An effective coalition of black nationalist groups might be the first step toward a real "Mau Mau" in America, the beginning of a true black revolution.

2. Prevent the rise of a "messiah" who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement. Malcolm X might have been such a "messiah;" he is the martyr of the moment today. Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael and Elijah Muhammad all aspire to this position. Elijah Muhammad is less of a threat because of his age. King could be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed "obedience" to "white, liberal doctrines" (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism. Carmichael has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way.

3. Prevent violence on the part of black nationalist groups. This is of primary importance, and is, of course, [illegible] our investigation [illegible] should

Malcolm X with Louis Farrakhan (far right) in Harlem, 1963. When Malcolm broke with the Nation of Islam, Farrakhan pronounced him "worthy of death." 1968 FBI document outlines COINTELPRO campaign to destroy black militants.

Robert L. Haggins

Get the truth about Louis Farrakhan. Order *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 11, available for $1 from Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Fifty Years Ago

The Red Army Liberated Auschwitz!

The following declaration, dated 4 January 1995, is translated from Spartakist *No. 116 (January-February 1995), newspaper of the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD). It is also being issued in Polish and Russian*

Sovfoto

Joint Declaration by the Spartakist-Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands, Spartakusowska Grupa Polski and Spartacist/Moscow

27 January 1945: The Nazis' "Thousand Year" Reich, which brought thousandfold agony to the peoples of Europe, lay shattered in pieces. Beginning with the German defeats at Stalingrad and Kursk in 1943, the Red Army was able to smash Hitler's Wehrmacht divisions and SS executioners on a broad front stretching from Poland to Hungary and the Balkans. A symbolic climax of the Soviet Union's victory was the liberation of a site that will forever embody capitalist bestiality: Auschwitz.

Between 1941 and 1945 millions of people were killed in Auschwitz: Sinti and Roma (Gypsies), Russians, Poles, communists, socialists. But it was Jews above all from all the countries of Europe who died in the gas chambers and ovens of this extermination factory. They were all victims of an imperialist campaign which, in the name of creating a "master race," sought to turn the entire continent into a colony of German capital. As a result of Hitler's "final solution of the Jewish question," over two million Jews—men, women, children—were murdered in Auschwitz alone. In the years 1942-43 the overfilled cattle cars rolled ceaselessly, day after day, to the infamous ramp where the "selections" began. Those who were not immediately forced into the gas chambers fell into the hands of sadistic "doctors" like Dr. Mengele or were forced to slave in satellite camps for huge capitalist concerns. Only by smashing Hitler's Reich could the Red Army save a handful of these people—a fraction of the millions who lost their lives. It was solely because of this victory that hundreds of thousands of Hungarian Jews whom Eichmann would have sent to Auschwitz were spared death by gassing.

Yet the Jews were not simply victims. Thousands from Poland, Russia, Byelorussia, Lithuania, the Ukraine and Yugoslavia fought in Red Army regular units and partisan detachments against the occupation and thus contributed to the hard-won Soviet victory. The heroic Jewish fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto stubbornly battled Nazi commandant Stroop's SS units. Contrary to the Zionist falsification of history, the uprising was organized principally by pro-socialist Zionists, members of the socialist Jewish Bund and Communists, who viewed it as an internationalist struggle. The Trotskyists in the Warsaw Ghetto also stood in the front lines of the struggle against Nazism. In their newspaper *Czerwony Sztandar* (*Red Flag*), they counterposed their internationalism to the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." In July 1941 they wrote: "The war of the Soviet Union against Hitler is the war of the international proletariat; it is our war.... Long live the international revolution!"

Uprisings of the tormented erupted in the extermination camps themselves—Treblinka, Auschwitz—which, given the unequal struggle, were largely drowned in blood. But in Sobibor, where over 250,000 people were murdered, 600 Jewish prisoners and captured Red Army soldiers carried out an uprising that forced the Nazis to close the camp. Three hundred prisoners fled into the woods and survived.

Hitler's "Operation Barbarossa," carried out under the battle cry of the fight against "Jewish Bolshevism," aimed at destroying the Soviet workers state. Indeed, under Lenin and Trotsky this workers state inscribed on its banner from the outset: "Death to the pogromists—For the emancipation of the Jewish people!" This promise was betrayed by the Stalinist degeneration of the Soviet Union. Under Stalin, the defense against the Nazi occupation was conducted not in the name of proletarian internationalism but under the nationalist watchword of the "Great Patriotic War." Yet despite the reactionary rule of the bureaucracy and the resurgence of official anti-Semitism and nationalism under Stalin (beginning with his anti-Semitic agitation against the Trotskyist Left Opposition), the Soviet degenerated workers state saved the lives of millions of Jews during the war through necessary resettlement.

Now, in the wake of Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, anti-Semitism in all its ugly forms is once again raising its head. But already under Gorbachev sections of the Stalinist apparatus (for example, Yeltsin) courted the Russian anti-Semitic fascists of Pamyat. Today, following the collapse of Stalinism, fascists like the Barkashovites (supported by German fascists), Black Hundreds and monarchists are part of the "red-brown coalition" together with "patriot" remnants of the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy. These "red-browns" are the clearest expression of how capitalist restoration is permeated with anti-Semitic filth. A revolutionary workers party will place the struggle against anti-Semitism and against racist attacks on minorities (for example, Chechens, whose capital city and its population are today being bombed to smithereens by the Russian Army) in the forefront of its program—just as Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks did. Our comrades in Moscow are fighting to build such a party.

In the Polish capitalist state which arose in 1990 as the result of Solidarność-led capitalist counterrevolution, we see hypocritical ceremonies "commemorating" the victims of the Holocaust and those who fought fascism. These ceremonies obscenely include the German Fourth Reich, the bloody Israeli Zionist state and the Catholic church, which has placed a crucifix at Auschwitz in order to bury the anti-Semitic character of the Holocaust. Joining such ceremonies in the past were representatives of the former Solidarność regime which "rehabilitated" the Polish fascists of the Second World War. Together with its ex-Stalinist Social Democratic lackeys, the Polish bourgeoisie raises the slogan of "reconciliation" as their ticket into the post-counterrevolutionary "New World Order." This means mass unemployment, racist terror and a ban on abortion in Poland and fratricidal nationalist wars and bloody imperialist interventions elsewhere. In the spirit of the Nazi Third Reich, Roma, Sinti and other "illegal" immigrants in Germany are being imprisoned and then shipped to Poland for deportation to the countries they fled—where they are being killed by pogromists. We of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants and fight for worker/immigrant mobilizations to defend all victims of racist terror.

Today, the Fourth Reich is consciously following in the footsteps of the Third. This continuity can be seen in the firm BASF which as part of IG Farben exploited Auschwitz slave laborers over 50 years ago, and later became Helmut Kohl's patron. The current "Federal Republic" proclaimed itself the legal successor to the Third Reich and took over whole sections of the Nazi regime's state apparatus, including the longtime Nazi Kiesinger as chancellor. This was part of its anti-communist crusade against East Germany (DDR). Following capitalist reunification and the counterrevolution in the DDR, the German bourgeoisie, assisted by the SPD social democrats, diligently set to work covering

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Yakov Davidson

Ukraine, 1942: Soviet Partisan forces, including Jews, fought against Hitler's Wehrmacht and pro-Nazi Ukrainian nationalists.

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East Europe: Five Years of Counterrevolution

Beliczay/NY Times

Ozd, Hungary: Four years after German firm took over and then abandoned steel mill, the plant's labor force has fallen from 14,000 to fewer than 2,000.

Part 2: Hungarian "Socialists" Push Anti-Worker Austerity

Part One of this series, "The Fall of Polish Solidarność," was published in WV *No. 614 (13 January).*

Surpassing even their own expectations, the Hungarian Socialist Party won a resounding victory in last May's elections, swamping their numerous opponents to capture one-third of the popular vote and an absolute majority of parliamentary seats. Like the election of their Polish counterparts of the Democratic Left Alliance a half year earlier, the return to power of the Hungarian ex-Stalinists turned social democrats reflects widespread bitterness over the devastation wrought by capitalist counterrevolution. Two out of every five Hungarian industrial workers have seen their jobs disappear since 1989, while pensioners are forced to scrape by on $90 a month, far less than the government's own minimum for subsistence. A retired engineer commented bitterly, "The impoverished people are voting socialist out of revenge."

These working people saw in the Socialist Party (MSZP) a link to the economic security and social benefits of the pre-1989 "Communist" system. During the election campaign, the Socialists promised to lower unemployment and to raise pensions and wages. But this neo-social-democratic party is, in fact, just as committed to enforcing the capitalist immiseration dictated by Western bankers as the anti-Communist nationalist "democrats" they've displaced. Socialist leader Gyula Horn assured international capital: "We are a party of experts. We have never been, and will never be, extremists."

To underscore that point, Horn immediately appealed to the openly bourgeois parties to join with the MSZP—despite its parliamentary majority—in a coalition government. The subsequent pact signed with the free marketeers of the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) could have been written by Ronald Reagan or Margaret Thatcher—mandating cuts in government spending, higher consumer taxes and lower business taxes, an end to industrial subsidies and the privatization or enforced bankruptcy of remaining state enterprises. This is a program "certain to raise the price of food and consumer goods and to wipe out the jobs of many state sector employees" (*Washington Post*, 30 June 1994).

Having paved the way for the destruction of the system they once glorified as "real existing socialism," the ex-Stalinist apparatchiks today echo the imperialist lie that "communism has failed" and trumpet the "magic of the marketplace." This is obviously *not* what the Hungarian working people voted for. But a return to the Stalinist past is no less possible than is a "humane" capitalism. The bureaucratically deformed workers states of East Europe—originating with the Soviet Red Army's victory over Nazi Germany in World War II—were destroyed beyond recall in 1989-90 by the all-sided pressure of Western imperialism on the decomposing Stalinist bureaucracies. There will be no decent future for Hungarian working people unless the proletariat overthrows the new but still fragile bourgeois order in East Europe. And proletarian revolutions in East Europe cannot long survive unless they ignite the big battalions of the West European working class, which today also faces economic immiseration and political reaction.

From Political Revolution to Capitalist Restoration

More than any other Soviet bloc country, the Hungarian People's Republic revealed both the potential for proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy and the limitations of a purely national outlook. The relaxation of totalitarian terror in the Soviet bloc following Stalin's death in 1953 threw much of East Europe into profound political crisis. In Hungary, given the especially bloody rule of the regime of Matyas Rákosi, the crisis of "de-Stalinization" led to a genuinely pro-socialist workers uprising which was only suppressed by direct Soviet military intervention.

The main force in the Hungarian political revolution of 1956 was the workers councils, usually led by anti-Rákosi Communists. Despite illusions in Western-type "democracy" and nationalist prejudices, there was a strong impulse among the insurgent workers to construct an egalitarian and genuinely socialist society—and clear opposition to capitalist restoration. This was typified by the call of a workers council in Budapest for "free elections in which only those parties may participate that recognize and have always recognized the Socialist order, based on the principle that means of production belong to society" (see "The Hungarian Workers Uprising of 1956," *WV* No. 483, 4 August 1989). But the victory of the revolution required the leadership of an *internationalist* Leninist vanguard party. As we wrote on the tenth anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution:

> "Perhaps the most serious weakness of the 1956 uprising, however, was its predominantly isolated, *nationalist* character.... The revolution was sparked by, and prepared during the insurgent wave which traversed the deformed workers states at this time; yet the militant workers and radical intellectuals, whose demands for political and economic reforms led to the outbreak on 23 October, made virtually no effort to extend their activities beyond Hungary's boundaries. Hence the revolution neither received succor from nor expanded its thrust into the other states of Europe—ultimately the *sine qua non* of victory....
> "Thus a revolutionary party in Hungary would not only have assumed the task of leading the Hungarian workers to state power, but, as a section of a disciplined *international* party, would have assisted in the vital work of preparing and leading insurrections in other European countries."
>
> "Political Revolution in Hungary Ten Years After," *Spartacist* No. 8, November-December 1966

The possibility for implementing such a perspective was revealed in the extent of fraternization between the insurgents

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East Europe...

(continued from page 5)

and Soviet troops, forcing the Kremlin to send in a *second* invasion force. After the revolution was crushed by the Soviet Army, the bureaucratic order was restored under the liberal Stalinist Janos Kadar, who himself had been imprisoned and tortured by the Rákosi regime. Following an initial period of severe repression, in the early 1960s Kadar moved to gain the popular support or at least tolerance of the Hungarian masses. Intellectual and cultural life was relaxed under the formula "he who is not against us is with us." However, the main thrust of Kadar's program was economic, redirecting investment so as to rapidly raise consumption levels, a program approvingly dubbed "goulash communism" by Kremlin leader Nikita Khrushchev.

By the late 1960s, the Hungarian Stalinists had exhausted their ability to produce more goulash merely by shifting resources from heavy industry to light industry and agriculture. At this point the Kadar regime became the first in the Soviet sphere to introduce "market socialism," with the express aim of increasing Hungary's exports to the West, especially the European Community. The 1968 New Economic Mechanism freed enterprise directors and state bank officials from tight, centralized control, giving them wide leeway to wheel and deal in international markets.

The move to more closely integrate the economy into the capitalist West had catastrophic consequences in the mid-1970s. The world capitalist depression collapsed Hungary's export markets both in volume and price. At the same time, the Soviet Union increased the price of oil and natural gas to its East European bloc partners, taking advantage of the oil price boom artificially engineered by the Seven Sisters/OPEC cartel. In the late 1970s, Hungary experienced a disastrous worsening of its terms of trade, wiping out the equivalent of *one year's gross national product*.

Desperately anxious to avoid mass layoffs or cuts in living standards, Kadar & Co. mortgaged the country to the loan sharks of Wall Street, the City of London and Frankfurt. Hungary's hard-currency debt shot up from $1 billion in 1970 to *$9 billion* in 1980. At the same time, the lax regime of "market socialism" generated an indigenous class of capitalist entrepreneurs largely drawn from Stalinist apparatchiks. In the mid-1980s, the liberal British historian A.J.P. Taylor, whose wife was Hungarian, estimated that there were as many millionaires in Kadar's Hungary as in Thatcher's Britain, although the former displayed their wealth less conspicuously.

Gorbachev's *perestroika* and the resulting disintegration of the Kremlin bureaucracy removed the last restraint on the Hungarian Stalinists' appetites to become junior partners of Wall Street and Frankfurt. In 1988, Kadar was ousted by a more right-wing faction in the ruling Communist party. Visiting the U.S., "reform" prime minister Karoly Grosz told American businessmen that 25 percent of the Hungarian economy could now be foreign-owned. New legislation served as a license for the massive rip-off of state-owned productive assets, as managers bought up state enterprises through easy loans from their colleagues at the state bank. A few years later, the right-wing nationalist prime minister Jozsef Antall would bait the legion of ex-Stalinist entrepreneurs: "They have forgotten Marx and only remember Das Kapital."

A major factor in the Hungarian bureaucracy's indifference to the loss of governmental power was that so many of its members were leaving politics anyway to devote all their time to their new businesses. In late 1989, the ruling Hungarian Socialist Workers Party dropped the "Worker" from its name and proclaimed fealty to bourgeois democracy. A small Kadarite split retained the old name, since changed to the Workers Party. Demoralized, faction-ridden and its cadre preoccupied with personal enrichment, the Socialist Party received only 11 percent of the vote in the pivotal elections in the spring of 1990, coming in fourth behind three avowedly bourgeois parties.

The victor was Antall's right-wing nationalist Hungarian Democratic Forum (MFD), which shaded off toward fascism. These "democrats" openly glorified the fascistic interwar dictatorship of Admiral Horthy, which came to power by drowning in blood the 1919 Hungarian Commune. The MFD pushed blatant anti-Semitic and anti-Roma (Gypsy) racism, touted "Christian national values" and emphasized a policy of chauvinist irredentism. Thus, in a country of 10 million people, Antall was fond of proclaiming himself prime minister of *15 million* Hungarians, referring to the minority populations in neighboring countries. The MFD's main opponents were pro-Western "neo-liberals," divided between an older layer of anti-Communist "dissidents" (the Free Democrats) and a coterie of self-absorbed yuppies (the Young Democrats). Once in office, Antall set about trying to recreate the old Hungarian gentry while carrying out the brutal austerity dictates of the International Monetary Fund.

The reaction of the masses of Hungarian workers to this counterrevolution carried out in the name of "democracy" was expressed by a middle-aged woman struggling to survive by selling fruit from a street stand after the textile mill where she had worked for 25 years went bankrupt:

> "It's all thanks to democracy. For us ordinary people, life has got a lot worse over the past four years. We have become poorer and weaker. Some can no longer eat so well, and nobody feels sure about the future."

By May 1994, four years after being ousted from power, the venal ex-Stalinists were able to inflict a humiliating defeat on all the anti-Communist parties, both the right-wing nationalists and pro-Western neo-liberals. By the time of its demise, the MFD regime had not only antagonized the working class but had also alienated the bourgeois intelligentsia with its flagrant corruption and high-handed authoritarian methods. When the government fired 129 radio journalists last March in a blatant attempt to regiment the media, 30,000 demonstrators poured into the streets of Budapest to demand that the MFD regime stop "tampering with our brains."

Beliczay/NY Times

General Electric's takeover of Tungsram electrical products company has brought massive layoffs and ferocious speedup. One-third of Tungsram workers now live at or below official poverty level.

Foreign Investment Fuels Economic Pauperization

Since the Budapest Stalinists had long engaged in "market socialism," Western industrialists and bankers viewed Hungary as relatively stable compared to other former Soviet bloc countries where the transition to capitalism appeared more conflict-ridden and chaotic. Since 1990 Hungary has received $7 billion in foreign investment, more than all other East European countries combined. Yet Hungary's "success" in attracting Western capital has not lessened but rather *intensified* the exploitation and pauperization of the working masses.

As long as enterprises remain state-owned, even right-wing nationalist regimes face some political pressure to limit mass layoffs. Privatization, however, subjects the workers to the dictates of the world capitalist market in all their brutality. Hungary is the one country in the former Soviet sphere where employment has actually fallen *more* than output. Between 1990 and 1993, gross industrial output fell 33 percent, while the industrial labor force was slashed even deeper, by 41 percent, resulting in a massive intensification of labor for those still employed.

Much of the foreign investment in Hungary was expressly intended to reduce, not augment, production. A number of Austrian firms, for example, bought up wholesale and retail outlets in order to market Austrian-made goods, displacing Hungarian products. Even the much-touted 1990 buyout of Tungsram by General Electric has only further pauperized Hungarian workers. A giant manufacturer of electrical products, Tungsram accounted for 3 percent of Hungary's gross national product and was quite competitive in international markets, supplying a significant share of headlights used by German automakers like Mercedes. In the Tungsram venture, GE was looking for a cheap and easy way to break into the German electrical products market.

In the three years after the takeover, GE cut Tungsram's labor force from 18,500 to 10,000 while implementing a ferocious speedup. Even the compliant trade-union officials complained. "We have reached the point where one person is doing the work of several people, and he can't do it in the normal 8 hours; he is doing it in 10" (*New York Times*, 10 March 1993). Yet even though they are producing far more per capita and are employed by a wealthy American-based multinational, more than a third of the remaining Tungsram workers live in families at or below the official Hungarian poverty line!

An even worse fate was suffered by the 14,000 steel workers in the city of Ozd when a German outfit bought up their mill in 1990. A few years later, the German bosses decided the venture wasn't profitable and pulled out. Today, fewer than 2,000 workers are left trying

Bankuti/NY Times

Szabo/NY Times

The "magic of the marketplace": Thousands of homeless families sleep on streets and in train stations of Budapest, while a handful of Hungarian yuppies live it up.

to survive by processing scrap steel. Such bitter experiences produced a rapid popular disillusionment with the new "democratic," i.e., capitalist, order.

To the extent that the Western media covered Hungarian politics in the first phase of the counterrevolution, they focused on the rantings of the fascistic wing of Antall's MFD represented by Istvan Csurka, one of the party's six vice presidents. Csurka attacked Hungary's liberal president Arpad Goncz as a puppet of the "Paris-New York-Tel Aviv mafia" and raved that the former Communists "never admitted being Jewish while running the country." After this fascist demagogue broke from the MFD in 1993 and went into opposition, the London *Financial Times* (17 November 1993) wrote: "Mr. Horn and Mr. Csurka are competing for the anti-government vote, including the votes of those who believe that four years of painful changes have merely created a new wealthy class."

But there turned out to be no competition at all. Horn's Socialists won a sweeping electoral victory while the fascist blowhard Csurka got about 2 percent of the vote. In their own way, the Hungarian masses understood that Csurka was only offering a more extreme version of the nationalist and anti-Communist demagogy which since 1990 has served as the ideological cover for economic immiseration. An 80-year-old pensioner explained rather plaintively why he supported the Socialists: "They have always been on our side. They want what we want. Peace and quiet and that the price of bread doesn't go up every day. And of course doubling pensions."

Beliczay/NY Times

September 1993: Right-wing nationalists commemorate Admiral Horthy, butcher of 1919 Soviet Republic and fascistic dictator of interwar Hungary.

Popular Front of "Free Market" Immiseration

Far from being on the workers' side, Horn & Co. are assertive advocates of "free market" economics whose slogan is "private property and social responsibility"! One Western business analyst in Budapest described the party's economics expert, László Bekesi, as the most right-wing socialist he had ever met. Trying to live up to that billing, Bekesi denounces any concession to economic populism: "We don't promise spending or fast improvements. We will bring in capital through privatisation and bring down state expenditure" (London *Guardian*, 3 February 1994). Bekesi is the representative *par excellence* of that layer of former Stalinist apparatchiks turned capitalist entrepreneurs who form a major component of the Socialist Party's constituency.

However, the core of the party's social base is the organized working class. To an even greater degree than in Poland, the former official Stalinist union grouping, the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions (MSZOSZ), has transformed itself into the hegemonic economic organization of the working class. Feeble attempts to launch rival anti-Communist nationalist or liberal unions never got off the ground. When the right-wing government held elections for union representation to the national health insurance and pension funds in 1993, the ex-Stalinists won hands down. While the country has not experienced a high level of strike activity, on the two occasions when the MSZOSZ threatened general strikes over economic policy, the right-wing nationalist government was compelled to negotiate a compromise. For all their rabid anti-Communism, Antall, Csurka & Co. had no stomach for a confrontation with the organized working class.

MSZOSZ union head Sandor Nagy is perceived as representing the left wing of the Socialist Party, with Bekesi on the right and Horn occupying the center position. But no less than his social-democratic comrades, Nagy insists: "Nobody wants to bring back the former system; that's ridiculous and impossible" (*Washington Post*, 9 May 1994). However, the growing mass support for the Socialists was based precisely on a desire to restore at least a modicum of economic and social benefits from the old system. The single most important reason voters gave for supporting the Socialists was the belief that "things were better in the old days, when there were jobs and a secure existence." And right after the May elections, the director of Hungarian Gallup reported that the typical Socialist voter is "much more anti-market, anti-privatization, more for egalitarian values and social redistribution. They are traditional, old-time socialist supporters" (*Washington Post*, 31 May 1994).

The right-wing nationalist regime itself sought to turn the election into a referendum on the Communist era. Its main campaign tactic was to vilify Horn for participating in one of the Stalinist militias which suppressed the 1956 Revolution. All accounts agree that the red-baiting of Horn totally backfired. It convinced people that the ruling Democratic Forum was simply out for revenge and longed for a return to the Horthyite past. Indeed, shortly before his own death in late 1993, Antall presided over the spectacular official reburial of the fascistic dictator. Meanwhile, the bourgeois opposition parties—the Free Democrats and Young Democrats—attacked the government's economic policies from the neo-liberal right, for not pursuing privatization and marketization aggressively enough.

As a result, the Socialists won an electoral victory of a far greater magnitude than anyone had expected, winning 209 out of 386 seats in the parliament. But far from welcoming this landslide, Horn & Co. feared that they would now come under massive pressure to meet the demands of their working-class and plebeian base. So they quickly agreed to a coalition government with the anti-Communist neo-liberals of the Free Democrats. The motive for this bloc between a party of former Stalinist apparatchiks and a party of former anti-Communist "dissidents" was cynically explained by Free Democratic leader László Rajk: "the Socialists don't want to be the only ones around to be blamed next time."

The present coalition in Hungary demonstrates in a very clear way the nature of popular-frontism since there was no obstacle whatsoever to forming a purely Socialist government. The sole and obvious reason for this coalition with a bourgeois party was to provide Horn & Co. with a counterweight to their party's working-class base, especially the trade unions. The Socialist tops can now claim anti-working-class and other unpopular measures are "necessary" to placate their coalition partners.

AP

Budapest workers topple statue of Stalin during 1956 proletarian political revolution.

A half year after the Polish ex-Stalinist Social Democrats ousted the Solidarność gang, Western imperialist opinion had become somewhat more open to the change in political regimes in East Europe. An editorial in the *New York Times* (10 May 1994) remarked: "Former Communists might not be the ideal agents of market reforms in Eastern Europe. But they can—with help—get the job done." The job the ex-Stalinists are carrying out on behalf of international finance capital is the privatization or closure of wide swathes of Hungary's industry, leading to even more massive layoffs.

It is indicative of the lack of proletarian leadership in East Europe that the Hungarian masses could turn nowhere but to this "Socialist" party of capitalist austerity in their desperate desire to reverse the effects of capitalist counterrevolution. The lack of a revolutionary alternative was manifest in a conference held in Budapest last September, which drew some 60 leftists from East Europe and elsewhere to discuss "The Left at the Dawn of the 21st Century" (*Labour Focus on Eastern Europe*, Autumn 1994). But while bemoaning the plight of mass unemployment and the failure of Stalinism and mainstream social democracy, the participants put forward little but stale New Left nostrums about defending "ecological and cultural structures," not even hinting at the need to sweep away the capitalist system.

The inevitable disillusionment with the Socialist/Free Democratic regime in Budapest could well produce strikes, big protests and a further leftward motion in Hungarian society. But in the absence of a revolutionary leadership, it could also lead to a resurgence of the fascistic right, as mass frustration with "free market" immiseration is channeled into a chauvinist frenzy scapegoating Jews, Roma and other minorities. Even a Socialist spokesman has warned: "If we don't succeed, the pendulum will go to the right again and that is very scary." But the cravenly pro-capitalist social democrats cannot "succeed," either in piecing off a restive working class or in creating a fully fledged capitalist economy. To break the spine of a restive workers movement, capitalist counterrevolution will drive toward the establishment of a bonapartist or fascist dictatorship. In the absence of cohered capitalist relations, virulent national chauvinism serves as a battering ram for consolidating capitalist rule (see "East Europe: Nationalism and Counterrevolution," *WV* Nos. 547 and 548, 20 March and 3 April 1992).

To prevent its further immiseration, if not wholesale destruction, the working class needs a party armed with an internationalist program of *socialist revolution* to sweep away the nascent bourgeois order. Such a party would rally behind the proletariat all layers of the oppressed, fighting chauvinist and fascist attacks on Hungary's sizable minorities of Jews and Roma, defending the rights of women and reaching out to the working masses throughout Europe, East and West. The Hungarian proletariat needs to resurrect the workers councils created in the 1956 Revolution, smashing the nascent capitalist state and thereby laying the basis for a democratically organized planned economy. Above all, for the egalitarian and socialist aspirations of Hungarian working people to be realized requires the leadership of a genuinely communist, Leninist-Trotskyist party with an internationalist perspective aimed at extending socialist revolution particularly to the imperialist heartland of West Europe.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Auschwitz...

(continued from page 4)

up its gruesome history. Now we are told that infamous concentration camps like Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald were sites not of Nazi crimes but of "Stalinist dictatorship"! And recently, this "revisionist" campaign, which is rewriting history, went a step further when a court in Mannheim, Germany alibied current Nazi leader Deckert, describing his bloody anti-Semitic denial of the Holocaust—under the code word "Auschwitz lie"—as strengthening the "power of resistance of the German people against Jewish claims stemming from the Holocaust."

Rosa Luxemburg emphasized that humanity stands before the alternatives: socialism or barbarism. Auschwitz epitomized capitalist barbarism. We stand, like this great revolutionary fighter, for the unity of the proletariats of Poland, Germany and all the lands of the former Soviet Union. It was in this same spirit that the Internationalist Communists of Buchenwald—Austrian, French, Belgian and German Trotskyists—fought in that concentration camp for their revolutionary program. In their declaration of April 1945 (reprinted in *Spartacist* No. 26, Winter 1979), shortly after the liberation of Buchenwald, they wrote:

> "To prevent the restabilization of the German bourgeoisie, facilitated by imperialist antagonisms, and to establish workers power, the revolutionary struggle of the working class of each country against its own bourgeoisie is necessary ...
>
> "The proletariat can fulfill its historic task only under the leadership of a new world revolutionary party. The creation of this party is the most pressing task of the most advanced sections of the working class. International revolutionary cadres have already come together to construct this world party in the struggle against capitalism and its reformist and Stalinist agents." ■

Young Spartacus

For the Separation of Church and State!

White House Pushes School Prayer

The American ruling class is trying to reintroduce a "moment of silence" and "voluntary" prayer in public schools as part of their reactionary "family values" campaign. Make no mistake—the "moment of silence" mandate is but a prelude to an organized school prayer amendment to the Constitution.

Led from the White House by Baptist Bill Clinton and in Congress by Georgia's Newt Gingrich, this attack is pushed by an army of ultrarightists whose program is to liquidate public education, abolish abortion, introduce creationism and eliminate all mention of AIDS prevention, sex education and homosexuality in the classroom. In July 1994, the Senate passed a bill to cut dwindling federal funds to public schools that don't kowtow to court-ordered "constitutionally protected" school prayer. Such all-sided social regimentation is designed to groom another generation of youth as cannon fodder in the next imperialist war.

Despite the 1962 Supreme Court ruling against organized prayer and Bible readings as violations of the First Amendment, the blight of school prayer has been quietly infecting school districts across the nation. According to a report in the *Boston Globe* (4 December 1994), already Massachusetts, the District of Columbia and six Southern states have either proposed or enacted moment-of-silence measures, or "voluntary" prayer before sports or graduation events, in the last year. There are an estimated 12,000 Bible groups holding prayer sessions before classes in schools around the country. Particularly in the South, religion is increasingly integrated into the school day.

In August of last year, Brian Bown, a high-school teacher in Snellville, Georgia, was fired for continuing to teach his class during the state-mandated moment of silence. After Mississippi passed a law earlier this year allowing "voluntary" student-led prayer in the public schools, eleven-year-old David Herdahl was branded an "atheist" and "devil worshipper" by classmates because he refused to participate in Bible class in Ecru, Mississippi. His mother Lisa, a Lutheran who doesn't want her kids to be told what to pray, is courageously suing the state. As an indication of the level of hysterical absurdity this campaign has reached, Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders was recently fired for mentioning the dreaded "m" word (masturbation) at a conference on sex education in public schools. In Merrimack, New Hampshire, the school board is debating whether to teach "creationism" in science class, but doesn't want to spend the money for a phone line for a computer network!

WV Photo

Birmingham, Alabama: Spartacists join in defense of abortion clinic last spring against religious bigots. Particularly in the Deep South, prayer is creeping into the school day.

The separation of church and state remains one of the most basic gains of the first American Revolution. The right to bear arms is being chipped away, the right to citizenship faces an all-sided attack, and the right to be free from unreasonable search and seizure is nearly a dead letter. We need a socialist revolution! As we said in our "To Hell with School Prayer" article:

> "The Moral Majority bigots' vision of the "perfect" American society is one that is completely segregated—put blacks in one school, Jewish kids in another, and the WASPs will be able to pray together happily ever after. In spite of its religious and ethnic diversity, though, the United States is a white Protestant country, the prayers will be white Protestant prayers, and those children who don't mouth along will be branded as un-American."
>
> —*Young Spartacus* No. 117, April 1984

Ten years later, with racism against immigrants and minorities being whipped up to new heights through Proposition 187, the danger posed for all types of minorities is even more palpable. What will happen to Spanish-speaking Catholic children when it's their "turn" to lead prayers? Or to French-speaking black Haitians, Muslims or Jews? It will be the likes of Gingrich and North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms who will decide which prayers are acceptable.

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Mexico City: Youth Spike Fascist Provocation

On January 12, a march of 30,000 or more people poured into the Zócalo, Mexico City's huge central plaza, on the first anniversary of the huge 1994 march against the government's bloody assault on the Zapatista insurgents in Chiapas. The demonstration was organized by various popular-frontist and pacifist organizations whose main demand was for "peace" in Mexico's poorest and southernmost state. But on their arrival, a sinister group of fascists had set up shop in front of the Metropolitan Cathedral with a swastika banner.

These disgusting vermin have gathered on and off for months in the Zócalo, pasting up quotations from the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, spewing anti-Semitic filth and waving swastikas. In a grotesque attempt to appeal to Mexican nationalism, they carried a sign claiming that the swastika was an "Aztec symbol." The fascists seek to obscure the fact that their hero Hitler would have liked to exterminate all Indian and dark-skinned people.

After the march arrived at the Zócalo, members of the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM) took swift action to see that the fascists' grotesque provocation was soundly spiked. Upon seeing the fascists, a handful of Spartacists organized an on-the-spot united front with an anarchist youth group. About 20 of the young anarchists joined us in agitating more than a hundred of the assembled demonstrators, while together we ripped the fascists' banners to shreds and scared the living daylights out of the Hitler-loving scum.

While the crowd enthusiastically applauded this act of sanitation, the fascists screamed that the anti-fascist youth were "dopers" and "troublemakers," and yelled slurs at us. They tried to physically attack one of our comrades, but were effectively repulsed. The fascists even started to chant "Marcos! Marcos!" (the Zapatistas' subcomandante in Chiapas) to show that as nationalists they're "with" the insurgents. They were shouted down by the chant of "Fascists! Fascists!" by the emboldened crowd.

This was an important victory. These scum have been polluting the Zócalo too long, and they're feeding off strong undercurrents of anti-Semitism in Mexico today, despite the country's tiny Jewish population. The fascists' scapegoating of Jews for the economic anguish caused by decaying capitalism, recently intensified by the Mexican stock market crash and the plunge of the peso, is deadly poison to Mexican workers and peasants. Unfortunately, it is also on the rise.

A major publishing house just put out a deluxe book on the "Judeo-Masonic conspiracy," an anti-Semitic, anti-communist screed. At the end of December, fascists painted slogans on the outside walls of the Trotsky Museum in Coyoacán, a southern suburb of Mexico City where Leon Trotsky was murdered by a Stalinist agent in 1940. They painted "Hitler was right," "Jews Out," and "Communist Pigs" on the walls surrounding the building. Trotsky founded the Red Army, which not only smashed the bloody perpetrators of anti-Jewish pogroms during the Bolshevik Revolution, but later crushed Hitler's Holocaust machine.

Last year, our comrades dealt these fascists another blow when they tried to desecrate the memory of the martyrs of Tlatelolco, the hundreds of student demonstrators massacred by the Mexican army during the 1968 Summer Olympics in Mexico City. When the fascists marched with a large swastika at a 2 October 1994 demonstration to commemorate the massacre, our comrades led enraged protesters in destroying and burning this symbol of genocide. As the GEM wrote afterward in a press statement, the fascists' provocations are:

> "a deadly threat against every leftist, trade-union or student activist; against every Indian, black person, Asian, gay or lesbian, Jew or other minority member. Mobilizing the power of the working class, there must be a firm response that drives back the Hitler-lovers, who want to whip up racist massacres, when they crawl out of their holes with their deadly racist poison. *Down with racism! We must put a stop to these racist provocations!*" ■

Hoop Dreams and Racist American Reality

A Review

John Biever
William Gates plays at Marquette University.

Two 14-year-old black basketball players dream of making it to the pros and out of the ghetto. Off court, their days and nights are spent playing or watching the game and struggling against the poverty and pains of everyday life. One, Arthur Agee, plans to buy his mother a house and move out of a neighborhood plagued by drugs and gang violence. The other, William Gates, wants to realize the hopes of his mother and of his brother, who failed to make the pros. These are their simple "Hoop Dreams." Today, they are in their last year of college ball, Arthur at Arkansas State and William at Marquette University.

The filmmakers—Steve James, Frederick Marx and Peter Gilbert—set out in 1986 to document what happens to two high-school ball players' aspirations for a college scholarship and a shot at NBA fame. Most documentaries never make it off the art-house circuit, but *Hoop Dreams* has been shown widely for months. At the New York Film Festival in October, when the audience realized the filmmakers were in the theater with the Gates and Agee families, the crowd erupted in a 10-minute standing ovation. The film and the families deserve it.

The idea of basketball as a ticket out of the ghetto is neither particularly exceptional nor new. Isiah Thomas and Mark Aguirre—two pros who climbed out of Chicago's West Side ghettos—could easily be the ones traced in the documentary that follows Arthur and William for five years, from the schoolyard through college recruitment to graduation. What stands out is not hoops and hoopla, but the gnawing pressures of ghetto life in racist capitalist America under Reagan/Bush and the Democrats.

The bourgeoisie's program of "Genocide U.S.A."—homelessness, welfare cuts, mass layoffs and racism—is seen whenever the camera wanders from the basketball courts. No matter how diligent and determined these youths are to make it out of the ghetto, they are increasingly held back by thousands of negative pressures. *Hoop Dreams* is a window not only on the young ballplayers' careers, but also on the lives of families headed by black women who find a way to sustain self-respect and sanity when the system tells them they are less than nothing.

The film begins with the two youths full of optimism after a black scout of schoolyards and grammar schools taps them for the prestigious St. Joseph's summer recruitment camp. Over the years, their spirits are eroded by bitter race and class oppression. At St. Joseph, a predominantly white, suburban powerhouse in Chicago's rigorous basketball Catholic League, William wins a starting position on the varsity squad. Arthur is slotted for the starting guard spot on the junior varsity. Both students' reading level: the fourth grade.

The youths' treatment at St. Joseph's spawns a sense of cynicism and crashes their illusions in the game as "sport." Their lengthy commute from the ghetto to posh suburbia makes palpable the gross inequality and stresses how enforced racist segregation widens the gap between whites and blacks in everyday life. At St. Joseph's they can taste opportunity daily, but only if their jump shots fall. (Angered by what is revealed in *Hoop Dreams*, the coach and school recently filed suit against the filmmakers and the distributor, Fine Line.)

William advances on the court and makes leaps in school. Because he is considered a "blue chip" player who will lead the team to the state playoffs, he is treated to tutors, summer jobs and a financial "sponsor" who covers his tuition. Branded "the next Isiah," when William suffers a knee injury and endures two operations, St. Joseph's insurance foots the bill.

Meanwhile, Arthur is constantly asked by St. Joseph's coach Gene Pingatore when he's "going to grow" taller and he doesn't meet expectations. Says Pingatore: "I can see playground and talent but no confidence." Midway through Arthur's freshman year, when his father is laid off his job, the family falls behind in its bills and the school quickly dumps him because the tuition isn't paid. After six weeks out of school, Arthur starts over at unranked Marshall High, a typically substandard, predominantly black public school on Chicago's economically depressed West Side. Ironically, Pingatore later watches Arthur lead Marshall in the state playoffs.

Arthur's difficulties are a mirror of his life at home. His family begins a slow descent—the lights are turned off, the gas cut off, the welfare payments stalled. But for his eighteenth birthday, his mother prepares pies, cakes and fried chicken for a party. She notes with pride the fact that her son is still alive while many of his peers are already dead. Weeks later, public assistance also recognizes Arthur's birthday. Welfare is reduced to $268 a month for a family of five because Arthur—though still in school—is no longer eligible for welfare payments, based on the racist presumption that a black male who is 18 years old has probably already dropped out. For many youth on welfare, the state works to enforce the necessity of leaving school for dead-end, low-wage jobs or worse.

One of *Hoop Dreams*' most moving scenes takes place in a tiny auditorium devoid of fans and cheers. Arthur's mother receives her nursing aide's certificate and wins top rank in her class after months of struggling. Her husband, laid off from two industrial jobs in a row, has fallen into a desperate cycle of drug abuse and crime. She views her graduation as a real chance to lift her family from the welfare rolls. Anyone who doesn't already know it can easily figure out what Bill Clinton's pledge to

Patrick Murphy-Racey
Arthur Agee is an Arkansas State senior.

"end welfare as we know it" would mean for the Agees: instead of fried bread, hot dogs and ketchup as a vegetable, complete starvation.

The effects of a system that values black life only to the extent that a profit can be made off of it is reflected in Arthur and William's careers and the lives of many like them. City streets, welfare offices, drug rehab centers and schoolyard courts are filled with former high-school stars who were a step too slow. In 1983, Harry Edwards, the black sociologist who helped organize the "black power" protests at the 1968 Olympics in Mexico, estimated that there were about 1,400 professional black athletes and only 2,400 black people who make a living through sports-related entertainment. The Center for the Study of Sport and Society at Northeastern University

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It's Nobody's Business!

Columbia Witchhunts S&M Discussion Club

The following letter was submitted for publication to the Columbia Daily Spectator *by a member of the Friends of the Spartacus Youth Club.*

To the Editor:

We protest Earl Hall's vicious ouster of Conversio Virium (CV), a group that discusses sadomasochism and consensual practices of sexual bondage. The move by the Earl Hall Student Governing Board smacks of the Spanish Inquisition, when priests and religious bigots ruled the day. This modern-day assault on individual freedom dovetails with the right-wing sweep in the November midterm elections.

Students in CV are under attack for merely discussing a variety of sexual practices deemed too different by a few haughty, patrician bureaucrats of the SGB. Perversion, it has been noted, is not what *you* do, it's what someone else likes. Some SGB members apparently hope to enforce Bill Clinton and Newt Gingrich's anti-woman, anti-gay, anti-sex "family values" at Columbia. What's next? Will Earl Hall issue an edict insisting on the missionary position for all registered clubs?

At the "open" meeting of Earl Hall clubs on December 1, 1994, opponents of CV raised bogus concerns about "safety" and "responsibility" as well as the anti-sex feminists' false claim that S&M pornography leads to violence against women. In fact, the real reason for the frenzied assault on CV is close-minded prudery and hypocritical moralism. Columbia believes it is above the laws that nominally accord democratic rights—rights won through hard struggles by working people against the arrogant ruling class.

The attack on CV is but the latest in the sordid history of witchhunting at Earl Hall. Last fall, our group, the Friends of the Spartacus Youth Club, defeated the SGB's attempt at censoring the political views that Columbia students could have access to. The FOSYC was singled out for harassment and suppression for our insistence that revolutionary Marxists have the right to openly advocate their views on campus.

The fight to reinstate CV is an act of elementary self-defense for the democratic rights of Columbia students, faculty and workers. People ought to be able to read, eat, drink, smoke, and enjoy whatever consensual activities they choose, without the SGB's dictatorial interference. If CV members want to discuss, (or, GASP!) even try, S&M, it's nobody's business.

Sincerely,

David Yourman,
for the Friends of the
Spartacus Youth Club

Political Exclusion Defeated at Clinic

Across the country, Spartacus Youth Club members have been part of abortion clinic defense against escalating "right-to-life" terror, fighting for mass mobilizations to protect the clinics. The following Washington, D.C. report tells how we politically defeated liberals attempting to exclude this strategy on the clinic front lines.

JANUARY 22—Yesterday was the annual mobilization by anti-abortion bigots seeking to shut down the clinics on the anniversary of the *Roe v. Wade* decision legalizing abortion. Seven Spartacists in Washington arrived at 5 a.m. at the Washington Area Clinic Defense Task Force's staging area for dispatching defenders. About 150 people came to the site, the lobby of an office building.

When we began to distribute our paper, we started getting harassed immediately inside the building by people wearing sashes saying "Peacekeeper"! They told us not to distribute our paper, followed us around and even told one member that he couldn't talk to anyone! This brought to mind a Peter Tosh song one of our members began to sing: "Everyone is crying out for peace, yes/No one is crying out for justice/I don't want no peace. I want equal rights and justice!"

The "peacekeepers" certainly didn't care for that! But a group of anarchists agreed with what we had to say about no reliance on the cops, the state, and about the BATF and Bill Clinton and Janet Reno's slaughter in Waco, Texas. They defended our comrade.

Young Spartacus

Washington, D.C., 21 January: Spartacist clinic defenders oppose liberals' reliance on cops and federal troops to "protect" women.

We arrived at the Hillcrest clinic in southeast Washington at around 7:30 a.m. We joined a line of about 60 people, including 20 escorts at the front of the building and the rest around the back with arms linked. When we took out our signs, the "peacekeepers" came over and said we weren't allowed because we didn't have "identifier" yellow/green ribbons. Of course, in order to get one, we'd have to sign a ludicrous statement vowing to obey the police, remain nonviolent and avoid any chants or signs that weren't "in good taste."

They were particularly incensed by one sign: "For the right of armed self-defense! No to gun control!" In the wake of the anti-abortion bloodbath in Boston, this would seem an elementary point of agreement for all clinic defenders. But in this instance, the liberal ladies of Washington—with Socialist Action as their attack dogs—couldn't stand it. We argued forcefully to keep our signs up, and also had to defend carrying another sign: "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Racist Death Penalty = Legal Lynching!"

Several of these "peacekeepers," including Socialist Action members, could not stomach linking the defense of the clinics and the defense of a black political prisoner on death row in Pennsylvania. They said it had nothing to do with abortion. The point is simple: "pro-life" bigots are also pro-death-penalty racists.

Our comrades confronted and defeated this exclusion attempt politically. The clinic defenders who were gathered listened attentively to our arguments about how capitalist counterrevolution in Poland crushed women's rights, including the right to abortion, and pointed to "Socialist" Action's role as U.S. cheerleaders for the anti-woman program of Solidarność.

The "peacekeepers" threatened to call the cops to get us off sacred "private property." A couple of them actually did go running to the cops, while others simply huddled. We held up our signs, argued loudly for our views and showed our paper, which featured our program for defense of the clinics through mass mobilizations. A few minutes later, one "peacekeeper" bought an issue of *Workers Vanguard*. A couple of others then told us we could stay, urging one among their ranks to "cool it." It was smooth sailing after that. Later that day, a young black woman who was there with us applied for membership in the youth club! ■

Prayer...

(continued from page 8)

Any interference by the government in religious matters is inherently coercive and an outright move toward the establishment of a state religion.

And unlike the so-called "socialists" of the International Socialist Organization (ISO) who ran a full-page article in their December 1993 issue of *Socialist Worker*, "Jesus Christ SUPER-RED?", real Marxists don't capitulate to religious reaction. Citing not Marx or Lenin, but the Bible, the *Socialist Worker* claims: "The revolutionary message, odd fragments of which survive, embedded in the New Testament is the real starting point of what became Christianity." Lest anyone think the ISO partial to Christ only, they've also capitulated to Islamic reactionaries seeking to enslave women in the veil (see "'Third Camp' Social Democrats Pander to Islamic Fundamentalism," *WV* No. 613, 30 December 1994). As communists, we in the Spartacus Youth Club and Spartacist League assert that organized religion has time and time again played a prominent role in supporting reaction—from the Vatican's support to the fascists in World War II, to Khomeini's enslavement of women in Iran in the name of Islamic fundamentalism, to religious bigots fueling anti-abortion terror in this country.

It is indicative of the depths of capitalism's degeneration that the present ruling class can so embrace the revival of state-sponsored religion, spitting on the old bourgeois ideals of free speech and freedom of (and from) religion won in the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Notably, even Thomas Jefferson, John Adams and many other signers of the Declaration of Independence polemicized at great length against Christianity, knowing full well the historical lessons of the brutal religious wars in Europe.

During the days of the Paris Commune in 1871 (the first attempt by the working class to take power), one of the revolutionaries' first acts was to abolish all special privileges held by the church, confiscating wealth and property. Russia's Bolsheviks learned from the experience of the Communards and wiped out religious obscurantism through the workers' seizure of power in 1917. Today, it is no less true than it was in Karl Marx's time that it is the communists who fight for *the separation of church and state*. Keep god out of it! Religion out of the classroom! ■

***Socialist Worker* panders to backward religious obscurantism. We say: Keep god out of it!**

Hoop Dreams...

(continued from page 9)

in Boston estimates that 545,000 high-school seniors are playing varsity basketball but no more than 50 will make it to the pros.

Fewer than 10 percent of all athletic scholarships go to blacks and even that small number is under attack. Beginning in 1996-97, stricter standards for college athletes will require that prospective freshman varsity players attain a higher minimum grade point average in required courses, linked to the notoriously biased "standardized" national test scores, to get scholarships.

The segregation which maintains blacks as a race-color caste at the bottom of society is replicated in the world of sports. When Arthur makes it to Mineral Area Junior College in Flat River, Missouri, he is housed with other basketball players in an isolated, tiny brick shack far from the school. Of the seven black students at the school, six live in the house. They are there only because they can play ball.

Throughout the film, it's clear that school is merely a holding pen at Marshall; pricier programs and facilities grace St. Joseph. But neither school really cares whether the kids can read or write. The summer before his senior year, William attends an invitation-only recruitment camp at Princeton University where one scout remarks that the camp is a "meat market" but that he does his job well in delivering "professional meat."

For those athletes who do get into college, often the only education they get is reading a playbook or learning to comprehend defense patterns on a chalkboard. As an answer to the grossly inadequate miseducation dealt out under capitalism, the Spartacus Youth Clubs demand open admissions and no tuition at all colleges and universities, remedial programs for those who have suffered from an inadequate education and a living stipend paid by the state for all students.

For many minority youth, who find doors of opportunity slammed shut elsewhere, sports often provide an escape from grinding poverty and oppression. Involvement in sports allows a fleeting connection—however hopeful and illusory—to those talented few who do make it to the big league and big money. Even the drug dealers in Arthur's neighborhood are eager to offer him and other ballplayers pocket money for sought-after sneakers, playing small investor on the ground floor of a big capitalist enterprise. The hope that these schoolmates can make it to the pros is a powerful "opium of the people." The cruel reality for most of the young players and their neighborhood fans is that there is no way out.

Sports is about the only profession where, for a few short, grueling years, black people can earn six- and seven-figure incomes. But even for the lucky ones, the "American Dream" is a brutal nightmare. In 1993, the "Hampton Four," including prep school star Allen Iverson (now a starter at Georgetown) became an example of how the closed sports world is no escape from brutal racist oppression. Iverson spent a year in jail after being sentenced to five years behind bars for the "crime" of fighting back against a racist provocation. Liberal columnists at the *Village Voice* now slanderously taint his career with the label "jailbird."

Over two decades ago, basketball legend Kareem Abdul-Jabbar told *Sports Illustrated* writer Jack Olsen:

> "Yes, I was just like the rest of those black athletes you've read about, the ones that put all their waking energies into learning the moves. That might be a sad commentary on America in general, but that's the way it's going to be until black people can flow without prejudice into any occupation they can master. For now it's still pretty much music and sports for us."

Hoop Dreams shows that virtually nothing has changed and that the fantasy of making it big in the sports world is still the hope many inner-city youth cling to. The way out of such all-sided oppression is through a sharp fight against the racist profit system and its ruling class. We need a revolutionary party that will mobilize the power of the working class and all the oppressed to struggle for a future where anyone can afford their dreams. ■

Philly Cops' Bloody Racist Record

Black Plainclothes Policewoman Beaten

Mumia Abu-Jamal is today battling for his life on Pennsylvania's death row after being framed up for the 1981 killing of a Philadelphia cop. Even the most cursory look at the sordid racist record of Philly's cops and courts demonstrates why this courageous fighter for black rights did not have and could not have had a fair trial in that indecent *injustice* system.

The 13 May 1985 police/FBI bombing which killed eleven members of the Philadelphia MOVE commune, five of them children, was a defining moment in the racist government's war on "troublesome" black people, representing "the signature of the Reagan years," as we wrote at the time. The fiery mass murder, which also destroyed the entire black neighborhood which had complained about their MOVE neighbors, was the culmination of a decade-long vendetta waged by the Philadelphia police department against the black commune. In 1978, *600 cops* brutally assaulted MOVE's earlier Powelton Village home; when one cop was killed in the crossfire, twelve MOVE members were framed up and thrown in prison for years.

The bombing of MOVE was an atrocity unequaled until Clinton and Reno's 1993 Waco holocaust, but the Philadelphia political establishment and bourgeois press approved it as a successful conclusion to the "MOVE problem." MOVE had been vilified for years in the media, and one of the only voices raised in their defense had been black radio journalist and former Black Panther leader Mumia Abu-Jamal. For a long time, the Philadelphia cops had regarded Jamal as a thorn in their side and targeted him for elimination. In 1981, they made their move, and ever since the Fraternal Order of Police has waged a ceaseless vendetta for Jamal's execution.

The Philadelphia police department has a long, bloody tradition of racist terror, operating like a gang of white ethnic toughs defending their turf through murderous violence against "uppity" darker-skinned people. This was made crystal clear by the late, unlamented police-chief-cum-mayor Frank Rizzo, who railed, "Nobody is going to take the streets away from the cops." To these thugs in blue, all blacks and minorities are "perps" to be brutalized, as unfortunate black policewoman Adrienne Cureton found out when she was jumped, choked and beaten by a gang of "Philadelphia's finest" while on duty January 2.

Cureton, a 26-year-old Juvenile Aid plainclothes officer with six years on the force, was investigating with another officer a report of a missing child at a North Philadelphia house shortly after midnight. While Cureton went upstairs, the other policeman scuffled with a woman resident, then radioed for help. Unaware of the "assist officer" call, Cureton came back downstairs and was standing with her back to the door when as many as 20 uniformed cops swarmed into the house swinging clubs and metal flashlights.

Cureton was grabbed by the hair, dragged outside to the front porch and severely beaten with flashlights, billy clubs and fists by the frenzied mob of cops. Despite her and her partner's screams that she was a police officer, "they just beat the living hell out of me," recalled Cureton. "I personally believe they saw black, they grabbed me, and they did what they had the opportunity to do." Although Cureton still suffers dizziness, nausea and headaches from the flashlight blows to her head, she has been ordered to return to work by the Philadelphia police department, which refuses to comment on the incident.

Cureton has likened herself to "Rodney King—only I'm a cop." Cops, including black cops, are used to doling out vicious brutality. They aren't usually on the receiving end of the billy club—unless they are among the few who happen to be the wrong color.

Philadelphia brings its own pronounced racist pathology to how it deals with black people. The race question has always been intense in this city, which was historically dominated by Italian and Irish immigrants, and the growing population of potential black voters has done nothing to alleviate that. It's no surprise to most black people in the "City of Brotherly Love" that Philly's cops act like a gang of deranged ethnics, meting out less justice than you'd get from the Mafia. In the 1950s, the huge North Philly ghetto was grotesquely labeled "The Jungle" by the local press, while the cops repeatedly subjected it to "anti-crime" campaigns. Former mayor Wilson Goode, black front man for the 1985 cop/FBI massacre of MOVE, recently revealed in his memoir, *In Goode Faith*, that he stayed away from Osage Avenue that day because he feared the police planned to assassinate him.

Black and labor historian Philip Foner described Philadelphia as "the most anti-Negro city in the North and the most segregated metropolis above the Mason-Dixon line." With the mass migration of black people North during World War I came forcible segregation into ghettos, enforced by racist thugs both in uniform and in Klan robes. By the 1920s, Pennsylvania had become the state with the fourth-largest Ku Klux Klan concentration, and Philly was the state's eastern center for the KKK, with 30,000 members in 1922.

During World War II, while black soldiers were supposedly fighting for "democracy" overseas—in segregated units—black workers in Philly were subjected to a racist onslaught. When the CIO moved to organize workers at the Philadelphia Transportation Company against a company "union" (whose slogan was "a vote for the CIO is a vote for n-----s on the job"), the transit bosses organized a six-day "work stoppage" against the federally ordered hiring of eight black workers.

The cops and city officials played along, claiming they were "helpless" to stop the racist mobilization, until Roosevelt ordered the army to move in to enforce the wartime no-strike laws. Some Southern soldiers took the opportunity to try to impose Jim Crow segregation on the city's buses, provoking mass resistance from outraged black riders. The Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party reported: "At the height of the strike, a colored worker rang the famous Liberty Bell and shouted, 'Oh Liberty Bell, where is your liberty?' The capitalist court sent him to a mental institution for asking such a question" (*Militant*, 19 August 1944).

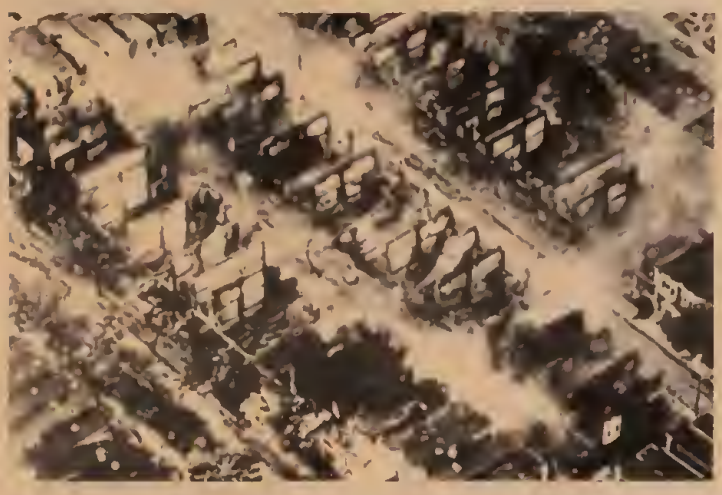
The year before, the man who was to leave an indelible racist imprint on the city, Philly's own godfather of repression, Frank Rizzo, joined the police department. As a rookie, Rizzo gained the notice of the Democratic Party machine for beating up Republican ward leaders. "The way to treat criminals is *spacco il capo* [break their heads]," Rizzo often said. Thereafter, the promotions came fast and furious for the "Cisco Kid," and by 1964, Rizzo was deputy commissioner, cracking heads in the ghettos as thousands protested against police brutality. It was at this time that Rizzo put together the special team of sharpshooters which later drove fleeing MOVE members back into their burning house in 1985.

In 1966, as the civil rights movement raised the hopes of Philly's beleaguered black population, Rizzo mobilized a battalion of 80 riot cops backed up by a thousand reserves to raid four SNCC meetings, and was appointed police commissioner for his thuggery. The next year, Rizzo unleashed his goons against 3,500 black high-school students protesting the lousy education in Philly's rundown, segregated schools. Rizzo also carried out a vendetta against the Black Panthers, whose anti-racist militancy made them a target for cop attack around the country. He organized a system of mobile arsenals that patrolled designated areas in black neighborhoods, to be used by busloads of riot cops. Rizzo, who once boasted, "I'm gonna make Attila the Hun look like a faggot," became a national icon for the racist "law and order" crowd, and remains so for the gangsters in blue who carry on his legacy.

This is the city in which Mumia Abu-Jamal was "tried" and sentenced to die. Philadelphia's racist history makes any idea of justice a bad joke, especially for black people. There *cannot* be an unbiased judicial process because the people charged with carrying it out want exactly the opposite of justice. In the fight to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, we place no faith in the capitalist courts, but rather seek a massive mobilization tapping the social power of the proletariat. Ultimately, it will take a socialist revolution to mete out justice to the ruling-class perpetrators of racist terror and their hired guns. ■

AP

Adrienne Cureton, victim of vicious beating by her fellow cops.



UPI photos

Racist vendetta against MOVE: murderous bombing of Osage Avenue commune by FBI/cops in May 1985. Right, 600 cops assaulted MOVE home in August 1978, brutally beating Delbert Africa.

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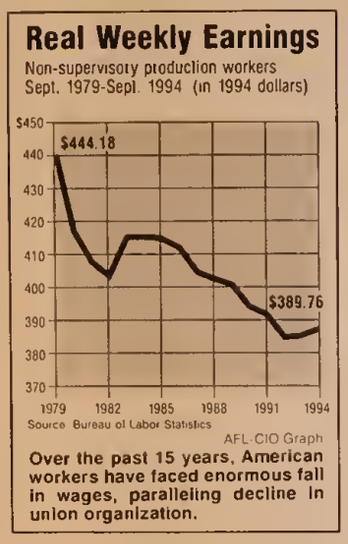
Racist Hitmen...

(continued from page 1)

is to see to it that layers of the minority population *die*, because this decrepit capitalist system no longer needs them."

Clinton's 1992 pledge to raise the minimum wage, which keeps a family of four $2,000 *below* the poverty line, never materialized. Now Republicans on Capitol Hill vow to reject any increase, while House majority leader Dick Armey has announced he wants to do away with the minimum wage altogether. For the poor, sick, old and unemployed in today's America, the only thing you're "entitled" to is to starve. But there's plenty of welfare for the *rich*, like the *50 percent* cut in the capital gains tax promised in the "Contract With America."

To grasp how wide the gap has grown between the haves and have-nots in the U.S. today, look at New York City, the center of finance capital, where nearly two million people try to exist on welfare. By the end of the "greed decade" of the 1980s, the top fifth of Manhattan households made *32 times* as much as the bottom fifth. The income disparity there is second in the U.S. only to a part of Hawaii where a handful of houses lies near a former leper colony! The destruction of New York's diversified manufacturing base meant the loss of 600,000 jobs since 1969. Today, only 20 percent of *white* youth in New York City can find jobs; for minorities the rate is 10 percent. Welfare is in fact, and in intent, a way to keep the poor quiet.



Over the past 15 years, American workers have faced enormous fall in wages, paralleling decline in union organization.

The corollary to the murderous cutbacks is escalating state terror against the ghetto masses as part of the "war on drugs," from increasingly militarized and expanding police forces armed with high-capacity 9mm semiautomatic pistols to the billions of dollars being spent on new prison construction. The elections gave a huge boost to capital punishment, which is about to be reintroduced in New York. Earlier this month, the Supreme Court upheld the execution of a Texas man even after the state claimed someone else had committed the murder for which he was sentenced. There is an urgent need for militant protest against the brutalizing and often racist death penalty.

The right-wing victory registered in last November's elections is palpable and pronounced. But, as we noted at the time, "bourgeois elections are at best a distorted reflection of what is going on in society" (*WV* No. 611, 25 November 1994). While the reactionary offensive has provoked despair and disorientation among liberals and their reformist hangers-on, among those who are most directly under attack—in the ghettos, the barrios and the labor force—there will be many who seek to resist. A revolutionary workers party committed to sweeping away this bankrupt capitalist system must be forged through intervention in and leadership of the convulsive social struggles that will erupt in this country and internationally.

Rubin/JB Pictures

Hille/Philadelphia Inquirer

Black youth face permanent unemployment, increasing imprisonment. Over fifty percent of state and federal prison population today is black.

Right-Wing Reaction Against Blacks, Women, Immigrants

The elections marked the "revenge of the suburbs," as right-wing forces mobilized the "angry white man" vote by going after blacks and immigrants while promising "middle class" tax breaks. A key actor in the Republican campaign was the Christian Coalition, founded by "televangelist" Pat Robertson after his run for the 1988 Republican presidential nomination.

Of late, these fundamentalist fanatics have tried to posture as sane spokesmen for a "balanced budget" and "fiscal responsibility." But Pat Robertson's new best seller, *The New World Order*, reveals the full, chillingly reactionary agenda of the Christian right. The book is a Bible Belt rehash of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, portraying the French and Russian Revolutions as a satanic conspiracy hatched by a secret society of "Illuminati" and bankrolled by Jews. He even paints the Cold War as a plot by Jewish bankers to enrich themselves by financing military spending! Robertson spews venom at "liberal, secular Jews" who promote "unrestricted freedom for smut, pornography and the murder of the unborn":

> "The part that Jewish intellectuals and media activists have played in the assault on Christianity may very possibly prove to be a grave mistake.... American Jews invested great energy in attacking these very allies. That investment may pay a terrible dividend."

Despite Robertson's Nazi-like rantings about an international Jewish bankers' conspiracy, right-wing Zionists like the *Commentary* crowd nonetheless defend him as a "friend of Israel." If he's a friend of the Zionist state, it's because his long-term program is to expel Jews from "Christian America" and have them live in the Near East whether they want to or not.

This racist, anti-Semitic trash is not far removed from the views of the reactionary politicians Robertson worked to elect. Gingrich's Congressional district comprises the white enclaves north of black Atlanta like Cobb County, where 130 years ago the slaveholders' Confederate Army made its last stand against General Sherman's march through Georgia and where today the timeworn hashing of Jewish, black and immigrant New York is as holy as the "Good Book."

One of Gingrich's first acts as Congressional leader was to appoint one Christina Jeffrey, a fellow teacher from his days at Kennesaw State University in Marietta, as House historian. Gingrich was forced to dump her when her record as a Nazi apologist was aired. In 1986, as a member of an Education Department panel, this "historian" helped deny federal funding for an educational program about the Holocaust because it didn't give "the Nazi point of view" nor "that of the Ku Klux Klan" (see "Reagan's Amerika," *WV* No. 437, 2 October 1987).

Another "ideological" force in Clinton/Gingrich's America is Charles Murray, whose 1984 book, *Losing Ground*, is largely responsible for framing the current move to eliminate welfare for single mothers. As the co-author of *The Bell Curve*, pseudoscientific garbage denouncing blacks as genetically prone to ignorance and criminal behavior, Murray is the leading ideologue in legitimizing the genocidal onslaught against the black ghetto masses as a *surplus population*.

Sex, Shame and the State

First on the government hit list is the young, black, single welfare mother. "Every threat to the fabric of this country—from poverty to crime to homelessness—is connected to out-of-wedlock teen pregnancy," wrote Jonathan Alter in a crazed, scary column for *Newsweek* (12 December 1994) titled "The Name of the Game is Shame." Raving about the "scourge" of teen pregnancy, Alter seconds White House aide Bruce Reed's "solution" to "try shame first" by "beefing up enforcement of the often-ignored requirement that every birth certificate contain the social-security number of the father."

Hamburg/NY Daily News

Sinister police bonapartism on the rise: New York cops mobilize outside Bedford Hills state prison on December 28 against clemency for jailed radical Kathy Boudin.

The assault on "illegitimate" children and their "immoral" moms—the ideological rationale for eliminating Aid to Families with Dependent Children—is part of an attack on *all* sexual activity outside of the patriarchal monogamous marriage bed. Meanwhile, terrorist attacks against abortion clinics and murderous attacks on gays have soared, complemented by a rash of frenzied "child abuse" and "kiddie porn" victimizations targeting day-care workers and parents. The Supreme Court recently refused to hear an appeal by a Penn graduate student who has been railroaded for having pictures of *clothed* children in supposedly "lewd" poses. In a horrifying recent case in New Jersey, a man was arrested for taking nude photos of his six-year-old daughter for a photography class assignment. Now he is to be tried in a nightmare of legal hysteria. Nor are you safe in the brave new world of cyberspace. Late last year a California couple was prosecuted for transmitting sexual material which is perfectly legal in their state via E-mail. The feds prosecuted them by retrieving the offending images *in Tennessee*, with its more reactionary "community standards."

Clinton demonstrated his "family values" credentials by dumping Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders for daring to acknowledge that kids actually have some interest in sex. When asked about masturbation at a December AIDS con-

Der Spiegel

***La Migra* terrorizes "illegal" immigrants crossing over Mexican border.**

ference. Dr. Elders replied, "That is something that is a part of human sexuality and it's a part of something that perhaps should be taught." The racist right has vituperated against Elders as the "black condom queen" for such common-sense health proposals as distributing condoms in the schools. Clinton seized on the flap over masturbation to force this outspoken black woman out of his Cabinet.

The Racist Offensive and Union-Busting

The Republicans' election victory indicates that many white working people still buy the racist lie that throwing blacks off welfare will benefit them through a "middle class" tax cut. The "white backlash" of the late 1960s and "tax revolt" of the '70s fractured the labor/minority New Deal coalition which had made the Democrats the dominant party of American capitalism since the 1930s. Reagan's election in 1980 signaled the ascendancy of the Republican right as the vanguard of racist reaction against the minimal gains of the civil rights movement.

Deep-going racist prejudices to the contrary, white workers' standard of living is directly linked to that of the black ghetto poor. One of the first defining acts of the Reagan presidency was the wholesale destruction of the PATCO air traffic controllers union. Yet here was a union which consisted overwhelmingly of white males who considered themselves middle-class professionals and which, moreover, had been one of the few unions to endorse Reagan for president over Democrat Jimmy Carter.

The savage attacks on the ghetto poor and on black democratic rights in general during the Reagan/Bush years went hand in hand with *union-busting and the overall gutting of the labor movement*. Phelps Dodge, Greyhound, Hormel, Eastern Airlines, Pittston Coal, Ravenswood Aluminum were key strikes involving the heart of the unionized industrial working class in this country. All of these hard-fought battles were defeated through police scabherding, the arrest of union militants, even the murder of workers defending the picket lines. Many of the workers involved in these labor struggles were white males—termed members of the "middle class" by the bourgeois media and politicians—whose interests Gingrich and Clinton now demagogically claim to represent at the expense of the black poor.

The bosses use the growing reserve army of the unemployed as a battering ram against the labor movement. Now strikes of Bridgestone rubber workers and Caterpillar workers are in danger of defeat as a result of massive scabbing.

At the midpoint of the Reagan/Bush "greed decade," left-wing writer Mike Davis summed up the increasingly desperate state of the American labor movement:

> "In industry after industry, the hard-won wage 'patterns' that guaranteed contractual uniformity and preserved effective solidarity between workers in different forms are being destroyed, their place taken by a savage new wage-cutting competition. Within firms, multi-tier wage concessions, which allow employers to pay up to fifty percent less to new hires, are eroding inter-generational solidarity, ensuring, in the guise of protecting the privileges of seniority, that older workers are more vulnerable to replacement to exactly the same extent that younger workers are made more exploitable. Meanwhile, on picket lines, workers in major industries who have chosen, or been forced, to resist the concessionary tide are confronted, for the first time since the 1930s, with scabs, billy clubs and the National Guard. Finally, beyond concessions lies the specter of rapidly approaching deunionization."
>
> —*Prisoners of the American Dream* (1986)

Today *80 percent* of all workers in U.S. manufacturing have no union protection at all. Over the past generation, real wages in this country have fallen by *20 percent*, an enormous intensification of the exploitation of the American working class of all races and ethnicities.

AP

Joycelyn Elders, dumped as surgeon general by Clinton because she was an outspoken black woman who promoted sex education.

Labor and Blacks: Forward Together, or Backward Separately

The current intensified attacks on black people by the American ruling class—from starving single mothers and taking away their children to locking up young black men for life—can only be combatted through racially integrated working-class struggle. Despite the widespread deindustrialization of the East and Midwest and resulting lumpenization among black youth, unionized black workers still occupy key strategic points in the U.S. economy; for example, urban transit in many big cities and longshore in Southern Atlantic and Gulf Coast ports. More generally, black workers are often in the forefront of labor militancy because they have fewer illusions in the American "way of life" and in the bosses' government, courts and cops.

Furthermore, the seething anger of the ghetto poor can also be tapped and redirected in the service of working-class struggle. A union leadership which was militantly anti-racist could call on thousands of black youth in cities like New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland and Chicago to help combat police scabherding of the kind that broke the Greyhound strikes, for example. However, given the present sellout pro-capitalist AFL-CIO bureaucracy, many blacks are open to separatist demagogues like Louis Farrakhan, who combines anti-Semitic and anti-Asian bigotry with the pipedream of "black capitalism." It is as workers that blacks continue to play a strategic role in the American economy—*and that is where the power is to destroy racist capitalist rule, through the class struggles of the multiracial proletariat.*

At the same time, immigrants from Mexico and elsewhere in Latin America—who are now the victims of a racist frenzy—have brought with them the more class-conscious traditions of the Latin American proletariat, especially the understanding that the cops are nothing more than armed thugs for the bosses. Over the past several years, the Los Angeles area has been the one consistent region of labor militancy in the U.S.—Justice for Janitors at Century City in 1990, the *drywalero* construction workers throughout Southern California in 1992, the organizing by Latino truckers in the ports. Latino L.A. Teamster Jesse Acuna was sentenced to five years in jail for defending his union's picket lines against scabs in last year's strike. We call for his freedom, now!

The American labor bureaucracy—closely linked to the Democratic Party—has become so defeatist, so cowardly, so wretched that it is now overseeing the destruction of its own organizations. Strike after strike has been broken because the union misleaders play by the bosses' rules, trying to *never* get in a situation where they're even faced with having to violate this country's harsh anti-labor laws. They *oppose* mass picketing to stop scabs and secondary strike and labor boycotts in defiance of Taft-Hartley. The AFL-CIO bureaucracy has been at best indifferent to the oppression of black people and at worst actively engages in racist practices, for example, continued white job-trusting in many construction trades. And the union tops are the most vocal in pushing trade protectionism by appealing to flag-waving American chauvinism and anti-Asian and anti-Hispanic bigotry.

The current reactionary offensive demands recognition of the real unity of interests of all of society's exploited and oppressed against their common enemy on Wall Street and in the corridors of Washington. But this unity requires breaking workers and the oppressed from allegiance to the capitalist Democratic Party. The urgent task is building a revolutionary workers party, in which blacks and Hispanics will play a key role, which will mobilize the enormous power of labor on behalf of all of the downtrodden, from the unemployed to women seeking abortions, in a struggle for workers rule. As we wrote after a labor/black mobilization to spike a KKK provocation in Springfield, Illinois last January ("Stop the Klan! For a Workers America!", *WV* No. 592, 21 January 1994):

> "The working class has the numbers, the organization and the power to win all those things that the ruling class appropriates for itself—health care, education, jobs, decent housing, abortion rights. What is lacking is the kind of leadership that is necessary to do this—a leadership of the unions that doesn't bow to the bosses' laws, a workers party that doesn't respect the property 'rights' of the capitalist rulers, that understands that there will be no victories for labor and no freedom for blacks without integrated class struggle which champions black rights. That is the kind of party that we communists of the Spartacist League are fighting to build." ■

Atlanta Union Tops: Cops for La Migra

ATLANTA—More than 50 federal agents and state and local cops swarmed onto the Olympic Village construction site here on January 12. As immigrant workers tried to hide in unfinished heating ducts, sewers and the top floors of the site, 37 of them were grabbed by agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and thrown onto buses to Brownsville, Texas to be shoved across the border. Another 20 workers were seized the next day in *la migra*'s "Operation Roustabout."

Obscenely, it was *local union tops* from the Atlanta Labor Council who were behind the INS raid! Council president Stewart Acuff railed that "Atlanta area workers ought to be angry" that immigrants were working at the Olympics site. What Atlanta workers ought to be angry about is that labor traitors like Acuff feed the racist anti-immigrant frenzy with their disgusting "Georgia Work for Georgia Workers" campaign rather than fight to unionize the workers! The AFL-CIO hasn't even organized the Olympic Village construction site.

The AFL-CIO bureaucracy, loyal to the capitalist politicians in the Democratic Party, has never taken on the racist bosses to organize the "open shop" South, including the new industrial sites that are springing up along the Interstates from Virginia through the Carolinas and Georgia. The Hamlet, North Carolina poultry plant inferno in 1991, when 25 mostly black women workers died because the company padlocked the fire doors, is a direct result of the failure to organize the region. What's needed is a mass organizing drive which would link together workers across the South—black, white and foreign-born. Militant Hispanic workers, who have had an energizing effect on labor struggle in the U.S., would play a leading role in such an organizing drive.

After the raid, *la migra* announced that other Olympic construction sites will be raided. Well-off tourists from all over the world will be welcome at the Olympics, but not the foreign-born *workers* who build the venues. And under a new law, those workers convicted of using a false I.D. will *never* be permitted legal residence in the U.S. Even as the black Democratic city government and the Coca-Cola interests carry out racist sweeps against immigrant workers, they are also "renovating" a downtown park for the Olympics in order to drive out the largely black homeless people there.

In recent years, the INS has carried out a series of raids in north Georgia, targeting Hispanics in low-wage food processing plants and carpet mills, sometimes rounding up over a hundred workers at a time. Last month, restaurants and bars in Smyrna were raided. The racist raids and deportations must be stopped! Labor must demand full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

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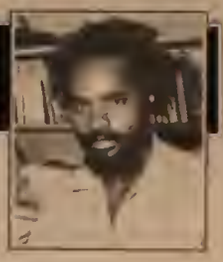
From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal



White Racist Tuesday

"No other group in America has been subject to racism in the full sense—to xenophobia, to chauvinism, to ethnic stereotypes, yes; but not to the radical sense of otherness that racism presents in its full virulence. Blacks have been alien, not only in national or cultural or social terms, but in the deepest human sense of worth that can make intermarriage more a blasphemy than a social comedown where blacks—as opposed, say, to those of different religions, or nationalities—are concerned."

—Garry Wills, "A Tale of Three Cities" (*New York Review of Books*, 28 March 1991)

Recent U.S. elections are a harbinger of harder times for many; a legislative program that amounts to a War on the Poor.

The underlying program pushed by both segments of the major Nationalist Party (masquerading as two political parties) is white supremacy.

Both parties waged war on those Americans least able to defend themselves—Welfare Mothers.

Both parties waged war on the homeless.

Both parties promised more prisons.

Both parties run on both fear and death—not hope nor faith in a better tomorrow.

Both parties scapegoated, and exploited white fear of, blacks.

Both segments of the National Party played to pseudo-"nativist" dread of the foreigner—Mexicans, Cubans and/or Haitians—the dark other hitting the shores or clamoring over the border.

Several years ago, I wrote, in an article about former Klansman-turned-politician David Duke, that upcoming elections, lusting after the so-called "centrist" white male vote, would pull politicians in a more repressive direction. (I suggested 1996, not 1994.)

Who would've believed that national political debate would center on sending children of welfare moms to orphanages?

Or that ancient movies, like "Boystown," would be invoked as documentation in support for such a loony notion?

The next document—"Gone with the Wind"?

What's next—"Birth of a Nation"?

Increasingly, the "center" in American politics is a place of repression, fear, dread and death.

It is a place that spawns prisons while shutting down schools.

It is a place riven by fear of the majority of the peoples of the earth.

It is a place in dread of the slightest change that may unshackle the nation from its genocidal historical impulse towards white nationalism.

It is a place that promotes death as "the final solution" to every social problem.

It is a place locked in fright of the future; a place that seeks solace in the flickering images in black and white that flit across the silver screen—projections of a false and long dead yesteryear.

1 January 1995

© 1995 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Greene state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal...

(continued from page 16)

saw a third man shoot Faulkner and then run from the scene. McGill & Co. produced as a witness a hospital security guard who claimed to hear Jamal confess to the shooting. **But the officer who took Jamal into custody and stayed with him reported that Jamal remained silent the entire time.** His testimony was not produced at trial. The defense was told he was "on vacation" and unavailable. Testimony of other eyewitnesses was not produced at trial.

THE SENTENCING: **Mumia Abu-Jamal was sentenced to die for his political activities and beliefs.** McGill secured the death sentence by telling the nearly all-white jury that Jamal's membership in the Black Panther Party and use of the slogan "power to the people" and the old Maoist dictum "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" 12 years earlier "proved" he was a "cop-killer"!

THE APPEALS: **The Pennsylvania Supreme Court ignored its own precedent** to reverse the forbidden "appeal after appeal" argument and affirmed the sentence of death against Jamal. Months later, in another case, Pennsylvania's highest court re-established its earlier precedent. In 1990 **the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear Jamal's appeals**, which emphasized that he was sentenced to death because of his Black Panther Party membership. Yet two years later the same court reversed the death sentence of David Dawson, ruling that evidence of his membership in the white supremacist Aryan Brotherhood prejudiced the jury.

From Philadelphia, PA to Washington, D.C., the courts have adopted special rules for Jamal and racked up a mountain of constitutional violations. **The men in black robes want black men's blood.**

Ligato/Philadelphia Bulletin

Rizzo's killer cops strip search Philadelphia Black Panthers in 1970 raid.

The Philadelphia Story—Rizzo Town

From the vicious 1871 riot by white gangs which left four blacks dead to the bombing of the MOVE commune on May 13, 1985, Philadelphia has always been a racist hellhole. Blacks ghettoized in dilapidated, overcrowded housing; segregated run-down schools; black unemployment and infant mortality nearly twice that of whites; the status quo brutally enforced by racist, trigger-happy cops led by Frank Rizzo—this is the Philadelphia in which Jamal was born and raised. The record of former mayor Frank Rizzo's campaign against the black population of Philly is a tale of state-sponsored terror—and at every turn, Jamal was there to expose and protest the injustice.

In 1966 Rizzo led a unit of 80 cops in raids against meetings of the militant civil rights group SNCC. In 1967 Rizzo led busloads of baton-wielding cops in an attack on students protesting the dismal education in Philadelphia's antiquated and segregated schools. Fifty-seven students were arrested and 22 seriously injured. Among those students fighting to rename Benjamin Franklin High School for Malcolm X was the 13-year-old Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Jamal was beaten and arrested by Rizzo's plainclothes cops for protesting a 1968 presidential rally for George "Segregation Forever" Wallace. In September 1969, Rizzo's cops raided Black Panther Party headquarters and tore apart the office. Fifteen-year-old Minister of Information Mumia Abu-Jamal was among those arrested. Later that year, armed cops surrounded the Church of the Advocate on December 14, as 1,000 people inside paid their respects to slain Panther leader Fred Hampton, who was murdered in his bed by the Chicago cops and FBI ten days earlier. Mumia Abu-Jamal was the first speaker at the event, which was widely covered in Philadelphia newspapers. Three weeks later, in January 1970, Jamal was featured in a front-page article about the Panthers in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*.

In coordination with the FBI and its deadly COINTELPRO operation against the black movement which left 38 Black Panther Party members dead, Rizzo and the Philly police compiled files on 18,000 people and 600 organizations. This campaign of police terror culminated in the infamous August 1970 raid on the Philly Panther office in which Black Panther Party members were lined up against the wall and forced to strip naked while the press looked on. Rizzo became an icon to the racist "law and order" crowd.

Jamal, the young student activist, co-founder of the local Black Panther Party chapter and renowned journalist, could not have—and did not—evade Rizzo's deadly eye. Jamal was among the journalists covering Rizzo's press conference following the August 8, 1978 siege of the MOVE commune's Powelton Village home by hundreds of heavily armed cops. Rizzo blamed the "new breed of journalism" for the death of one cop and threatened, "They believe what you write, what you say. And it's got to stop. And one day, and I hope it's in my career,

Philadelphia Inquirer

Philadelphia Daily News

Judge Albert Sabo (far left), who sentenced Mumia Abu-Jamal, is known as "king of death row." Frank Rizzo, enforcer of racist cop terror against black Philadelphia.

Jamal Legal Defense Needs $$$

The filing of Jamal's petition for a new trial is only the start of a long and costly process to save Jamal from the executioner. The legal defense needs lots of financial help. Jamal is up against the vast financial resources of the state. In recent years, those cases which have successfully overturned death sentences and freed the innocent defendant have cost at least $1 million in legal fees and expenses.

To help raise funds, Jamal's legal team initiated the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, co-chaired by actors Ossie Davis and Mike Farrell. Advisers include Whoopi Goldberg, Harry Belafonte, Ed Asner, E.L. Doctorow and Sonia Sanchez.

Your support is urgently needed. Tax-deductible contributions for the defense should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, NY, NY 10023-5001.

that you're going to be held responsible and accountable for what you do."

The state's opportunity for "settling accounts" came three years later, on December 9, 1981, when Jamal was shot in the chest by a cop and railroaded to death row.

Stop Racist Legal Lynchings!

To the brutal reality of rampant joblessness, impoverishment and the epidemic of homelessness, the rulers of American society have no solution but increased repression. Schools crumble—build more prisons. Factories shut down—gut welfare and hire more cops. Sixty percent unemployment for black male youth—throw them in boot camps. Housing shortage—declare a "war on drugs" and raid public housing, throwing whole families out on the streets.

With 1.5 million people behind bars, the U.S. is far and away the world's biggest jailer, imprisoning blacks at a rate far higher than South Africa's apartheid rulers ever dreamed of. Over 25 percent of young black men are under the "supervision" of the very criminal "injustice" system.

Capital punishment is institutionalized racist murder. It represents the legacy of slavery—legal lynching—a continuation of the ideology that proclaims that black people are not human and can be killed with impunity. State executions are a social act meant to intimidate and brutalize a whole people. The death penalty shackles the ancient tradition of torture to the ruthless machinery of the modern capitalist state.

Texas rang in the New Year by executing Jesse Dewayne Jacobs, *a man they knew was innocent of the crime he was sentenced to die for!* This grotesque murder exposes the symbolic value of the death penalty to the ruling class: the all-powerful state will decide who lives and who dies. Truly in the death penalty we see the impulse to genocide.

As Jamal wrote in the prestigious *Yale Law Journal*, "You will find a blacker world on Death Row. African Americans, a mere twelve percent of the national

WV Photo

Over 250 attended June 1994 speakout for Mumia Abu-Jamal in New York chaired by Ossie Davis (right).

population, compose about forty percent of the Death Row population." Over 80 percent of those sent to death row from Jamal's Philadelphia are black, *some one-third of those on the row from Philadelphia sent there by ...Judge Sabo.*

In the 1987 case of *McCleskey v. Georgia*, the U.S. Supreme Court acknowledged the overwhelming racial bias in the application of the death penalty but argued that *this didn't matter* because, "taken to its logical conclusion [this] throws into serious question the principles that underlie our criminal justice system." This Chief Justice Rehnquist & Co. reaffirm the principle set forth by Justice Roger Taney in the infamous 1857 Dred Scott case, that blacks "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect."

The racist death penalty goes hand in hand with the extralegal terror of the KKK and summary executions by cops on the street to keep black people "in their place." The fight to abolish the death penalty is part of the historic struggle for black equality in America.

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The forces of racist "law and order" have been mobilizing to push through Jamal's execution. After announcing its plans to air a series of commentaries by Jamal, National Public Radio (NPR) caved in to pressure by the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police to cancel the broadcasts. Senate Republican leader Robert Dole threatened on the Senate floor to cut off NPR's federal funding. Evidently NPR's prestigious *All Things Considered* program could not "consider" letting a black man falsely convicted of killing a cop speak from death row. Yet on 8 November, NPR found it acceptable to broadcast the murderous ravings of an anti-abortion bigot who threatened that if Florida gives Paul Hill the death penalty for murdering a heroic Pensacola abortion doctor, "blood will run in the streets like nobody has ever seen"!

The capitalist politicians, media and especially the Philadelphia FOP want to silence Jamal to make it easier to kill him. Pennsylvania State Representative Michael McGeehan, author of a bill to speed up executions, said he's "specifically interested in [Jamal's] case. We're going to see him die." **In fighting the legal lynching of Jamal we will strike a blow against the entire apparatus of racist, capitalist repression.**

Mumia Abu-Jamal does not stand alone. Over 40,000 people have signed petitions or sent letters to the governor demanding Jamal not be executed. Unions representing millions of workers—including the French General Confederation of Labor (CGT); the Metro Toronto Labour Council and Vancouver Public Employees in Canada; Section 10 of the Mexican Teachers Union SNTE; ILWU Locals 6 and 10 in San Francisco and ATU Local 308 in Chicago, as well as unions in Britain and Australia—have taken up Jamal's cause. Harry Belafonte, Senator Carol Moseley-Braun, Congressman Ron Dellums, Danny Glover, Whoopi Goldberg, Pennsylvania State Representative David Richardson, Jr., the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (South Africa), the Palmares Cultural Foundation in Brasilia are just some of the individuals and organizations who have joined tens of thousands who say: "Mumia Abu-Jamal Must Not Die."

Make the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, the voice of the voiceless that the police want to silence, a rallying cry against the racist death penalty. Raise *your* voice and *organize*, in your unions, community, youth and church groups, to demand that Jamal must not die. **Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the death penalty!** ■

International Campaign of Protest—Mobilize Now!

SAVE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL!

Death Row Political Prisoner | Black Journalist | "Voice of the Voiceless" | Former Black Panther | MOVE Supporter

NEW YORK CITY

Hosted by Ossie Davis

Co-sponsored by the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal and the Partisan Defense Committee

Speakers include

Charles Brover, Partisan Defense Committee

Wadiya Jamal, wife of Mumia Abu-Jamal

Kica Matos, Research Director, NAACP Legal Defense Fund,* New York, NY

Jan D. Pierce, Vice President, Communication Workers of America District 1,* New York, NY

Henry Schwarzschild, National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty

Brenda C. Stokely, President, AFSCME Local 215/DC 1707,* New York, NY

James Webb, President, New York Chapter, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists,* New York, NY

Leonard Weinglass, lead counsel for Jamal

Bruce Wright, author of *Black Robes, White Justice*

*Organization for identification purposes only

Saturday, February 11, 3 p.m.
For more information (212) 406-4252
PS 41
116 W 11th Street (at 6th Ave.)

ATLANTA

Thursday, February 16, 1 p.m.
Room 460, University Center
Georgia State University
For more information: (404) 659-0251

BOSTON

Thursday, Feb. 16, 7:30 p.m.
Place to be announced
For more information (617) 492-3928

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, March 4
Time and place to be announced

Video Showing
Tuesday, February 7, 1 p.m.
3525 Ackerman, UCLA
For more information (213) 380-8239

BAY AREA

Saturday, Feb. 25, 7:30 p.m.
ILWU Local 6 Union Hall
99 Hegenberger Road
Oakland
For more information (510) 839-0852

CHICAGO

Saturday, March 4, 2 p.m.
United Electrical Hall
37 S. Ashland
For more information (312) 663-0719

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Saturday, February 25, 2 p.m.
Undergraduate Library
Lecture Room
Howard University
For more information (202) 872-8240

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

WORKERS VANGUARD

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Mobilize Now!

WV Photo

Jennifer Beach

Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, January 17: 350 people, including Partisan Defense Committee contingent, protest at the inauguration of governor Tom Ridge, who vows to speed up executions. Death row political prisoner Jamal (right) is the victim of a racist frame-up.

We reprint below an urgent appeal just issued by the Partisan Defense Committee

We are in a race against time to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, a courageous black journalist, fighter for social justice, and a political prisoner on death row in Pennsylvania. Mumia Abu-Jamal is the victim of a racist frame-up. As a former Black Panther Party member, a MOVE supporter, and an award-winning black journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless," Jamal has lived a vibrant life of struggle on behalf of the poor, the black and the dispossessed in this country. Even from the hideous conditions of death row, Jamal continues to speak out for the oppressed in commentaries which appear regularly in newspapers all over the country. It is precisely because he is a beacon of hope and strength in the fight against racist injustice that the forces of reaction and repression want to silence Jamal forever by execution. *This racist legal lynching must be stopped!*

"Mumia is somebody that we need desperately. At a time like this, we cannot afford to let them take such a voice from us without putting up a struggle of gigantic proportions."

—Ossie Davis at the 3 June 1994 New York speakout initiated by the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal and the Partisan Defense Committee

The threatened execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal is not only inherently racist and barbaric, it is also the first explicitly political execution attempted in this country since the government murdered Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in 1953. Just as the Rosenbergs were murdered in the McCarthyite climate of Cold War anti-Communism, the persecution of Mumia Abu-Jamal takes place in a context of a right-wing Congress pushing a devastating rollback of the gains made by blacks, women, gays and the labor movement through hard-fought struggles. The death penalty is the centerpiece of the right-wing backlash for racist "law and order." Clinton's new Crime Bill, passed just before the midterm elections, mandates the death penalty for 60 more federal offenses, effectively making the death penalty the law of the land even in states that abolished it.

In Pennsylvania, Republican Tom Ridge won the state house on a pro-death-penalty platform and pledged to sign death warrants as soon as he takes office as governor on January 17. Foremost among the over 170 men and women on Pennsylvania's death row is Mumia Abu-Jamal, who was framed up in 1982 on charges of killing a Philadelphia police officer. The Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) openly boasts of its campaign to kill Mumia, rallying outside the state house and bombarding the television and radio talk shows with bloodcurdling calls to "get on with it."

The campaign to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal is at a critical stage. Jamal's attorneys, led by Leonard Weinglass and including the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, are filing an application for a new trial in Pennsylvania state court in early 1995. While availing ourselves of every legal resource at our disposal to save Jamal's life, death penalty abolitionists cannot expect justice through the capitalist courts. We must rely on and organize the tremendous power of social protest to save Mumia. Were it not for the exposure and power of international protest, black South African president Nelson Mandela would still be a prisoner breaking rocks on Robben Island. Were it not for mass mobilizations against Jim Crow "justice," the Scottsboro Boys would have died in prison for a crime they did not commit.

The cops and their friends in high places know that Jamal symbolizes capital punishment in America—you better know it too. Join the campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Jamal's Attorneys Seek New Trial in Pennsylvania State Court

The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal

In the early morning hours of December 9, 1981, Jamal was working as a cab driver and saw his brother Billy being beaten by police officer Daniel Faulkner. Jamal got out of his cab and took a near-fatal bullet in the stomach. Jamal was found sitting on the curb and bleeding nearly to death. Faulkner was dead. Jamal was sent to death row in a classic Southern-style racist frame-up on charges of killing a police officer. While critically wounded, Jamal was beaten, kicked, rammed into a pole and dumped on a hospital floor by police, where he was beaten again. Jamal has always maintained his innocence, but was presumed guilty by the hanging judge and prevented from presenting a defense in a frame-up trial fraught with violations of Jamal's constitutional rights, from jury selection to closing arguments.

THE JUDGE: Albert Sabo—**the "King of Death Row"**—has sentenced more men and women to death than any other sitting judge in the U.S. A former under-sheriff for 16 years and member of the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police, Sabo is known by defense attorneys as "a prosecutor in robes." Sabo limited cross-examination of prosecution witnesses, saying at one point, you "don't have to prove that every witness is a liar on the stand."

THE PROSECUTOR: Joseph McGill—no stranger to frame-up prosecutions. One of his victims, Matthew Connor, spent 12 years in prison before his release in 1989, when McGill's illegal concealment of evidence was exposed. In Jamal's case, to relieve jurors of any responsibility for the legal lynching, prosecutor McGill told the jury, "You are not asked to kill anybody. You are asked to follow the law...the same law that will provide for him **appeal after appeal after appeal.**" In earlier cases tried by McGill, **the Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruled that this same argument required automatic reversal of the death sentence.**

THE DEFENSE: **Jamal was denied the right to represent himself** or have the attorney of his choice. **He was allocated a mere $150** for pretrial investigation in a case in which the police had already interviewed 125 people. **Jamal was removed from the courtroom** and missed most of the prosecution's case. His court-appointed lawyer was unprepared for trial and repeatedly asked to be relieved. He was later disbarred.

THE JURY: In a city which is over 40 percent black, **all blacks except two were excluded from the jury.** One black juror was dismissed by the judge himself and replaced with a white juror who stated that he was not sure he could be unbiased in this case. Another juror's best friend was a Philadelphia cop.

THE EVIDENCE: **Critical evidence demonstrates Jamal's innocence.** The prosecution's case claimed that only Jamal and his brother came anywhere near Faulkner until the backup cops arrived. But **four witnesses stated they**

continued on page 14

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 616

10 February 1995

NAFTA Starves Peasants, Workers

Espartaco

Mexico Crash Made in U.S.A.

Mexico City, January 5: Tens of thousands of workers march against capitalist austerity and government repression.

MEXICO CITY—For the second year in a row, the beginning of the year in Mexico was marked by a crisis that sent shock waves around the world. On New Year's Day 1994, Indian peasant insurgents of the Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) rose up in the southern state of Chiapas, protesting, among other injustices, the inauguration of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). This was followed in April by the assassination of the presidential candidate of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), and in October the head of the perennial ruling party was killed. And although the PRI steamroller managed to "elect" the new president, Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León, with barely 50 percent of the vote in the August elections, the Zapatista rebels held on while peasant land takeovers spread through southern Mexico. All in all, 1994 was "a year to be forgotten" for the Mexican bourgeoisie and its imperialist patrons, who looked forward to 1995 with hopes of re-establishing "stability" so they could get on with the job of looting the country.

Instead, the inauguration of Zedillo at the beginning of December was quickly followed by a speculative attack on the overvalued peso that sent the national currency reeling and the Mexican stock market plunging. Between December 20 and the end of January, the peso lost up to half its value against the dollar on international markets (it has since recovered somewhat). Almost simultaneous with the peso crash there was a new flare-up of peasant struggle in Chiapas. And now, as the inflationary effects of the devastating devaluation reverberate through the economy, Mexican workers are beginning to take action to defend their hard-hit standard of living. On February 1, more than 5,000 workers went on strike at four RCA Thomson plants in Ciudad Juárez (opposite El Paso, Texas), the largest *maquiladora* (free trade zone) operation in the state of Chihuahua (see page 5). The overwhelmingly women workers demanded a 30 percent wage increase to make up for losses in purchasing power due to the devaluation.

The Mexican peso and stock market crash was all the more dramatic because the PRI regime of outgoing president Carlos Salinas de Gortari and his hand-picked successor Zedillo was supposed to be the model for export-oriented growth of "developing countries." Ever since the explosion of the Mexican "debt bomb" in 1982, PRI governments with their Harvard- and Yale-educated yuppie economists had imposed brutal austerity programs, slashing social services from health to education, driving down real wages by more than 40 percent (and the minimum wage by two-thirds), and opening up domestic markets to foreign imports. Governments throughout Latin America followed suit, clamoring to join NAFTA. So when Mexico went bottom-up in mid-December, the so-called "tequila effect" shook markets from Buenos Aires to São Paulo. And then, when President Clinton couldn't get the U.S. Congress to go along with a $40-billion bailout plan at the end of January, currencies as far away as Poland, Hong Kong, Thailand and the Philippines came under attack.

The Mexican crisis threatened to set off what one New York banker called a "global meltdown" of the capitalist financial system. With tens of billions of dollars in liquid capital shifting within minutes, the U.S. Federal Reserve, International Monetary Fund and Bank for International Settlements (BIS)—cornerstones of the international financial order—are no longer able to head off a full-scale panic by temporarily propping up one or another currency. So with its back to the wall, the Clinton administration came up with a $50-billion rescue package out of its own funds and by strong-arming the IMF and BIS to foot the rest of the bill. Washington's European imperialist rivals complained about not being consulted, although their real beef was that billions were being poured into the *U.S.* hinterland. For now "the markets"—i.e., imperialist bankers—are satisfied that their speculative investments have been secured, although they still want to get their hands on PEMEX, the Mexican state oil company. But the working masses and millions of poor people in Mexico, as well as a growing middle class, are seething.

Instead of being a ticket to "joining the First World," as Salinas had promised, NAFTA left Mexico defenseless in the face of speculators' depredations and imperialist greed. The crisis presages a new cycle of uncontrolled inflation

continued on page 8

Join the Campaign!

SAVE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL!

See Page Seven

Hundreds Come Out Against Nazi Provocation

Hitler-Lover David Irving, Foiled Again

BERKELEY, February 4—Some 400 protesters encircled Latimer Hall at the University of California's Berkeley campus last night, stopping an appearance by infamous Hitler-lover David Irving. While Irving tries to portray himself as a "historian," his obscene claims that Adolf Hitler never knew about the Holocaust have incited fascist terror gangs from Germany to Britain to North America. Last October, he and a pack of swastika-toting Nazis were run out of Berkeley by outraged anti-fascist protesters who responded to the Spartacus Youth Club's call to "Stop Hitler-Lover David Irving!" (see "Hundreds Rout Nazis in Berkeley," *WV* No. 609, 28 October 1994).

Attempting to reverse this victory against Nazism, the obscenely misnamed "Berkeley Free Speech Coalition"—an outfit dominated by Islamic fundamentalists and whose supporters spew anti-Semitic filth—sought to bring Irving back to Berkeley. This effort had the backing of the UC Berkeley administration, which provided a room which is not normally available to student groups and also provided a crew of cops, many riot-equipped, to police the event.

Dressing up fascist terror and genocide in the robes of "academic respectability," they wanted to shove Irving and his Nazi gang down the throats of anti-fascist militants in the name of "free speech." Coming on the heels of the 50th anniversary of the liberation of the Auschwitz death camp by the Red Army of the former Soviet Union—which focused attention on the unspeakable crimes of Hitler's Nazis—Irving's planned appearance was a deadly provocation against Jews, blacks, immigrants, socialists, gays and all the intended victims of fascist terror.

As a leaflet issued by the UC Berkeley SYC argued: "Were the gas chambers at Auschwitz, the torture experiments of Dr. Mengele expressions of 'free speech'? The fascists are not just right-wing ideologues with racist 'ideas.' They are paramilitary action squads whose program is to kill, culminating in genocide like that which was carried out by Hitler's Third Reich." In the U.S. the fascists are emboldened by the racist attacks on immigrants and black welfare mothers. And one of the leading exponents of this racist drive is California's Republican governor Pete Wilson, who also happens to be president of the University of California Board of Regents.

WV Photo

Wilson spearheaded California's Prop. 187 attack on immigrants, who are hideously exploited by his agribusiness buddies. Wilson's anti-black, anti-woman, anti-immigrant program opened the door Irving thought he could goose-step through. But he didn't get away with it. While Jewish student groups including Hillel held a silent candlelight vigil outside the meeting site with a long banner reading, "Remember the Holocaust—Commemorating the 50th Anniversary of Auschwitz," some 200 leftists surrounded the entrance to the meeting hall. A 50-strong Spartacist contingent marched up chanting, "David Irving, Nazi in a suit—Smash fascist terror!"

Irving's sponsors in the "Berkeley Free Speech Coalition" evidently had trouble getting into their own meeting. Today, an article in the San Francisco *Chronicle* headlined "Holocaust Denier Driven From UC." It was a damned good thing that Nazi apologist Irving was once again denied a platform to incite racist terror and recruit for more fascist gangs. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

American Communism and the Fight for Black Liberation

In the face of a bipartisan Clinton/Gingrich offensive aimed at eliminating welfare and gutting even the minimal gains of the civil rights movement, black and working people are paralyzed by the physical lack of a fighting leadership. In this Black History Month, it is appropriate to look back to the work of the early Communist Party which, under the impetus of the Russian Revolution, laid out a revolutionary strategy for combatting black oppression in the U.S. In important respects, the following excerpt from the 1928 election platform of the Workers (Communist) Party prefigures our own program of revolutionary integrationism, for black liberation through socialist revolution. Later that year, Stalin imposed the call for an illusory "black nation" in the Deep South. The Stalinist degeneration of the Communist International led to the CP's embrace of the capitalist Democratic Party and betrayal of the cause of black emancipation.

American white imperialism oppresses in the most terrific way the ten million Negroes who constitute not less than one-tenth of the total population. White capitalist prejudices consider the Negroes a "lower race," the born servants of the lofty white masters. The *racial caste system* is a fundamental feature of the social, industrial and political organization of this country. The Communist Party declares that it considers itself not only the party of the working class generally but also the champion of the Negroes as an oppressed race, and especially the organizer of the Negro working-class elements. *The Communist Party is the party of the liberation of the Negro race from all white oppression.*

There is a "new Negro" in process of development. The social composition of the Negro race is changing. Formerly the Negro was the cotton farmer in the South and domestic help in the North. The industrialization of the South, the concentration of a new Negro working-class population in the big cities of the East and North, and the entrance of the Negroes into the basic industries on a mass scale have changed the whole social composition of the Negro race. *The appearance of a genuine Negro industrial proletariat creates an organizing force for the whole Negro race,* furnishes a new working-class leadership to all Negro race movements, and strengthens immensely the fighting possibilities for the emancipation of the race....

The Negro fled from the South, but what has he found in the North? He has found in the company town and industrial cities of the North and East a wage slavery virtually no better than the contract labor in the South. He has found crowded, unsanitary slums. He has exchanged the old segregation for a new segregation. He is doing the most dangerous, worst paid work in the steel, coal and packing industries. He has found the racial prejudices of a narrow, white labor aristocracy, which refuses to recognize the unskilled Negro worker as its equal. *He has found the treachery of the bureaucracy of the A.F. of L. which refuses to organize the Negroes into trade unions.* The lynchings of the South are replaced by the race riots of the East. The employing class deliberately arouses the racial hatred and prejudice of the white workers against the Negro workers with the sinister aim to split and divide the ranks of the working class, thereby maintaining the oppression and exploitation of white and Negro workers. What Marx said about the United States is still true: "Labor in a white skin cannot emancipate itself as long as a dark skin is branded." The Negro worker must learn to utilize to the fullest extent the possibilities created by modern capitalism for organization and struggle against wage slavery in alliance with the workers of other races.

—"National Platform of the Workers (Communist) Party" (May 1928)

WV Photo

Hundreds protest outside Berkeley meeting hall, February 3, stopping Nazi apologist David Irving's scheduled appearance.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The closing date for news in this issue is February 7.

No. 616 **10 February 1995**

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Entrance to Nazi death camp at Auschwitz following liberation in January 1945 (left). Camp survivors with Red Army soldiers (right).

The Auschwitz Commemoration

A Report

Last month saw the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Red Army's liberation of the Nazi death camp at Auschwitz. Between 1941 and 1945, more than two million Jews—together with Poles, Russians, communists, socialists and at least 20,000 Sinti and Roma (Gypsies)—were murdered in the gas chambers of this extermination factory, the ultimate embodiment of capitalist bestiality.

Lech Walesa and the capitalist government of Poland, who have "rehabilitated" the Polish fascists of World War II, marked the anniversary by hosting a hypocritical "commemoration" at Auschwitz on January 27. Many death-camp survivors and Jewish organizations boycotted this obscene spectacle and organized their own commemoration for the day before. Supporters of the International Communist League distributed a declaration in German, Polish, Russian and English (reprinted in WV No. 615, 27 January). We print below, in edited and abridged form, a report by Renate Dahlhaus of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD)

We issued an international statement on Auschwitz signed by the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski (SGP), Spartacist/Moscow and the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany. Then we went to Auschwitz for the 50th anniversary commemoration, to put this statement in the hands of those who wanted to pay tribute to the victims. Our team was three comrades, from the SGP, the SpAD and the Spartakist Youth. Comrades in Warsaw also distributed statements at the Jewish Theater to people leaving by bus for the commemoration.

We didn't go to Auschwitz for the people who turned the event into a TV extravaganza, who tried to make it some sort of imperialist reconciliation among the war criminals. Among the "honored guests" was Roman Herzog, president of the German Fourth Reich, the self-described legal continuator of Hitler's Third Reich. Grotesquely, there was even an SS doctor, who was supposed to "expose the Auschwitz lie" by taking people around and explaining: This is where I carried out my selection of individuals; here I decided who was to die, and who was to be available for "experiments." He wasn't present during the Jewish commemoration, which had been put off limits for him. But in the late afternoon he was going around Auschwitz-Birkenau, surrounded by 50 journalists who duly recorded his "evidence."

Our bus traveling to the site was stuck for two hours in a traffic jam in Krakow. The entire city was closed off because Walesa was speaking at the Citadel at the same time. In his speech, he failed to even once mention the Holocaust or the word "Jew." The anarchists demonstrated against Walesa there, but the press naturally ignored this.

International Communist League statement issued in German, Polish, English and Russian for 50th anniversary of Red Army liberation of Auschwitz.

At the entrance, we made the acquaintance of a Polish former prisoner who explained how the camp was laid out. He was standing on the road, unable to go further because he was exhausted. It was he who made sure we could distribute our statement there on the main road to the memorial ceremonies. He gave our leaflets to all the museum employees and the Polish police, explaining to them in Polish that this group of three Trotskyists had the right to be there. This meant we were taken directly under the protection of the former prisoners, and from then on we had no problems distributing our statement.

We were the only organization to distribute material. From the start, camp survivors agreed with our headline, "The Red Army Liberated Auschwitz!" Many, especially old people, expressed gratitude to us for making this basic point, which they said was not mentioned at all in the proceedings. People asked, "Then why isn't the Russian government here?" We explained that it isn't the Red Army anymore, there is no more Soviet Union. But there are still communists who stick by the ideals of the October Revolution and fight on.

There were some very moving scenes. Two Poles who the Nazis used as forced laborers came up to us and said, "So, you're Germans. I spent three years in Dessau, in Dresden, Köln and Aachen—that's where I learned German." We also distributed statements to families of Roma who said, "We learned German here in Birkenau in the 'Gypsy camp'." Some of the Polish and other prisoners specifically asked for the declaration in German. They shook our hands, embraced us and wished us luck. So did a Jewish doctor whose hospital in Charlottenburg (Berlin) was bombed out and who was then sent to Auschwitz.

A Russian woman who had worked in the Auschwitz concentration camp kitchen came up to us and thanked us for being there. Another Russian woman came over; she wanted to protest against the Russian fascists of Pamyat. So five or six of us shouted, "Down with Pamyat!" "Nieder mit Pamjat" together, in various languages.

Not one of our leaflets—we distributed almost 2,000—was thrown away or ripped up. On the contrary: when one blew away in the wind, two young Polish women picked it up, cleaned off the dirt and carefully put it away. At times former prisoners took bundles for their comrades who were unable to attend because they were ill.

When they asked us, "International Communist League, what does that mean?" and I answered that we are Trotskyists, there were various reactions. There was an old Jewish man from New York who immediately began to weep when I told him we were Trotskyists. He said he'd been in a camp with Trotskyists for 12 years, and all of them had been shot.

On the second day, a Polish woman ran to the police and said, you've got to ban this communist propaganda. The police refused to kick us out. Then she went to the soldiers. The soldiers refused. Afterwards, a Polish journalist came to us and asked whether we were aware of this. He felt it was wrong that the Polish government hadn't said that the Polish government and army of the time also bore responsibility for the annihilation of the Jews.

When Walesa spoke at the official government "commemoration," prisoners came out and told us that it was unbearable to have this man speak. "We've had it up to here," they said, "We don't want to hear him anymore." At one point we had a leaflet in Polish handed to us that attacked the concordat between Pope Pius XII and Hitler. It was passed out by a former prisoner in protest against the Catholic church, which in league with Walesa is today seeking to turn Poland into an anti-Semitic, anti-woman theocracy.

Everywhere we met with a positive response. Our statement in Russian, Polish, German, English was a powerful sign of our internationalist position. ■

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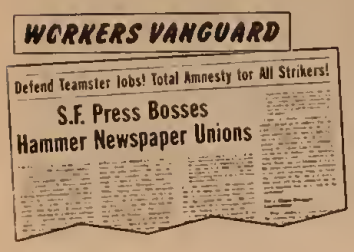
S.F. Press Strike:

Bitter Fruits of a Sellout


WORKERS VANGUARD

Defend Teamster Jobs! Total Amnesty for All Strikers!

S.F. Press Bosses Hammer Newspaper Unions

WV opposed sellout of SF newspaper strike, while reformists (at right) were press agents for the bureaucrats.

SAN FRANCISCO—In the aftermath of last November's newspaper strike, the press bosses of the SF *Chronicle* and *Examiner* have waged a relentless campaign of harassment and intimidation against unionized workers. After eleven days on strike, the union tops caved in on the key issue of Teamster jobs—allowing them to be eliminated wholesale through "attrition"—and failed to provide amnesty for strike militants. Yet at the time, leaders of the Conference of Newspaper Unions (CNU) crowed that they had won a "victory." In this they were joined by a host of fake socialists, who acted as eager press agents for the labor tops to help push through the sellout.

Now newspaper workers are tasting the bitter fruits of this "victory." For weeks after the settlement, the company refused to recall the majority of Teamster drivers. By late January more than 70 full-time jobs had been cut. According to the president of Web Pressmen Local 4, some 25 percent of pressmen jobs have been eliminated, putting journeymen with as much as seven years seniority back to the sub line where they are reduced to filling in "as needed." Seven pressmen were fired for strike activity, while harassment and speedup have already driven a number of older workers to early retirement. This is what the company means by "attrition."

Altogether, some 50 workers have been suspended, while others have been dragged through the bosses' courts. The phony "amnesty" agreement excludes any striker convicted of a felony or who "committed acts with the intent to cause bodily harm or serious property damage." Several of the 35 strikers arrested on the picket lines, including pressman Pat Alderman and Teamster driver Lee Wyatt, still face felony charges. Charges against pressman Ed Rosario were finally dropped on January 11. Bay Area labor must come to the defense of the victimized union brothers. Drop all the charges! Reinstate all the strikers now!

Last November, *Workers Vanguard* called to "Mobilize S.F. Labor to Win the Newspaper Strike! For Mass Pickets to Shut Down *Chronicle/Examiner*!" Immediately after the sellout we told the bitter truth: "What the union tops hailed as a 'victory' is shaping up as a rout for the newspaper unions." We warned that the very existence of the unions depends on "the kind of no-holds-barred class struggle that built them," but that this could not happen under the current leadership ("S.F. Press Bosses Hammer Newspaper Unions," *WV* No. 611, 25 November 1994).

Who Told the Truth

The bosses' union-busting provocations are a direct result of the bureaucrats' rush to call off the strike at any cost. The union misleaders disowned the militancy of the ranks, and looked instead to Mayor (and former police chief) Frank Jordan to get them off the hook and end the strike through "mediation." Now CNU officials are busy complaining about the company's broken "promises."

WV Photo

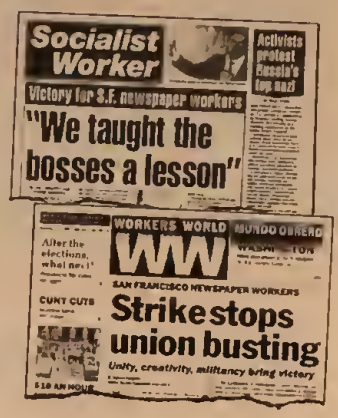
Line of cops protects scab trucks at Army Street printing plant during November 1994 strike. Union tops never shut down production at this key plant.

Assisting this snow job are assorted fake-left organizations who rushed into print to cheer—and now attempt to alibi—the bureaucrats' sellout. The reformist Communist Party's *People's Weekly World* (19 November 1994) proclaimed, "S.F. Newspaper Unions Gain from New Pact." The International Socialist Organization's *Socialist Worker* (18 November 1994) echoed: "Victory for S.F. Newspaper Workers—'We Taught the Bosses a Lesson'." *Workers World* (24 November 1994) headlined, "Strike Stops Union Busting—Unity, Creativity, Militancy Bring Victory." Not until a month later did Workers World admit "the struggle isn't over"—only to laud a "support rally" the Labor Council tops called on December 19 to blow off steam.

Socialist Action (December 1994) ran an article by Paul Colvin, a member of the BATU (Typographers) Local 21 Executive Board, under the plaintive headline "Why Are We Losing a Strike We Thought We Won?" But during the strike, when it counted, Colvin's full-page article in the November *Socialist Action* contained not a single criticism of the labor bureaucrats. Last July, they wrote glowingly of the labor tops' "corporate campaign" strategy to beg corporate advertisers to pressure the newspaper owners. Socialist Action has always acted as waterboys for the union bureaucrats; just after being chucked out of the Socialist Workers Party in the early 1980s, Socialist Action provided goons to help bureaucrats prevent striking Greyhound drivers from stopping scab buses.

The prize for cynicism goes to the *Militant Printer*, issued by one Fred Ferguson, a self-styled leftist in BATU Local 21. At the ratification meeting, he told workers to "Vote yes but hold your nose." His 23 November issue claimed the walkout—*in which the union tops never shut down production at the key Army Street printing plant*—was "one of the most militant and effective strikes in a generation." In fact, the workers' militancy was betrayed by the union tops *with Ferguson's support*. Now he calls to "Abrogate the phony signed 'agreements'"—which he was so eager to sign, knowing they were a betrayal! A truly gross attempt at a cover-up.

Trailing the CNU bureaucrats right into City Hall, Ferguson sells the lie that the position of Mayor Jordan was to "balance between the two *major* contending forces in the strike," the workers and the capitalists. This view of the bourgeois state as somehow "neutral" is at the core of illusions in the possibility of reforming capitalism.


Socialist Worker

Victory for S.F. newspaper workers

"We taught the bosses a lesson"

Activists protest Russia's top nazi

WORKERS WORLD

SAN FRANCISCO NEWSPAPER WORKERS

CUNY CUTS

Strike stops union busting

Unity, creativity, militancy bring victory

From SF Labor Council chief Walter Johnson to CNU president Doug Cuthbertson and more, the labor tops rely on the intervention of Mayor Jordan and the good graces of the capitalist government's National Labor Relations Board. Meanwhile, most of the "left" looks to so-called militants in the CNU leadership like Teamster Local 921 secretary-treasurer Andy Cirkelis, one of those centrally responsible for getting the sellout through. Shortly after the strike, when the CNU tops declared a "deadline" for the company to comply with the contract, Cirkelis said: "We cannot go past December 7.... Pearl Harbor Day, a day of infamy and treachery. That's our deadline" (*New Free Press*, 1-7 December 1994). Not only did this "deadline" come and go with nothing more than a rally to blow off steam, but this despicable Japan-bashing is a poison which undermines labor's cause and feeds the racist anti-immigrant frenzy in California whipped up around Proposition 187.

As we wrote in *WV* No. 611: "To really fight back and win requires a leadership that is imbued with the understanding that Frank Jordan, the cops and courts are not any 'friends of labor'; that knows that real labor solidarity means labor *action* based on the old Wobbly slogan of 'an injury to one is an injury to all'; that understands that if labor is to win it must champion the rights of all the oppressed." Under such a leadership, workers will not only be able to *win* some strikes for a change, but will arm themselves to forge a revolutionary workers party and take on the entire capitalist system of exploitation, racism and union-busting. ■

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Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

Maquiladora Workers Strike RCA Thomson

FEBRUARY 7—For the past week, 5,600 workers at four RCA Thomson plants in Ciudad Juárez, Mexico have been on strike demanding compensation for the loss in purchasing power of their starvation wages due to the drastic devaluation of the peso. These courageous workers should receive solidarity in *action* from unionists in the U.S. and Mexico.

The walkout began on January 31, in defiance of the pro-government, pro-company bureaucrats of the corporatist Mexican Labor Federation (CTM). The workers, mostly young women, staged what a company spokesman called a "sit-down protest" on the first shift, then moved outside and blockaded the main street in the Bermúdez Industrial Park, a *maquiladora* (free-trade) complex which includes some 50 plants producing for the U.S. market. That afternoon they were joined by the second shift, as well as by foremen. Two days into the strike, workers blocked the entrance of a fifth Thomson plant in the Juárez Nuevo area.

This is the same RCA factory where in 1986 one of the first strikes in the *maquila* industry took place (see "Class Struggle in the Global Sweatshop," *Women and Revolution* No. 34, Spring 1988). The plant manager is the brother of Chihuahua state governor Francisco Barrio. The current strike quickly reverberated in the U.S., where RCA final assembly plants employing 2,400 workers in Indiana and North Carolina were quickly forced to close, as they ran out of the TV chassis from Mexico. RCA is owned by the French consumer electronics company Thomson.

The collapse of the peso has meant an instant wage cut of at least 40 percent for the Juárez workers, while the company sells in dollars and is reaping windfall profits. Wages were already at their lowest level in two decades, with a base rate of 114 new pesos per six-day week, which was about $35. After the devaluation, this fell to $19—a wage on which it is impossible to survive. Strikers demanded a 30 percent raise.

Forming a Coalition of Workers, the strikers are demanding that the company labor relations chief be fired and the hated local CTM chief Cruz Mendez ousted. As strikers assembled this morning, some 200 CTM goons, acting in concert with the company, menaced them at the gate. As we go to press, strikers have re-entered the plant and are at their workplaces but refusing to work, while the state CTM has taken over negotiations at the government arbitration board.

Conditions in the industrial park are like a police state. "It is difficult to strike here," one worker told *WV*, but "hunger makes people do it." If the Ciudad Juárez workers are joined by the unionized RCA Thomson workers in Indiana, together they can bring the company to its knees.

The possibility for sharp class struggle that spans the border is manifest. This strike is a key opportunity for class-conscious workers in Mexico and the U.S. to wage an internationalist fight against the capitalists' NAFTA "free trade" assault on the Mexican workers.

Ruben R. Ramirez

Strikers mass outside of RCA Thomson plant in Ciudad Juárez, February 2.

L.A. Teamsters Fight Railyard Lockout

LOS ANGELES—Workers at the Santa Fe railroad yard here were stunned by the announcement in early January that the entire workforce of 215 was being locked out. The facility in Commerce, California, where freight containers are transferred on and off rail cars for trucking to the nearby ports of Long Beach and Los Angeles, was operated for Santa Fe by an outfit called ITS, the largest intermodal operator in the U.S. This yard was the only unionized yard in the company nationally.

The workers, members of Teamsters Locals 208 and 63, were summarily fired on January 13 as a new operator, Parsec, took over the yard for the railroad. Parsec started busing in scabs for 12-hour shifts. The workers told *WV* that thousands of union rail, truck and port jobs have been lost in recent years. One Teamster warned that "the longshoremen will be next." Indeed, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) has already been hit by wholesale job cuts, as when Southern Pacific fired all the ILWU members at its intermodal yard in Carson three years ago. Across the street from Santa Fe in Commerce, the Union Pacific facility is also non-union.

It was at this same Santa Fe yard that Ruderis Lazo, an active member of the Latino American Truckers Association (LATA), was brutally beaten by the hated railroad police last September. In a frame-up designed to cover the cop assault, Lazo was recently convicted of "interfering with an officer" and fined. Phony assault charges didn't stick. Last fall, LATA truckers held protest actions at the ports against the victimization of Ruderis Lazo and the anti-immigrant Proposition 187.

When they were fired, the Santa Fe Teamsters took up picket signs and angrily demanded that the union sanction a strike. But their locals are run by the "New Teamsters," supporters of International president Ron Carey and the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU). Installed in office in a government-run election after years of dragging the union through the capitalist courts, these Labor Department "democrats" are there to frustrate a class-struggle fight to defend union jobs. They are aiding the bosses' decades-long vendetta to cripple the enormous power of the Teamsters union.

The TDU bureaucrats of Locals 208 and 63 refuse to sanction a strike, instead setting up an "informational" picket line at a single gate, allowing trucks to roll in and out unimpeded. But the picket line is the battle line of class struggle—the only "information" scabs need is that crossing a picket line is dangerous to their health! Real picket lines mean mobilizing the power of labor to *stop* scabs, and demanding that rail workers, longshoremen, Teamsters and LATA truckers defy Taft-Hartley prohibitions on "secondary boycotts" and *refuse to handle* containers from the struck yard.

The Carey/TDU crew are so detested that a lot of L.A. Teamsters are nostalgic for the corrupt "old guard" regime. Now lawyer Jimmy Hoffa Jr. is trying to get into the act to advance his campaign for union president, visiting the picket line where he glad-handed the sheriffs assigned to get the scabs in and out. It was the "old guard" that allowed ITS to rip up the Master Freight Agreement in 1990, splitting the Teamsters at Santa Fe from the national contract. In the four years that ITS operated the yard, two workers were killed.

Workers in the transportation corridor along Alameda Avenue between downtown L.A. and the huge Los Angeles/Long Beach port complex know they have enormous economic power. That's why every transport strike here runs hard up against the bosses' anti-labor laws, their courts and cops. During the national Teamster strike last year, Jesse Acuna, who once worked at the Santa Fe yard, was jailed for five years for courageously defending his union picket line. All L.A. labor must demand: Free Jesse Acuna!

Both wings of the bureaucracy have sought to subvert Teamster power at every turn. They have chained the union to one or another of the capitalist parties, which are carrying out an all-sided assault on labor, blacks, immigrants and the poor. Instead, what's needed is a fighting workers party and a leadership of labor with a program to wage sharp, integrated labor battles, uniting all the transportation and waterfront unions and drawing in the ghettos and barrios in a solid front of class struggle. *For a drive to organize the unorganized up and down the Alameda corridor!* ■

S.F. Cops Stage Gestapo Raid on AIDS Benefit

SAN FRANCISCO—At about 4 a.m. on New Year's Day, 40 or more cops, including 17 state Alcoholic Beverage Control (ABC) board agents, burst into a private benefit party for Visual AID, a local AIDS charity. They assaulted the doorman and coat attendant, herded up to 800 people into the night, arrested eleven and brutally beat several, while sneering about "AIDS-infected faggots." Cops used a potentially lethal chokehold to knock out one man who demanded to see their hidden badges—then arrested him (*San Francisco Bay Times*, 12 January). The cops reportedly seized over $1,700 in cash as well as personal stereo gear, and illegally searched living quarters and computer files.

SF police chief Anthony Ribera tried to paint this terrorist rampage as a "routine response" to an "illegal nightclub" where an entry fee is charged and alcohol is on sale. But numerous eyewitnesses have exposed these lies—the party was invitation only, no alcohol was served, and only voluntary donations were collected for Visual AID, a non-profit organization that helps professional artists suffering from AIDS and HIV-related illnesses. The organizer of the party, Terence Alan, who lives at the site and whose lover died of AIDS, repeatedly contacted police before the event and was told he needed no permits—as police captain Mike Yalon later admitted. A growing outcry forced police to drop all the fake "charges" against those arrested.

The massive cop mobilization—including eleven ABC officers shipped in from Sacramento for New Year's Eve—stinks of high-level intrigue. Sergeant John Haggett (previously cited *17 times* for violence and racist harassment, according to the ACLU) spiced up his lying police report with lurid and irrelevant claims of "numerous acts of oral copulation" and "sodomy," making clear the raid was premeditated, motivated by blatant anti-gay bigotry. It's part of the Clinton/Gingrich capitalist reaction targeting immigrants, minorities, welfare mothers, the homeless, gays, youth, you name it—anyone who's vulnerable.

On Christmas Day, taking their cue from the recently passed anti-immigrant Proposition 187, SF cops attacked Latino day laborers on the street in the Mission District and hauled off 13 men to be beaten in the district's new police station. "The cell was already bloody," recalled one victim, recounting his own beating and jailing. "I was not the first" (*San Francisco Bay Guardian*, 25 January). Finally released after midnight, three victims had to go straight to SF General Hospital. A police spokesman went out of his way to make it clear this was a conscious act of racist anti-immigrant terrorism. At a meeting with outraged day laborers, he belittled the beatings and waved the threat of INS deportation: "You are in this country illegally. The INS can come and take you away whenever they want." Labor must fight for *full citizenship rights for all immigrants—organize the unorganized!*

On January 11, some 150 demonstrators held a protest march from the site of the New Year's Eve AIDS benefit to the Hall of Justice, where they filed complaints and appeared before the police commission. A class-action lawsuit is being planned, while the raid has been denounced by the ACLU and gay rights leaders. But the fact is, gays are increasingly becoming targets for violence in this supposed "liberal" mecca—last October a gay man was shot in the chest for walking hand in hand with his lover on the street in San Francisco. Contingents of cops in the city's annual gay pride day march, liberals on the Board of Supervisors, the toothless, pathetic "Office of Citizen Complaints" serve only as a fig leaf for a viciously hostile capitalist state apparatus.

SF Democratic mayor Frank Jordan is notorious for a brutal police sweep of the gay Castro district in October 1989 when he was police chief. As mayor, he's made his name by harassing the homeless and those who try to feed them. "Food Not Bombs" activist Keith McHenry faces an ongoing vendetta run from the mayor's office. (McHenry's next court date is February 19.) And lately Jordan's cops have been raiding and shutting down South of Market nightclubs, targeting especially minority youth.

The same cops worked overtime in recent months busting union picket lines and protecting scabs against striking newspaper and hotel workers. The time is long overdue for the social power of labor to be brought to bear in hard class struggle. That's the only force that will back off the strikebreaking, racist bigots in blue, on the road to socialist revolution to sweep them and their criminal masters away for good. ■

Class-War Prisoners and Capitalist Repression

With the victory of right-wing pro-death penalty forces in the November elections, the campaign to save the life of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal has become increasingly urgent. In this context, the Partisan Defense Committee's annual Holiday Appeal fund-raisers for class-war prisoners were particularly important. Benefits were held in December in Atlanta, Chicago, New York and the San Francisco Bay Area. The benefit in Chicago recorded the highest turnout there ever, some 110 people, and raised over $3,000 for the 17 prisoners who receive regular PDC stipends. The more than 100 people who turned out for the Bay Area benefit, held at the ILWU Local 6 union hall in Oakland, were particularly drawn to a videotape of the demonstration which routed Hitler-lover David Irving at Berkeley last October.

WV Photo

SL spokesman Ed Kartsen

"The fight to defend the class-war prisoners is a fight against the entire system of capitalist government repression."

In New York, some 175 people, including AFSCME, Teamsters and TWU members, turned out for the December 9 benefit. A featured guest speaker was James Frazier, a black NYC transit worker who is the victim of a police frame-up after having his eye blown out by the cops. As we reported last issue, Brother Frazier faces trial beginning February 8 (see "All Out to Defend James Frazier!" *WV* No. 615, 27 January). Speaking for the Spartacist League was comrade Ed Kartsen, who emphasized the link between defense of class-war prisoners and the fight to mobilize workers and the oppressed in struggle against the capitalist system of racist injustice. Comrade Kartsen's speech is reprinted below in slightly edited form.

* * *

This government, which is a government of Wall Street, a government of the multinational corporations, protects the system of racism and exploitation. Their courts and their cops are the tools for conducting a war on the black community, on the Hispanic community, and on the labor movement. The recent acquittal of the cops responsible for the brutal murder of Ernest Sayon in Staten Island is one clear example of this system of oppression.

Mumia Abu-Jamal sits on death row for his political beliefs because he is a consistent and determined fighter for black liberation. Former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) has been locked up for 24 years in California for a crime the government knows that he could not have committed.

Jerry Dale Lowe is in jail because he is a militant defender of the United Mine Workers picket line. And there's brother James Frazier, a transit worker who faces prison because he *survived* a brutal, deadly police assault.

These are just some of the victims of the rule of the exploiters. And the list of victims mounts every day.

The politics of government repression in this country are the product of an entire history of lynch-mob terror and strike-breaking, overseen by both Democrats and Republicans. The primary thrust of this right-wing capitalist campaign today is anti-black, anti-immigrant, anti-sex, anti-labor. The themes that they use in order to popularize this campaign are "war on crime," "war on drugs," the fight to "protect" American jobs, "family values," the fight against inflation.

But who's responsible for the conditions of poverty which fuel crime, hopelessness, drug addiction and broken families? Who's responsible for raising prices and taxes in order to pass on the price of the continued military buildup? Who's responsible for driving down wages and promoting unemployment?

It's not blacks and Hispanic people. It's not immigrants. It's not working people. It's not welfare mothers. It's the ruling class. This extremely small part of the population appropriates all of the wealth of working people. This small class preserves their enormous power and their political rule by keeping all the other sections of society at each others' throat. As long as they can maintain that condition, they can preserve their conditions of privilege. Their ideologues develop political campaigns which focus not on the crimes of capitalism but on the victims of capitalism.

This government seeks to destroy any force they see as a threat, as they did through the FBI's COINTELPRO program. They use manipulation and lies. They use legal harassment and extra-legal terror against the labor movement.

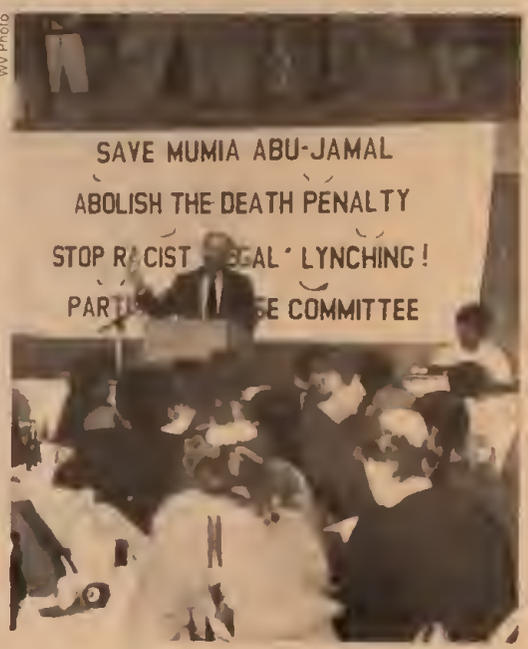
The fight to defend the class-war prisoners is a fight against the entire system of capitalist government repression. It will take a determined class struggle on the part of working people in order to free and save class-war prisoners. Latino trade unionists in L.A. have already raised the demand to free Geronimo Pratt. They've shown the way for unions throughout this country.

Some elements of the labor movement have demonstrated, as represented by some of the people here tonight, their determination for organized labor to take up the cause of class-war prisoners. But there are enormously powerful sections of labor that remain passive due to the betrayals of the labor misleadership, of the labor lieutenants of capital, who betray the masses of workers through class collaboration, who support cops being part of the labor movement, who push national chauvinism, promoting racist policies which sabotage working-class solidarity.

The Spartacist League works to advance the struggle to oust these agents of capitalism in the labor movement and replace them with a class-conscious, militant working-class leadership. We work to build a labor leadership that will destroy the racist barrier that stands between black and white workers. We fight as well to destroy the chauvinist bigotry expressed in anti-immigrant Proposition 187 in California.

We support the building of a leadership that will promote class solidarity between men and women, between young workers and more senior workers, a solidarity that is premised on a struggle against all forms of capitalist oppression. What we need is a leadership that will declare uncompromising war on the politics of the bourgeoisie! One that will answer the so-called "war on crime" with the demand to end the police war against the black community, and against the ghettos and barrios throughout this country. One that will answer the "war on crime" with the demand for jobs and decent living conditions for all, and an end to discrimination in jobs, housing and schools.

What we need is a leadership that will answer the anti-immigrant bigots with the demand for full citizenship rights for *all* immigrants, an end to deportations and INS terror and "English only" laws! One that will answer these anti-sex Moral so-called Majority people with the call for free abortion on demand and full democratic rights for homosexuals, for government out of the bedroom, and for 24-hour day care. One that will put on the banners of the strikes and struggles of working people around this country the demand that the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal be saved, that Geronimo Pratt and Jerry Dale Lowe be liberated from their persecution, and that the persecution of people like James Frazier be ended.



WV Photo

Death penalty abolitionist Robert Bryan speaks at PDC holiday appeal benefit at ILWU Local 6 union hall in Oakland, December 3.

What we need is a leadership that will answer this capitalist war on labor with a fighting labor movement that will stop union-busting, organize the unorganized sections of labor, mobilize to stop the racist terrorists in and out of uniform—the Nazis, the skinheads and the Ku Klux Klan! One that fights for a workers government that will take industry away from the incompetent, corrupt capitalists and rebuild this economy on the basis of socialist planning.

The Spartacist League seeks to transform the working class into a class-conscious force by infusing it with the awareness of the real situation, by educating it in the historic lessons of the class struggle, by strengthening it in ever-deeper struggles, by destroying illusions and backwardness, by reinforcing its revolutionary will and self-confidence. As part of the international revolutionary movement, we are committed to the task of building a party which will lead the working class in the victory of socialist revolution in this country!

We urge you to read our literature, study our program and join us! Free all class-war prisoners! Finish the Civil War! ■

JUST OUT!

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Join the Campaign to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Protests from Brazil, South Africa, Germany

FEBRUARY 7—Faced with an escalating state offensive to shove ever more victims into this country's execution chambers, opponents of the barbaric death penalty around the world are rallying to the campaign to save the life of political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal in Pennsylvania. Jamal's case is becoming *the* focus of opposition to racist capital punishment. Trade unionists, leftists and anti-racist youth have responded to urgent appeals by the Partisan Defense Committee and its fraternal organizations in other countries for united-front actions in defense of Jamal. In Berlin, Germany today, 300 people turned out in a cold rain to demonstrate outside the office of the U.S. embassy to demand: *Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!*

As part of the right-wing victory in last November's elections, Republican Tom Ridge became governor of Pennsylvania vowing to speed up the racist assembly line of death. This is particularly threatening for Mumia Abu-Jamal. Immediately after taking office last month, Ridge announced that he would begin signing death warrants in February. He also proposed legislation mandating that executions be carried out within 30 days after warrants are signed. Ominously, on January 13 Jamal was moved to a new maximum security prison in a remote southwestern corner of the state.

Outside Ridge's inauguration in Harrisburg on January 17, some 250 people, including PDC supporters, joined a protest initiated by International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Equal Justice USA and Refuse & Resist. A protest by several dozen supporters of Jamal also took place that day in Minneapolis.

For many seeking to fight the all-sided racist onslaught and capitalist injustice, the international campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal is a rallying point for concerted action. His victimization throws a spotlight on what the death penalty in this deeply racist country is all about: "legal lynching." Jamal is a former leader of the Black Panther Party, a supporter of the MOVE organization, and a courageous journalist known for his searing indictments of America's racist rulers. Locked away on death row for

continued on page 11

Spartakist photos

Building campaign for Jamal in Berlin: Addressing PDS congress, January 28 (left); circulating petitions among conference attendees.

International Campaign of Protest—Mobilize Now!

SAVE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL!

Death Row Political Prisoner • Black Journalist • "Voice of the Voiceless" • Former Black Panther • MOVE Supporter

All proceeds from these events go to Jamal's legal defense.

BAY AREA

Speakers include

Don Alexander, Partisan Defense Committee
Robert Bryan, attorney
Mike Garcia, President, SEIU Local 1877,* San Jose, CA
Wadiya Jamal, wife of Mumia Abu-Jamal
Ben Visnick, President, Oakland Education Association/CTA/NEA,* Oakland, CA
Leonard Weinglass, lead counsel for Jamal

*Organization for identification purposes only

Saturday, Feb. 25, 7:30 p.m.
For more information: (212) 580-1022, (510) 839-0852
ILWU Local 6 Union Hall
99 Hegenberger Road, Oakland
(Hegenberger exit off #880/ Bus #58 from Coliseum BART)

Sponsored by the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black League for Social Defense

NEW YORK CITY

Hosted by Ossie Davis

Speakers include

Charles Brover, Partisan Defense Committee
James Frazier, TWU Local 100,* Brooklyn, NY
Wadiya Jamal, wife of Mumia Abu-Jamal
Kica Matos, Research Director, NAACP Legal Defense Fund,* New York, NY
Jan D. Pierce, Vice President, Communication Workers of America District 1,* New York, NY
David P. Richardson, Jr., State Representative, Pennsylvania House of Representatives,* Philadelphia, PA
Henry Schwarzschild, National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty
Brenda C. Stokely, President, AFSCME Local 215/DC 1707,* New York, NY
James Webb, President, New York Chapter, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists,* New York, NY
Leonard Weinglass, lead counsel for Jamal
Bruce Wright, author of *Black Robes, White Justice*

*Organization for identification purposes only

Saturday, February 11, 3 p.m.
For more information: (212) 580-1022, (212) 406-4252
P.S. 41
116 W. 11th Street (at 6th Ave.)

Sponsored by the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal and the Partisan Defense Committee

CHICAGO

Speakers include

Jackie Breckenridge, International Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union,* Chicago, IL
Paul Cooperstein, Partisan Defense Committee
Danny K. Davis, Cook County Commissioner,* 29th Ward Peoples Assembly, Chicago, IL
Seth Donnelly, Executive Director, Illinois Coalition Against the Death Penalty,* Chicago, IL
Belgium Greene, President, Chicago Westside Branch NAACP, Chicago, IL
Wadiya Jamal, wife of Mumia Abu-Jamal
Katie Jordan, President, Coalition of Labor Union Women,* Chicago, IL
Clifford P. Kelley, Chicago, IL
Darby Tillis, former death row inmate, Pastor, Friends to Strangers Ministry,* Chicago, IL
Leonard Weinglass, lead counsel for Jamal
Standish E. Willis, Chairman, Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers, Spokesperson, African American Defense Committee Against Police Violence, Chicago, IL

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Saturday, March 4, 2 p.m.
For more information: (212) 580-1022, (312) 663-0719
United Electrical Hall
37 S. Ashland

Sponsored by the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal and the Partisan Defense Committee

BOSTON

Thursday, Feb. 16, 7:30 p.m.
B12 College of Liberal Arts
Boston University
725 Commonwealth Ave.
For more information: (617) 492-3928
Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Saturday, Feb. 25, 2 p.m.
Undergraduate Library
Lecture Room
Howard University
For more information: (202) 872-8240
Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee

ATLANTA

Thursday, Feb. 16, 1 p.m.
Room 460, University Center
Georgia State University
For more information: (404) 659-0251 or (404) 651-2204
Sponsored by the Black Student Alliance (GSU) and the Partisan Defense Committee

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, March 4, 7 p.m.
SEIU Local 399 Union Hall
1247 W. 7th Street
(at Witmer, West of 110 Fwy.)
For more information: (213) 380-8239
Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Mexico...

(continued from page 1)

and debt, wild economic instability and starvation wages. As the peso fell through the floor, Zedillo decreed a brutal assault on public spending and workers' pay. The business press warned of the potential for convulsive social struggle. Typical was the pro-government Mexico City weekly *Epoca* (9 January), which stressed that for the bourgeoisie, "The greatest challenge of 1995 will be in the political-social arena, and this will have to be thoroughly dealt with in order to reduce the risks of a large-scale social explosion, since the workers and have-nots are going to be making the sacrifices again." Just to survive, the working class could be forced to make real the bourgeoisie's fears of an explosion of struggle.

But there are key obstacles in the way of victorious *class* struggle, centrally the stranglehold of corporatist state control over the workers movement by the PRI-government, and the bourgeois populism of the nationalist opposition around Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas. What's necessary is to forge a revolutionary workers party that can mobilize the powerful Mexican proletariat at the head of all the oppressed against the vicious austerity policies of the capitalist rulers. This view is uniquely put forward by the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM).

Ruben R. Ramirez

Women workers at RCA Thomson *maquiladora* in Ciudad Juárez strike against devastation caused by peso devaluation.

NAFTA Means Starvation for Mexico's Workers and Poor

The peso crash highlighted Mexico's prostration before Wall Street in the era of NAFTA. This blueprint for a "fortress North America" was designed to bolster the position of U.S. imperialism in the "new world *dis*order" against rival trade blocs ruled by Germany and Japan. Before the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, the weak bourgeoisies of semicolonial countries like Mexico could use the existence of the Soviet bloc to gain a bit more maneuvering room for nationalist posturing vis-à-vis the U.S. behemoth. In 1982, with the explosion of the "debt bomb," Mexican president Miguel De la Madrid was able to put some nationalist window-dressing on his capitulation to Washington by raising tariffs and nationalizing the banks. There was nothing socialistic about such measures: they only hampered wholesale capital flight. Today, all this is out the window.

Reuters

Mexican president Ernesto Zedillo (left) with predecessor Carlos Salinas at inauguration.

As the Mexican, U.S. and Canadian sections of the International Communist League noted in a 1991 joint statement opposing NAFTA ("Stop U.S. 'Free Trade' Rape of Mexico," *WV* No. 530, 5 July 1991): "The American ruling class wants to pick up the Mexican economy in one huge buyout—at bargain basement prices.... What the New World Order means for Mexican workers and peasants is literal starvation." Now MIT economist Rudi Dornbusch notes that "Mexico will enter the next century far poorer than it was two decades ago" (*Business Week*, 16 January). And having been bought out by Wall Street, Mexico is no longer able to formulate *any* national economic policy. Throughout the devaluation crisis, Zedillo has done *nothing* until first getting the word from Washington. No wonder the Mexican president is "eager to avoid charges that he is turning Mexico into a U.S. colony" (*Business Week*, 30 January).

This really was a crash "made in U.S.A." In February 1994, the Salinas administration boasted it had a record $31 billion in dollar reserves. Ten months later, $25 billion of this was gone and the wolves were at the door. Under NAFTA Mexico had become a speculators' paradise; up to 80 percent of foreign investment went not into producing goods and services but into the stock market and volatile short-term Treasury bonds (*tesobonos*), known in Mexico as *golondrina* ("sparrow," or flight) capital. And fly away it did: the exodus of capital in 1994 amounted to more than $23 billion, with $3 billion leaving the country just on December 19! The imperialist press blamed the overvalued peso, making imports artificially cheap and leading to a whopping trade deficit ($30 billion in 1994, the largest in Mexico's history). But until the crash, the Mexican government had deliberately refused to let the peso fall in order to spur exports from the U.S. and thus shore up support for NAFTA north of the border.

Capital continued to flee in the first weeks of 1995, so that by the end of the month the *International Herald Tribune* (30 January) reported from the annual international capitalist confab at Davos, Switzerland that Mexico's hard currency reserves had fallen to $2 billion and default was imminent. That was the news that sent U.S. Treasury secretary Rubin scurrying to come up with a $50 billion bailout literally overnight. Gone were Washington's earlier demands that Mexico break off trade with Cuba, raise the minimum wage, clean up the environment, act as border guards to cut off "illegal emigration" to the U.S., and open up Mexican oil to imperialist penetration. This was an *emergency*, a matter of "national security." Of course, what Washington bailed out was Wall Street, as right-wing populists in the U.S., like Ross Perot and Patrick Buchanan, harped on in their chauvinist appeals to "Main Street U.S.A." As for Mexican workers, they got hammer blows from *both* the Mexican and American bourgeoisies.

On January 3, Zedillo announced his "economic emergency program" based on brutal budget cuts and "sacrifice" for the workers. Wage raises are to be held to 7 percent while the government officially estimates inflation will be 19 percent; everybody knows it will be far higher—prices of basic products such as milk are already skyrocketing. Cash is to be raised by more sell-offs ("privatization") of government enterprises: rail, highways, ports and airports will go on the chopping block. Already firings from the three biggest government enterprises—oil, rail and social security—are so numerous that the Mexico City Conciliation and Arbitration Board declared itself to be in a "work emergency" because it couldn't handle all the claims. After some unaccustomed grumbling, Zedillo's emergency pact was signed by the pro-government labor officialdom. But whether the corporatist "unions" can keep the lid on workers' struggles is another matter.

The *New York Times* (8 January) characterized the way Zedillo was selling his plan abroad: "That the workers would take a cut in their standard of living, that the government would slash its spending, that foreign investors would be persuaded not to take money out of the country, and that new investment would pour in to take advantage of lower real wages." It was revealed that *two versions* of Zedillo's plan were released: one in Spanish, for Mexico, and a more complete one, in English, for U.S. investors! The obscenity of calls for more "sacrifice" from the workers can be seen in the fact that, while half the Mexican population lives under the official poverty line, and 17 million live in "extreme poverty," under the Salinas administration the number of Mexicans with more than a million dollars in wealth increased from 3 to 24, the fourth-highest number of any country in the world.

American capital has long demanded that Mexico's nationalized oil industry be placed on the auction block. Even under the "softened" conditions of Clinton's bailout, Mexico's dollar earnings from international petroleum sales are to be deposited as collateral in an account in the U.S. Federal Reserve Bank in New York! And as history shows, behind the imperialist "loans" stand the Yankee armed forces. U.S. "counterinsurgency" expert Colonel Rex Applegate, in a recent article ("Time Bomb on the U.S. Border: Mexican Military Unable to Counter Insurgency," February 1995) quotes General Paul Gorman, former chief of the U.S. Southern Command, predicting in 1986: "In ten years, the president of the U.S. [will] focus as much time on affairs with Mexico as on any other security matter." Today, trying to outflank the Republican right which wants to extend California's anti-immigrant Proposition 187 nationwide, Clinton is beefing up the border militarily and justifies the Mexican bailout by playing to hysteria about "hordes" of "illegal immigrants."

Proletarian internationalists stand foursquare against Washington's deliberately humiliating efforts to deepen the neocolonial subjugation of Mexico. We stand with Leon Trotsky, who defended the nationalization of Mexican oil by President Lázaro Cárdenas in 1938 as a blow against Yankee and British imperialism. And against the bourgeoisie's racist drive to pit worker against worker, we fight for *full citizenship rights for all immigrants*. We seek to build an international revolutionary workers party, linking the class struggle on both sides of the border through the human bridge of immigrant workers.

Chiapas Seethes, "Opposition" Scrambles to Bail Out Zedillo

While an armed truce has prevailed in Chiapas since mid-January 1994, the recent period has seen a wave of militant land and town hall seizures by Indian peasant groups. Landlords have beefed up the private armies of gun thugs known as *guardias blancas* (white guards), who have committed a number of massacres in recent weeks. Military experts from Argentina's 1970s "dirty war" against the left have been sent to "train" the Mexican army in Chiapas, and the Guatemalan army has deployed 15,000 *kaibiles* (elite "counter-insurgency" troops) just across the border. Meanwhile, election fraud has caused turbulent protests in the states of Chiapas and Tabasco. When Zedillo, in a deal with the opposition, made it clear he wanted the PRI governor to resign in Tabasco, the local PRI threatened that the state would secede from Mexico!

In response to Zedillo's attempt to blame the peso devaluation on the EZLN insurgents, Zapatista rebel leader *subcomandante* Marcos ironically promised that the rebels would "reduce their dollar bank accounts." Yet the Zapatistas' response to the crisis has been to call on the head of the bourgeois opposition—Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas of the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD)—to lead a "Movement of National Liberation." This harks back to the populist group of the same name in which Cárdenas and his father, former president Lázaro Cárdenas, were active in the early '60s. At the same time, after Marcos met with Zedillo's interior minister in mid-January, the EZLN indefinitely extended its cease-fire in return for a pull-back of government troops from Zapatista areas. While defending the Chiapas insurgents, the Grupo Espartaquista de México has noted since the uprising began that the EZLN leadership seeks to be an armed pressure group on the regime rather than fight for social revolution.

Since the peso crisis hit, Cárdenas' PRD—to which the Mexican "left," "independent trade unions" and peasant groups have subordinated themselves in a "popular front" chaining the oppressed to the politicians and institutions of the bourgeois state—has been broadcasting far and wide that its concern is to head

off social unrest. Cárdenas' party arose from a split in the PRI in 1987-88, when a fraction of the bourgeoisie saw the need to co-opt the wave of labor, peasant and student struggles in the years following the 1982 devaluation crisis. The PRD was instrumental in keeping the lid on for the bourgeoisie, preventing a nationwide social explosion during the Salinas years. Yet with the sell-off of state industries and the destruction of *ejidos* (communally owned farms), the social basis for Cardenista populism has withered; the PRD consequently fared poorly in last August's elections.

Now, in response to the economic crisis, Cárdenas is insistently calling for a "patriotic government of national salvation" (i.e., the inclusion of the opposition in the cabinet). In mid-January the PRD, the rightist National Action Party (PAN) and the small, government-backed bogus "Labor Party" (PT) signed a "National Accord for Democracy" with the ruling PRI. The pact was sealed with a bear hug between Zedillo and PRD president Porfirio Muñoz Ledo (himself a former president of the PRI), who called it a "last effort to prevent ungovernability." Despite some rumblings of discontent within the PRD over this open bid to bail out the regime politically (in exchange for the promise of new elections in Chiapas and Tabasco), the PRD leadership trumpeted the accord as the way to overcome the country's economic, social and political crisis (*El Financiero*, 18 January).

And far from striking the "anti-imperialist" posture of his father, at a January 24 rally in Mexico City's Zócalo (central plaza) Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, while criticizing the $40 billion U.S. loan package, stated that "we clearly understand that we live in a globalized economy and that a close relationship and collaboration must be maintained with the international financial community." Cárdenas urged that "traditional financial channels" be used, such as the World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank and "above all, the United States Treasury's Stabilization Fund" (*La Jornada*, 25 January). This is exactly the route that the Clinton administration finally chose!

As the Grupo Espartaquista de México has stressed over the past years, defending the most basic interests of the Mexican working people against the onslaught of the domestic bourgeoisie and its imperialist godfathers urgently requires a *break with the Cárdenas popular front*. The PRD's miserable "pact" with the PRI regime makes this crystal clear. The fight for the revolutionary independence of the working class means forging a revolutionary internationalist workers party. Today the deepgoing crisis of the PRI regime provides an opportunity to break the chains of corporatist control of the labor movement, which have been key to maintaining the semi-bonapartist regime since the Mexican Revolution of 1910-17.

Unchain the Power of the Working Class!

The corporatist subjugation of the Mexican working class is symbolized by Fidel Velázquez, the cigar-chomping 94-year-old *charro* (bureaucrat) who has ruled the Mexican Labor Federation (CTM) with an iron hand for more than half a century. In the system consolidated by President Lázaro Cárdenas in the 1930s, the CTM is officially incorporated into the PRI as the "workers sector" of the government party. Union struggles are subjected to the dictates of the government's Conciliation and Arbitration Board, which routinely declares strikes "non-existent." Velázquez is so decrepit that he had to be carried in for the signing of Zedillo's "economic emergency accord" and slept through Zedillo's presentation (a rumor even had it that he died during the speech). Nevertheless, *Don Fidel* continues to dictate submission to the government's starvation plans. When the powerful Mexican Electricians' Union (SME) refused to sign the accord, Velázquez denounced the SME and assured the ruling class that "there will be no worker disobedience" in Mexico.

Engle/AP

Magallon/AP

Zapatista peasant revolt in Chiapas sent shock waves through the "New World Order." Above, EZLN leader Marcos holds up Mexican flag during negotiations with PRI government, February 1994.

The *New York Times* (25 December 1994) noted that when Mexico's economy collapsed in 1982, "much of what set the country apart from others in the Latin American debt morass was the Government's overwhelming political control, particularly of organized labor." Yet the capitalist rulers are not so sure Velázquez & Co. can continue to pull it off. The benefits that corporatism used to bring some unionized sectors—cheap housing, subsidized food, relative job stability—have become a thing of the past as the semi-autarkic nationalist structure was scrapped and the economy opened wide to foreign investors. Under Salinas, key pro-government unions like the oil workers saw their leaders jailed and their former power destroyed in a union-busting "anti-corruption" drive. As a result, the *Times* wrote:

> "The Government's power over labor has been eroding slowly over the last decade as the informal economy has grown, independent unions have proliferated and those that were once pillars of the PRI have established some distance."

The crisis of the regime has overnight ripped rosy government propaganda to shreds. What's needed is class-struggle action such as called for by the GEM during last summer's electoral period, in uniquely opposing *all* the capitalist candidates (see "Mexico in Turmoil," *WV* No. 604, 5 August 1994). The fight is not just for a few more percentage points in government-controlled wage pacts, but to *break the stranglehold of the PRI's CTM labor police*. This has been underlined in the current walkout by *maquiladora* workers at RCA Thomson in Ciudad Juárez, whose placards declare: "Sellout Union Doesn't Support Us." Class-conscious workers must *elect workers committees* independent of state controls and the capitalist parties (including the PRD), to drive out the bureaucrats and lay the basis for genuine unions as organs of workers' struggle.

With a battle looming over the starvation minimum wage (now worth less than three dollars a day), such committees should fight to *smash wage controls*, for *tripling the minimum wage* and for large wage increases more than making up for the past years' cuts in real wages, with a *sliding scale of wages* to keep up with inflation. Even before the current crisis, official sources estimated that half the economically active population could not afford the "basic basket" of essential goods and services. Against plant shutdowns and attacks by the bourgeois state and its CTM guard dogs, *mass workers mobilizations against repression* together with *plant occupations* backed up by *workers defense committees* can spark support from broad sectors of the working people and hook up with peasant struggles for land and against "white guard" repression. Particularly in *maquiladora* plants along the border, there must be a fight for industrial action by U.S. workers in active solidarity with their Mexican class brothers and sisters.

Espartaco

Banner at January 5 Mexico City demonstration by syndicalist Independent Proletarian Movement (MPI) declares, "Chiapas Isn't the End of the Problem," and denounces government-run CT corporatist "union" federation as a "prison" for the workers.

Today Mexico's foreign debt totals more than $100 billion, and in order to "get out" of the current economic crash, the government is busy digging the debt hole even deeper. To break the grip of international finance bloodsuckers on the working people, it is necessary to *repudiate the imperialist debt*. In the face of imperialist reprisals, this requires an *international* fight against the capitalist rulers, mobilizing the workers and peasants of Latin America in revolutionary struggle for a *Socialist United States of Latin America*, and bringing the proletariat of Mexico, the U.S. and Canada together in class struggle against NAFTA's pillage of Mexico and for smashing imperialism through proletarian revolution.

Above all, the fight against the capitalist assault is a *political* one, going well beyond the bounds of even the most combative trade unionism. With the Latin American "left" prostrate after the collapse of Stalinism, its spokesmen no longer question capitalism as such, merely criticizing the "neo-liberal model" of Salinas and Zedillo. Yet the problem is not this or that "model" or recipe. Technocratic "free-marketeering" has not worked, but neither did Cárdenas-style populist nationalism. It is the capitalist system itself that is at the root of the workers' misery. To combat the combined assault of the Mexican and imperialist capitalists and establish the rule of the working class internationally, we seek to build a revolutionary workers party as part of a reforged Fourth International to lead this fight. ■

Espartaco

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Hiroshima...

(continued from page 12)

After months of endless conciliatory deletions and alterations, on January 30 the Smithsonian announced that the 10,000-square-foot exhibit and an accompanying 600-page catalog were being axed. Only a portion of the fuselage of the *Enola Gay*, the B-29 which dropped the Hiroshima A-bomb, would remain in the museum, together with a plaque about the crew and a video.

A memo from the official Air Force historian complained that the original exhibit included 49 photos of Japanese casualties but only three American casualties. He further protested that:

> "The script gives the impression that President Truman, in making his decision to drop the bomb, did it to impress the Soviet Union rather than to save American lives in any potential invasion of Japan. The script also conveys the idea that Truman was motivated by racism and that dropping the bomb was unjustified."

In other words, even a glimmer of the truth about this barbaric atrocity by U.S. imperialism was deemed too "un-American" to be presented to the American public.

In a crude admission of the museum's capitulation to the flag-waving Big Lie campaign, a Smithsonian spokesman whined after the exhibit was canceled, "They were not looking for analysis and, frankly, we did not give enough thought to the intense feelings such analysis would evoke" (*New York Times*, 31 January).

Of course, the victors always get to write the official history of wars, and the historians of U.S. imperialism paint the carnage of the Pacific war as a crusade of "democracy" against "Japanese militarism." But the real story behind the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki has become increasingly well known. The supposed military necessity for using the A-bomb was debunked by leading spokesmen of the American military establishment decades ago.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Supreme Commander of the Allied forces in World War II, admitted in 1963, "The Japanese were ready to surrender and it wasn't necessary to hit them with that awful thing." And only five years after the bombing, the wartime Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral William Leahy, wrote, "The use of this barbarous weapon at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was of no material success in our war against Japan.... My own feeling was that in being the first to use it, we had adopted an ethical standard common to the barbarians of the Dark Ages."

So why did the U.S. drop the bomb? In part, it was sheer racism. The war in the Pacific was justified with vile anti-Japanese propaganda, and the liberal Democrats then in power were just as guilty as the Republicans. During the war, President Franklin D. Roosevelt ordered the incarceration of Japanese Americans (but not German Americans) in U.S. concentration camps. And the Smithsonian did its part at the time to justify the virulent anti-Japanese racism: its curator of physical anthropology assured FDR that the Japanese were "as bad as they were" because their skulls were "some 2,000 years less developed than ours"!

It was the then-president of elite Harvard University, Dr. James Conant, who came up with the strategy of mass killing of Japanese civilians. He suggested dropping the A-bomb in a location "closely surrounded by workers houses," in order to "make a profound psychological impression on as many of the inhabitants as possible" (see Gar Alperovitz, "Why the United States Dropped the Bomb," *Technology Review*, August/September 1990). Besides, the U.S. had spent billions of dollars on developing the bomb and were damned if they weren't going to use it.

Behind the U.S. imperialists' incineration of almost a quarter million Japanese civilians was a *political* calculation. The racist American rulers used the already defeated Japanese as a human testing ground to prove to the world—and especially to the USSR—that they would stop at nothing to maintain global domination (see "Racism, Anti-Sovietism and Atomic Holocaust," *WV* No. 459, 12 August 1988).

By the spring of 1945, the Soviet Union—at the enormous cost of some 27 million Soviet dead—had broken the back of the Nazi war machine. Once it was clear that Japan was tottering, Washington's main strategic interest was to stop the Soviet Union from entering the war against Japan and invading Manchuria. Truman deliberately postponed the Potsdam meeting with Stalin until July, after the first successful test of the atom bomb. Hiroshima was bombed on August 6, two days before Moscow declared war on Japan; Nagasaki was hit on August 9.

No sooner had World War II officially ended than the U.S. turned its arsenal openly against the USSR, making at least 25 nuclear blackmail threats from 1946 to 1980 (Michio Kaku and Daniel Axelrod, *To Win a Nuclear War—The Pentagon's Secret War Plans* [1987]). The U.S.' nuclear brinkmanship was ideologically buttressed with McCarthyite red scares and social regimentation. Today the right-wing reactionaries who forced the cancellation of the Smithsonian exhibit want to bring back that era when politicians sanctimoniously intoned that "the family that prays together stays together."

Despite Washington's propaganda about "defending democracy," World War II was a reactionary war between competing imperialist alliances to redivide the world. Revolutionary communists, the followers of Leon Trotsky, stood for military defense of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state, while opposing both the Axis powers and the Western Allies. Just days after the A-bombing of Japan, the American Trotskyists wrote:

> "Let the cataclysmic horror of Hiroshima and Nagasaki serve as a clarion call to the working class! The workers must wrench the power from the hands of the blood-drenched capitalist criminals and take their destiny in their own hands. Today the fight for socialism is a fight to prevent the annihilation of the human race."
>
> —*Militant*, 18 August 1945

Today, following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, as heightened interimperialist rivalry presages a new drive to war, this fight is as urgent as ever. ■

Zenko and Chieko Ikeda

Painting by Hiroshima survivors depicts bridge at Kami Yanagi-cho, where terrified residents flung themselves into river desperately trying to escape nuclear blast.

Kobe...

(continued from page 12)

we continue to rely on them, we'll starve to death." The governor of Osaka contemptuously blamed the victims for their plight, declaring, "They think they can all be helped by others"! More than half of those killed were over the age of 60, two-thirds of them women, who are in any case deemed "not important" in this deeply sexist society. Those who survived have been abandoned in the shelters without heat and medication. There are virtually no social services in Japan for the aged, whose care is relegated by rigid Confucian values to the all-encompassing family.

Tomiichi Murayama (Social Democratic Party head of the unpopular popular-front government) supposedly only learned of the earthquake hours after it happened, as he watched television news while eating breakfast. He flew in and out of Kobe the following day. The head of the National Land Agency made an aerial survey of the damage and immediately flew back to Tokyo. The minister of transportation attended a campaign fund-raising party in the middle of the disaster, haughtily insisting he was in touch because "I took a cellular phone along." With discontent mounting in the shelters, the "father of the country," Emperor Akihito, and his wife Michiko put in an appearance two weeks later to "offer words of encouragement."

As local government officials stood paralyzed, firefighters from nearby prefectures waited for orders to help put out the fires, but no instructions were issued. Offers of food, clothes and medicine came in from dozens of countries; few were accepted. The country is desperately short of flu vaccine, but the government rejected a donation of one million shots from U.S. relief organizations. Doctors from other countries had to wage a fight to be allowed to enter the country and, once here, had to fight to administer aid. Meanwhile, many of the trapped died under the wreckage.

Much of the arrogance displayed by the Japanese ruling class following the 1989 San Francisco earthquake and the quake last year in Los Angeles has been muted, as the bourgeois press, politicians and "experts" engage in cynical "soul searching." It is now admitted that "irregular, but not illegal" methods were employed in the building of underground railway tunnels, elevated highways and railway track beams. Nine sections of the famed *shinkansen* "bullet train" railway collapsed, as did ceilings of the subway system; the main steel pillars of half the high-rises in upscale Ashiya City were damaged; 18 ten-foot-thick support columns of the Hanshin expressway snapped at the base.

Grotesquely, the same American companies that built the Northridge freeway that fell last year in L.A. and also Oakland's Cypress Street Viaduct, whose collapse in 1989 killed scores, are now hoping to get a piece of the action in Kobe's reconstruction.

Fault Lines, Class Lines and Racist Oppression

The quake shook more than the earth. It also blew apart the myth that 90 percent of the population are part of the "middle class." An article in the *New York Times* (25 January), under the headline "Fault Lines and Class Lines in Japan," remarked: "This week, many poor families are arranging funerals and many rich ones are arranging vacations."

The rich have been "inconvenienced," forced to resort to a Honda motorcycle instead of a Mercedes, to move into their second home or a hotel. Meanwhile Nagata, the hardest-hit ward in Kobe and home to many of Japan's "outcasts," was burned to the ground—not by the earthquake, but by the fires that came later. The gas mains were not shut off for 13 hours after the quake; 3,700 buildings were destroyed.

Nagata was home to 12,000 Koreans—the largest concentration in Kobe—and thousands of *burakumin* (low-caste "untouchables"), mostly workers in the synthetic shoe and chemical industries who lived segregated from the rest of the city in small wooden homes with no central heating and gas supplied by outdoor propane tanks. The bourgeoisie wanted Nagata to burn. Now it plans the "largest reconstruction project in the country's history" in Nagata and five other areas. On the ashes of the homes and businesses of the people who once lived and worked there, they will build not new homes, but "wide roads, parks and future evacuation centers." Significantly, in reporting on the disaster the bourgeois press has not so much as mentioned the word *burakumin*, since the very existence of these people, socially ostracized and relegated to poor-paying jobs, is a taboo subject in "respectable" society.

The fate of the Korean minority community in Kobe has provoked comparisons with the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923. After that quake, rumors were circulated that Koreans had poisoned wells, set fires, raped and killed. The government launched a pogrom in which as many as 6,000 Koreans, as well as hundreds of workers' leaders and socialists, were massacred by the police, military and racist *jikeidan* (vigilante groups). In their book *Koreans in Japan* (1981), Changsoo Lee and George De Vos describe the bloodbath following the '23 quake: "They used bamboo spears to stab, clubs to beat, and bare hands to choke Koreans to death. Language was the criteria—any 'Korean accent' marked a person for extermination.... They chopped off their arms and threw the bodies into a fire."

Today, the country is inundated with self-congratulatory propaganda about the "harmony" between Japanese and Korean survivors of the recent quake. But with 150 dead, 1,500 injured and 1,000 homes completely destroyed, Koreans have suffered vastly disproportionate death and destruction. Meanwhile, thousands of police and soldiers have invaded the area. Foreign workers who have "overstayed" their visas are not only being deprived of relief benefits, they have been virtually driven into hiding. The bourgeois media instigated a vicious racist rumor mill, claiming that an organized gang of Hong Kong Chinese and Iranians were robbing and pillaging throughout the Kobe area. When some of them were caught, they turned out to be Japanese.

The Rulers Want the Workers to Pay

Every aspect of economic activity in the region has been disrupted. For three days the country was cut in half when

Jamal Campaign...

(continued from page 7)

13 years after being framed for the killing of a Philadelphia cop, he remains the "voice of the voiceless," writing a column which regularly appears in many papers including *Workers Vanguard*.

In the coming weeks, rallies and forums to defend Jamal will be held in cities across the U.S. The New York City rally, to be hosted by Ossie Davis, will be co-sponsored by the PDC and the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, as will the Chicago rally. Joining those sponsors in the Oakland rally will be the Labor Black League for Social Defense. The PDC is also organizing forums in Boston, Washington, Los Angeles and, with the Black Student Alliance of Georgia State University, in Atlanta. There will also be a benefit concert in San Francisco on February 19 by the band Pothole.

In the fight for freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal, we place no confidence in the capitalist courts and all faith in the mobilization of the masses. We look in particular to the social power of the working class in defending Jamal and all class-war prisoners. The Chicago and Oakland rallies are being held in union halls, and rallies around the country will be addressed by speakers from a number of unions, representing transit and communications workers, teachers and other public employees.

In Los Angeles, Doris Boyd Snyder, first vice president of SEIU Local 399, known for its "Justice for Janitors" campaign, will be a guest speaker at a forum held at the Local 399 hall. This local held a demonstration last August at the L.A. District Attorney's office demanding freedom for former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt). Geronimo is a victim of the government's COINTELPRO program against black militants and has been imprisoned 24 years for a crime the state knows he could not have committed.

United-front demonstrations and rallies have also been called for Sydney, Australia, February 9; Paris, February 21; Tokyo, February 26; Toronto and Vancouver, Canada, March 11; as well as London in mid-March. As in the U.S., all money raised at these events will go to Jamal's legal defense.

Militants Mobilize for Mumia in Germany

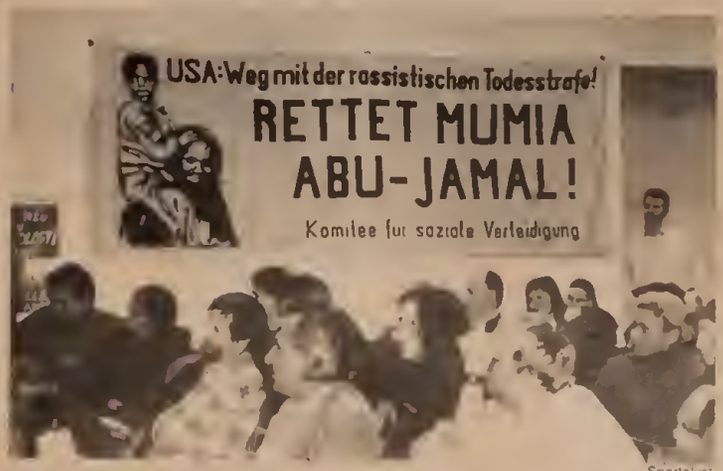
A high point of the February 7 demonstration was a statement from the powerful IG Medien newspaper union, announcing that it had made Mumia Abu-Jamal an honorary member. This act of solidarity exemplifies the considerable union support rallying to Mumia's cause. Another highlight was a statement of greetings from prominent American leftist Angela Davis, who declared, "The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal has emerged as the most important case in this challenge to the death penalty."

The demo drew significant numbers of high-school students from as far away as Hamburg and Halle. The rally was addressed by, among others, spokesmen for the Jewish Group of Berlin, the Kurdistan Information Bureau (itself the object of government repression), and by Heinrich Fink, who was witchhunted out of his position as rector of Humboldt University following the capitalist reunification of Germany.

This united-front protest was initiated by the KfsV (Committee for Social Defense—fraternal organization of the Partisan Defense Committee), which along with the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) and the radical AGIPA-Press collective have for years been publicizing Jamal's case. The extensive list of endorsers points to broad support for Jamal in Germany, where the death penalty is identified with Hitler's Third Reich. In recent years, tens of thousands of youth have mobilized against anti-immigrant racism and fascist terror. The call for the protest was also issued in Turkish, seeking to bring this campaign to the large, heavily proletarian Turkish and Kurdish communities.

Endorsers included the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) and a number of prominent individual PDS supporters, including leftist writer and Bundestag deputy Stefan Heym, Dachau survivor Karl Kielhorn, and veteran trade unionist Jakob Moneta. The head of the PDS Bundestag parliamentary group, Gregor Gysi, had earlier endorsed the Jamal demo at the annual January 15 commemoration of the 1919 murder of Communist leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, where over 8,000 brochures on Jamal's case were distributed. Other endorsers of the Jamal demo included the Communist Platform (KPF) of the PDS in Hannover and Sachsen-Anhalt, and the "Red Riot" youth group in Paderborn, supporters of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat.

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal was a prominent issue at the PDS party congress in Berlin in late January. Posters of Mumia were widely displayed, and stacks of KfsV leaflets were to be found on literature tables of numerous organizations. Hundreds of signatures on petitions to Pennsylvania governor Ridge were gathered. Delegates at the youth session of the congress unanimously voted to join the international campaign for Jamal and to call on all PDS locals and members to build the February 7 protest. However, the day before the demo, the PDS national executive decided, for sectarian reasons, not to have an official presence. Nonetheless, the Mainz PDS sent a message of solidarity and Berlin PDS state assembly deputy Sigrun Steinborn addressed the rally.



Spartakist

Banner at Spartakist meeting at Humboldt University in Berlin, January 26, reads: "Down With Racist Death Penalty! Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!"

Youth have been especially active in the campaign in Germany. The PDS youth in Halle sent a delegation, and the HDS socialist group at Berlin's Humboldt University actively built the protest. At a Berlin high-school conference four days earlier, some 100 students enthusiastically took up the case, hitting the streets with petitions and posters. Through such efforts, the KfsV was able to send petitions to Governor Ridge with over 1,000 names.

International Support for Jamal

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal has been taken up by opponents of capital punishment and racial oppression around the globe. The PDC recently received over 120 signatures on petitions for Jamal from the Netherlands. The Confederation of Kurdish Associations in Europe has added its voice to the call to save Mumia.

In France, the Committee in Defense of Liberties and Human Rights, headed by former Communist Party leader Georges Marchais, condemned the judicial vendetta "to reduce to silence, by execution, a man who has put his voice, his pen and his talent at the service of those who suffer." Prominent Nazi-hunter Serge Klarsfeld and his organization, Sons and Daughters of French Jewish Deportees, denounced Jamal's plight as "inhuman" in a February 1 protest letter to Governor Ridge which concluded, "Please don't give your agreement to his execution."

In Brazil, the Palmares Cultural Foundation (named after slave revolt leader Zumbi de Palmares) fired off a letter to Governor Ridge in December. They wrote: "This is the call which, here in Brazil, we have heard in unison from many of the Afro-Brazilian movements and movements for human rights..., As black citizens of a country with no death penalty, we call for saving the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal. And we join our voice to that cry which today is echoing here in Brazil as well: *MUMIA ABU-JAMAL MUST NOT DIE!*"

That cry echoes today as well in South Africa, where state executions of blacks and others were a central component of repression under the racist apartheid system. Last September, a leftist working-class organization in South Africa sent the following message to the PDC:

> "The Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA), together with the WORKERS' LIST PARTY, wants to express its abhorrence at the continued use, by the United States government, of state terror in the form of capital punishment.
>
> "The fact that this abominably barbaric measure is also being used in a racist manner and for political ends, as in the case of Cde. Mumia Abu-Jamal, is a clear indication of the bankruptcy of western imperialism.
>
> "We call for the immediate abolition of the racist and barbaric death penalty, and add our voices to all brothers and sisters in the United States and elsewhere who are demanding a re-trial, at the very least, for Cde. Abu-Jamal."

Abolish the Death Penalty!

The campaign for Jamal is an opportunity to mobilize everywhere against the bourgeois *in*justice system in all its forms. International solidarity actions can be a tremendous impetus in bringing the power of the working class to bear on behalf of Jamal and all class-war prisoners. In the early 1930s, labor-backed protests in Berlin, Paris and other cities in Europe, as well as throughout the U.S., were instrumental in preventing the legal lynching of the Scottsboro Boys, nine black youths falsely accused of raping two white women.

As the recent PDC call to "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!" (see *WV* No. 615, 27 January) noted: "The racist death penalty goes hand in hand with the extra-legal terror of the KKK and summary executions by cops on the street to keep black people 'in their place.' The fight to abolish the death penalty is part of the historic struggle for black equality in America." *Mobilize now—join the campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal!* ■

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the transport system in the Kansai area centered on Osaka, Kyoto and Kobe, which is Japan's main artery, was wrecked. Kobe port also handles 30 percent of all international maritime container business. Japanese manufacturers have been forced to suspend shipment of parts to their plants in Southeast Asia. What most concerns the bourgeoisie is that the damage will put a damper on the fictitious economic recovery which the government announced last fall. The Chamber of Commerce and Industry estimates the quake will end up costing ¥40 trillion (US$400 billion), about 10 percent of Japan's GDP.

While steel, metal and auto companies are sharing vital equipment in a burst of "post-quake cooperation," their treatment of the workers is another matter. Already 4,500 workers are threatened with firing, but union bureaucrats join the bourgeoisie in insisting that "reconstruction" comes first. The Kobe steel workers union has already said it will not fight during this year's annual *shunto* (spring labor negotiations), and the Japan Railway Rengo union has promised not to demand any pay raises. With the government and companies launching a vicious offensive, now is the time for labor to throw off the shackles of the ritualized *shunto*, which channels labor struggles into impotent actions.

The government feels embarrassed not because of the loss of life, but because the inefficient, bureaucratic, arrogant and feudalistic manner in which it operates was revealed to the world. When the Yamaguchi-gumi, the largest *yakuza* (crime syndicate) organization, ordered all their affiliates to collect relief supplies, goods poured in by helicopter, boat and truck. For Tokyo, to be offered aid from the Philippines, South Korea and other "underlings" is a "shame" that will not be erased overnight. Even North Korea had sent $1 million within days.

This earthquake did not come at a good time for the bourgeoisie. Japan has had seven prime ministers in as many years. The vaunted "clean-up and political reorganization" campaign—which has resulted in much bourgeois infighting—is aimed at making a leaner and meaner government to strengthen Japan in the "New World Order." The politicians are fighting over how best to administer Japanese imperialism, how to create a new neocolonial "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," how to avoid high labor costs by more intensively exploiting the workers of Asia, and how to take on the U.S. on the trade front.

Now many bourgeois politicians are trying to use the Kobe earthquake to beef up the government's repressive powers. They are pushing to give the prime minister sweeping new authority, including regulation of economic activity. Opposition kingpin Ichiro Ozawa has called for new legislation to "preserve law and order" and wants to "regulate the activities of individual citizens in 'emergencies'." There are also plans afoot to incorporate the Self Defense Force (military)—which has recently begun to flex its muscles overseas—into local government disaster programs, and to enable them to enter private property and demolish or remove objects in times of "disaster."

This "natural" disaster has starkly highlighted and exacerbated the class tensions in Japan. What is needed is to build an internationalist Bolshevik party, dedicated to sweeping away the all-powerful *zaibatsu* monopolies which run Japan Inc. for their corporate greed, and to put an end to the archaic "emperor system" which props up the system of capitalist rule. Only under a workers republic can the wealth and technology of this economic powerhouse be put at the disposal of all, even and especially in times of natural disasters. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Natural Disasters and Capitalist Greed

Aftershocks of the Kobe Earthquake

Report from Japan

TOKYO—In the early morning of January 17, the earth below Hyogo Prefecture in western Japan literally split in two, moving one and a half feet upward and four and a half feet sideways. The Great Hanshin Earthquake, registering 7.2 on the Richter scale, has left an estimated 5,200 dead and 27,000 injured in the Kobe area. Thirty-six hours after the quake, fires continued to burn, with entire sections of the city razed to the ground. People died as their neighbors tried desperately to claw them out from under the rubble of their homes.

More than 250,000 homeless are crammed into unheated temporary evacuation centers, in tents on school playgrounds, in parks or in their cars. They are now facing a massive influenza epidemic, diarrhea, malnutrition and severe dehydration. Sanitation just does not exist. People are scooping water from severed water mains to wash and drink, and burning what is left of their homes and furniture to keep warm and cook. Food is scarce and prices have skyrocketed. Hospitals still standing are operating with no running water or heat, plagued by shortages of vital medicines.

While the earthquake was a natural disaster, within hours it became strikingly obvious who was responsible for the wake of destruction which followed, causing the death of thousands: the government and the construction industry. The authorities did nothing to prevent the city from burning while refusing to rescue, house, feed and provide medical care for survivors. The building industry set the stage for this catastrophe by cutting corners and engaging in some of the biggest kickback deals of the century during the construction boom over the last 30 years.

Most people initially remained in their destroyed neighborhoods, vainly expecting government relief and rescue teams to arrive. "The authorities haven't done anything," complained one refugee. "If

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Reuters

Elderly woman in the burned-out ruins of Kobe.

Enola Gay at the Smithsonian

Orgy of Chauvinism Sinks Hiroshima Exhibit

The August 1945 atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the United States posed before mankind the chilling prospect of total annihilation. There were 140,000 killed at Hiroshima, 70,000 at Nagasaki, while the agony of the survivors and their descendants, crippled and maimed by the poisonous radiation, continues. Fifty years later, the image of those deadly mushroom clouds still exemplifies the nuclear barbarity which capitalism has in store for humanity.

To this day, the rulers and ideologues of American imperialism justify these unspeakable war crimes. Late last year, the Postal Service announced plans to "commemorate" the 1945 A-bombings with a stamp depicting an atomic explosion against a red sky. The caption read, "Atomic bombs hasten war's end, August 1945." The stamp has since been dropped.

Now, following an orchestrated campaign of chauvinist hysteria, Washington, D.C.'s Smithsonian Institution has been forced to cancel a planned exhibition on Hiroshima at its Air and Space Museum. "The Last Act: The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II" was billed as a "re-examination" of the "conventional understanding" of the U.S.' Pacific war with Japan. But the American Legion, other military groups and a sizable bipartisan Congressional lobby denounced the proposed exhibit's depiction of the horrors suffered by Japanese civilians as "unbalanced."

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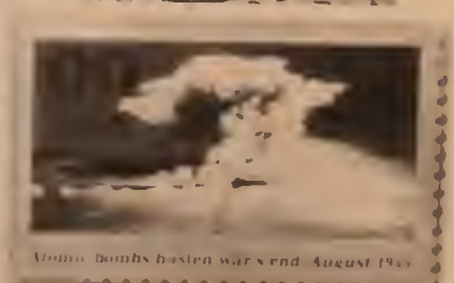
Shigeo Hayashi

Center of Hiroshima after American A-bombing, August 1945. U.S. Post Office planned to "commemorate" this butchery with mushroom cloud stamp.



U.S. Postal Service

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 617 | 24 February 1995

Hands Off Zapatista Rebels!

Mexico: Troops Out of Chiapas!

Peso Crisis, Repression Made in U.S.A.

Joe Cavaretta

Mexican army occupation of Chiapas pushed by Wall Street bankers to eliminate Zapatista peasant insurrection.

MEXICO CITY, February 20—The government of Mexican president Ernesto Zedillo is increasingly desperate. Nothing it does seems to work. Facing a run on the peso by nervous American investors late last year, Zedillo's devaluation put the Mexican currency into free fall and triggered a stock market crash. The boiling economic crisis was hardly calmed by a January 31 $50-billion bailout engineered by the Clinton administration despite grumbling from the U.S. Congress and Washington's European imperialist "allies." So in a dramatic move to regain the initiative, on February 9 Zedillo ordered the Mexican army to capture the leader of the rebel Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) in the southern state of Chiapas. But the presidential coup backfired as *subcomandante* Marcos escaped the dragnet, massive protests filled the square in front of the presidential palace in Mexico City, the ruling party lost elections to the right-wing PAN (National Action Party) in Guadalajara, and the market plunged again. After less than a week the manhunt was called off, although troops remain in place and a blowup could occur at any moment.

As we go to press, right-wing mobs in San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas tried to storm the church offices of Bishop Samuel Ruiz, charged by the government with backing the EZLN insurgents. And from Washington, the Clinton administration seems intent on provoking a social explosion against Yankee imperialist meddling, demanding that Zedillo

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New York Rally Demands: Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

A rally hosted by actor Ossie Davis brought together over 400 opponents of the death penalty in New York City February 11 to demand, "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" Jamal is an award-winning black journalist, former Black Panther Party member and supporter of the MOVE organization in Philadelphia. The victim of a racist frame-up, Jamal sits on Pennsylvania's death row for his political beliefs. Newly elected Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge wants a speedup on death row and is pushing through legislation to require executions within 30 days of a warrant being signed. At any time, Ridge could sign Jamal's death warrant.

Co-sponsored by the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal and the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), the rally represented numbers and strength far beyond the packed-to-capacity auditorium. Jamal's eldest son addressed the rally and brought a moving, personal voice to this urgent fight. Labor leaders representing hundreds of thousands of workers in the Northeast vowed to join the fight against "legal lynching" and to save Jamal. Students from 17 area colleges, as well as trade unionists and others, pledged to join the campaign. The rally was publicized in the black press and over radio station WBAI. Over $3,000 was raised—every penny of it going to Jamal's legal defense.

The NYC rally demonstrated how the campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal is becoming a focus for many who seek to fight the all-sided racist and social reaction which has escalated since the right-wing victory in the November elections. For New Yorkers, this is underscored by the impending reinstitution of the death penalty in this

continued on page 4

WV Photo

Renowned actor and activist Ossie Davis, co-chair of Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, addresses February 11 rally in New York.

Honor Bill Meek and Breeze Barrow

American Friends Service Committee

Bill Meek

The following is an edited version of remarks made by Partisan Defense Committee spokesman Paul Cooperstein at the February 11 New York rally to save Mumia Abu-Jamal.

As we join here together to fight to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, I wanted to honor the memory of two people who were very active in that struggle who passed away recently.

One is Bill Meek, who we had worked with a lot in Philadelphia. He was very active on the National Community Relations Committee of the American Friends Service Committee. He was a very fair man, a man who fought for justice in a just way.

One of our first meetings with him was when the PDC initiated a mobilization against the KKK in Philadelphia in November 1988. Bill was very outspoken, making sure that all the groups and individuals that wanted to fight against the Klan did nothing to undercut each other's efforts. He was a man who tried to get as many people from different viewpoints as he could to work together in the struggle. He died two weeks ago at the age of 73, and he will be sorely missed.

The other person is Breeze Barrow, who I only learned recently passed away in October at the very young age of 43. His wife Kai and his other comrades from the Black Panther Party Newspaper Collective are here today. I met Breeze about four years ago, when he invited the Partisan Defense Committee to speak at a commemoration in Jersey City for George and Jonathan Jackson. Some months earlier, two PDC representatives had been assaulted while distributing leaflets about Mumia's cause at the Tribunal for Political Prisoners in New York City. Breeze chaired the Jersey City meeting and repeatedly said, "We're not into that sectarian stuff." He invited us and others to speak and repeatedly urged individuals there to check out the literature tables.

Many people here may remember Breeze when he spoke last spring at a PDC forum to free Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) about that imprisoned Black Panther Party leader. To see him up there, debating, laughing, joking, talking with people—very lively, vibrant, funny, friendly—there was no way to know that he was already very sick.

Breeze joined the Panther Party in 1970. For the rest of his life, he remained a dedicated community activist and fighter for black rights. He was a founder and editor of *Rising Truth*, a member of Right On, and he was instrumental in the reissuing of the *Black Panther* newspaper. He was active in tenant organizing and in fighting police brutality, as a member of the Arlington Gardens Tenant Association and the Jersey City Human Rights Commission. He was also a poet, a member of the Spirit of Life Ensemble.

WV Photo

Breeze Barrow

At our forum, Breeze said of Geronimo, "He doesn't just think of himself, he has been dedicated and committed." And I think that's a good way to describe Breeze Barrow. He'll be very sorely missed by his friends, his family and by all people involved in this struggle.

We can honor the memory of these committed activists by not simply carrying on the struggle to free Mumia and the political prisoners but by stepping up our efforts. ■

The International Campaign for Sacco and Vanzetti

TROTSKY

LENIN

In the fight to save death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal from legal state murder, the Partisan Defense Committee emphasizes the need for mass, labor-centered protest around the world. In this, the PDC follows in the class-struggle tradition of the early Communist International's International Red Aid and its U.S. affiliate, the International Labor Defense led by James P. Cannon. In the 1920s, as Cannon relates in this excerpt, the ILD and its fraternal organizations in other countries mobilized hundreds of thousands of workers in protest against the frame-up of immigrant radical workers Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in Massachusetts. The blood-drenched capitalist executioners ultimately murdered Sacco and Vanzetti. Today, we redouble our efforts to ensure they will not take the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Rarely has the vital importance of international solidarity of the working class been so decisively shown as in the world campaign for Sacco and Vanzetti. Had there not from the very beginning been demonstrated that unbreakable determination of the workers everywhere to make the fight of the two Italian agitators their fight; had there not been that splendid series of labor demonstrations in the capitals of the world, the incessant flow of resolutions and protests against this hideous conspiracy to murder two innocent workers—then the judicial vultures of Massachusetts might long ago have seized and demolished their prey....

Those who have observed even superficially the development of the case from that time on, know that it was this new campaign of protest and demonstration of solidarity that halted the hand of the executioner. The workers of this country, and of Latin America and Europe, by their tireless solidarity, placed an unbroken wall between Sacco and Vanzetti and the death chair that is being held vacant for them and gained for them a new respite....

Mass meetings were held in every large city. In New York City alone some 18,000 workers came to Madison Square Garden to protest against the proposed legal assassination....

Since the May decision of the court, demonstrations were held in front of the American embassies at Paris, Sofia, Lisbon, Buenos Aires, Berlin, Montevideo and Mexico. Everywhere the demand of the workers was for the immediate cessation of this hounding of two innocent labor fighters....

It was this campaign for international solidarity that has so far saved Sacco and Vanzetti from the death chair, and not the reliance solely upon the good intentions and judicial honesty of the Massachusetts courts. So long as Sacco and Vanzetti remain in the shadow of danger the workers of the world will stand guard. They will continue to make the cause of the two Italian radicals their cause, until their liberation has brought a successful end to the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

—James P. Cannon, "The International Campaign for Sacco and Vanzetti" (*Labor Defender*, February 1927)

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WV Photo

Martha Phillips

10 March 1948 – 9 February 1992

It has been three years since the murder of our comrade Martha Phillips in Moscow. A cadre of the Spartacist League/U.S. for 20 years, Martha was actively involved in the antiwar, civil rights and labor movements. For many years, she had lived and worked in the San Francisco Bay Area, where she helped found the Labor Black League for Social Defense, which grew out of her 1983 election campaign for Oakland City Council.

In 1991 Martha went to Moscow, where she died on the front lines of the struggle to reimplant Lenin and Trotsky's communism in the homeland of the October Revolution. At the time of her death, Martha was the most visible fighter for the program of Trotskyist internationalism in the former Soviet Union. Our anguish over her irreplaceable loss is compounded by the fact that, to this day, we still do not know who murdered Martha, or why. Our efforts to press for a serious investigation into this tragedy were met with deliberate evasion and incompetence by the Moscow authorities and utter indifference by the American consulate.

The destruction of the Soviet Union cries out for the construction of a proletarian, internationalist party that can organize and lead the fight against grinding immiseration, murderous chauvinism, all-sided social bigotry and all the other horrors of capitalist restoration. Comrade Phillips dedicated her life to building such a party, a Leninist tribune of the people. We honor our fallen comrade's spirit, tenacity and courage through our resolve to continue the struggle to reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution.

Bridgestone Rubber Strike in Danger

Japan-Bashing Aids Union-Busting

CHICAGO—The 4,200 rubber workers who shut down five Firestone plants across the Midwest eight months ago are feeling the full brunt of union-busting. Hundreds of scabs continue to build tires at the struck facilities. Court injunctions enforced by police thugs have made it illegal to picket in any strength at plant gates. In Decatur, heart of central Illinois' "war zone" of labor battles, Firestone strikers are struggling alongside locked-out Staley corn processing workers and Caterpillar UAW members, who have also been hit with massive scabbing.

What's needed is united labor action to defy the injunctions, stop the scabbing, and *win these strikes*. Instead, the United Rubber Workers (URW) tops are drowning the strike in a sea of racist crap against the Japanese owners of Bridgestone-Firestone, while tying the workers to the anti-union Clinton White House and the Democrats. Local 713 president Roger Gates raves about Pearl Harbor and "another sneak attack." And at a January 28 solidarity rally in Chicago, URW International vice president Jay Michael Stanley (after saying he wasn't going to engage in Japan-bashing!) railed against Firestone's "foreign management."

Rather than set up some solid picket lines against the capitalist enemy at home, the union tops act as though they'd like to see the A-bomb dropped on Hiroshima again! As we warned in January, "The labor bureaucracy's program of protectionism and reliance on the capitalist Democratic Party has put the rubber strike in grave danger."

The URW International did nothing when the company declared that scabs would "permanently replace" strikers last month. The bureaucrats' prostration ignited panic at Local 7, which voted an unconditional surrender at Firestone's small race-car tire plant in Akron. And when the company decreed that only the first 100 of 150 workers crossing the picket line would get their jobs back, it set off a stampede to return to work. This capitulation was met with outrage by members of Decatur Local 713, who denounced the Akron workers as scabs and wanted to record their names on the "Wall of Shame," a list in the union hall of those who have crossed picket lines.

But the responsibility for the collapse at Akron lies squarely at the feet of the International, whose desire to wash its hands of the strike was made crystal clear to none other than the *Wall Street Journal* (12 January), when a union spokesman hinted that other striking locals "might now feel it appropriate to return to work." A week later, the URW tops caved in to Bridgestone's giveback demands for grueling 12-hour shifts, pay linked to productivity, a two-tier wage system and health insurance givebacks. But the company is out to gut the union and refuses to take all the strikers back.

URW leaders never intended to organize a strike that could win. From the get-go, the union bureaucrats enforced no-strike agreements—the result of previous concessions to the company—at four URW-organized plants in North America and made no attempt to shut a major non-union plant in Wilson City, North Carolina. Loath to mobilize union *power*, the URW leadership instead begged Clinton (the former governor of "open shop" Arkansas) to intervene against "Japanese union-busting."

In mid-January, the Clinton administration unleashed a barrage of protectionism. Labor Secretary Robert Reich "summoned" the U.S. chairman of Bridgestone-Firestone, Masatoshi Ono, to Washington. Clinton's ambassador to Tokyo, Walter Mondale, tried to strong-arm the Japanese foreign minister during a White House reception for visiting Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama. This is the same Mondale who railed in 1982, "If you try to sell an American car in Japan, you better have the United States Army with you when they land on the docks!"

Democratic Senators Paul Simon, Carol Moseley-Braun, Tom Harkin and John Glenn weighed in with a letter to Murayama warning that Bridgestone's use of permanent replacements "threatens to harm U.S.-Japanese relations." Then Clinton lectured Bridgestone about "our tradition of peaceful collective bargaining to solve labor disputes."

But the "tradition" of the American capitalist class is the violent suppression of working-class struggle. And this isn't just in the past, like the Homestead steel strike in 1892 or the 1937 Memorial Day massacre of Republic Steel workers. In the last decade, Phelps Dodge copper miners and Hormel meatpackers had the National Guard deployed against them by liberal Democratic Party governors. Today militant unionists such as West Virginia coal miner Jerry Dale Lowe and L.A. Teamster Jesse Acuna have been framed up and jailed for defending their strikes. Far from importing "alien" methods of strikebreaking, Bridgestone management is itching to try out American-style union-busting in Japan, which has a ban on "permanent replacements."

The AFL-CIO brass try to portray Japanese investment in American industry as some kind of "foreign invasion." But in 1982, they hailed a protectionist "domestic content" law in Congress as, in the words of UAW president Doug Fraser, "a major step toward forcing the Japan-based multinational auto companies to create jobs here in America."

The way to defend jobs is through class struggle. Protectionism undermines that with the lie that U.S. workers have a stake in higher profits for the capitalists. And this poison also promotes the racist climate which sets American-born workers against immigrant workers, Anglo against Hispanic, white against black. In particular, it fuels the racist terrorists of the KKK and Nazis, who have targeted the Springfield-Peoria area. This is the bosses' "divide and rule" strategy for destroying the power of labor. Meanwhile, the union tops urge workers to look to the racist, big business Democrats as "friends of labor," while moaning that "strikes can't win" anymore.

The kind of strikes these pro-capitalist bureaucrats "organize" could never win, not with the workers handcuffed to anti-labor politicians and the labor tops enforcing the bosses' rules. One Decatur striker told *Workers Vanguard* how the union bureaucrats joined with Democratic Party politicians like Congressman Glenn Poshard to *stop* the workers from closing down Firestone's scab operation:

> "We almost shut the plant down back [in early January], but then Poshard and the secretary of labor and the federal mediators came down hard on us and then Gates decided we shouldn't do it.... The politicians made sure we didn't shut down the plant."

The need for class-struggle leadership is posed acutely in the Illinois "war zone," where the possibility of militant struggle embracing a broad section of the working class is apparent to all. Elected strike committees should be set up to coordinate mass picketing to shut down the Firestone, Caterpillar and Staley plants. Strike delegations have to be dispatched to the transport unions, demanding that they stop servicing the struck plants. Well-planned sit-down action has to be organized, prepared to respond to any National Guard mobilization. Such decisive action would win the active backing of thousands of other unionists who have already shown their will to struggle by traveling from miles around to demonstrate support for the "war zone" struggles.

But all of this requires a political fight to break the unions from the grip of the pro-capitalist tops and their phony "friends of labor." Above all, there has to be a struggle to forge a workers party independent of the two capitalist parties and committed to a fight to sweep away the whole capitalist system that breeds unemployment, union-busting and racist terror. A workers party would put short shrift to the racist anti-Japanese propaganda that is killing the Bridgestone-Firestone strike, instead appealing for solidarity *action* to Bridgestone workers in Japan, who will be next on the chopping block if the URW goes down in defeat.

The Democrats and bureaucrats seek to derail class struggle by pitting workers in the U.S. against their class brothers and sisters abroad. When Democratic Party liberals like Harkin and Moseley-Braun call for a "tougher" line against Japan, they threaten all of us. The ratcheting up of economic tensions leads to trade wars and then shooting wars. The main enemy of working people in the U.S. is the capitalist class here, from Wall Street to the White House. We need to put these exploiters out of business once and for all by forging an internationalist workers party which fights for a workers government to expropriate industry and get it running again. ■

WV Photo

Union tops' program of anti-Japanese protectionism and support to capitalist politicians is killing Bridgestone rubber strike.

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Save Jamal...

(continued from page 1)

state. A statement by black leftist and former political prisoner Angela Davis read to the rally declared, "The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal has emerged as the most important case in this challenge to the death penalty."

Jamal's case was highlighted last summer, when National Public Radio canceled an invitation to him to broadcast a series of commentaries from death row. The Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal and the PDC held a speak-out in New York to protest this capitulation to a sinister campaign orchestrated by the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP), whose spokesmen have vowed to see Jamal dead and even called for an "electric couch" for his supporters. In January, these Philly cops jumped, choked and brutally beat a plainclothes black policewoman. And last week the former president and treasurer of the FOP were convicted on racketeering charges of defrauding the public to the tune of $2 million.

At the February 11 NYC rally, the opening remarks by Ossie Davis, co-chairman of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, galvanized Jamal's supporters. He linked Jamal's case with the historic struggles to free the Scottsboro Boys and Angela Davis. He stressed that it took mass political protest beyond the courtroom to defeat those racist frame-ups and that is precisely what is needed to save Jamal today. Davis put Jamal's case squarely in the context of the far-right turn of the U.S. ruling class, which has declared war on blacks, labor, immigrants and the poor. The death penalty is central to the intensifying political repression against minorities and dissenters, and Mumia Abu-Jamal's case is what the death penalty is all about: an attempt to terrorize the minority population and extend the extralegal terror of the KKK and summary executions by the cops on the streets with institutionalized racist murder.

WV Photo

Len Weinglass, lead counsel for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

WV Photo

United-front rally drew integrated crowd of over 400 death penalty abolitionists, including trade unionists, socialists and students from throughout New York region.

As Pennsylvania State Representative David Richardson emphasized, "African-American males make up roughly 5 percent of Pennsylvania's population, yet we make up well over 50 percent of inmates on death row. How many of our young men and women are being railroaded and shipped down these tracks of no return? Mumia, my brother, has been placed on that Metroliner of death." Richardson proclaimed, "Mumia is innocent. I know that for a fact and I will stand anywhere—in a court of law, in the halls of the House of Congress in Washington, D.C., in Australia, in Germany—and tell you that Mumia Abu-Jamal is innocent of killing any cop in Philadelphia."

Jamal's lead counsel, attorney Len Weinglass, who is preparing legal papers for a new trial, testified to the growing support for Jamal. "The prison has received so many faxes on Mumia's behalf that it knocked the system out of order." Weinglass added, "People ask me, wherever I go to speak about Mumia's case, 'How is it possible that an award-winning journalist could be on death row? Why aren't his colleagues in the media fighting about this? What if Tom Brokaw were on death row, or Peter Jennings?'... Mumia is on death row because of his political affiliation, because of his political association and his political work."

Charles Brover, co-chairman of the Partisan Defense Committee, dubbed the Republican and Democratic twin parties of capital the "American Newtzie Party." He pointed to the bipartisan drive for repression of black people and other minorities as a consequence of a capitalist economy that can no longer provide jobs and thus regards its former "reserve army of unemployed" as expendable. In fighting for freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal and other class-war prisoners, the PDC avails itself of every judicial process possible, while recognizing that the courts, prisons and police exist to maintain, through organized violence and terror, the rule of the exploiters. Placing no faith whatsoever in the "injustice" system, the PDC seeks to mobilize the social power of the integrated working people to support and

Ossie Davis: "We're In for the Fight of Our Lives!"

We print below excerpts from the opening remarks by Ossie Davis, co-chair of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, at the February 11 New York rally.

I remember quite vividly what it was like in the '50s at the time of McCarthyism, and at its height, when there was what we called a witchhunt. People were punished, people were singled out, purely on the basis of their political belief and their political affiliations. It was widespread, it was rampant, it did a lot of damage—damage from which we suffer even to this day.

There was in the background an attitude and an atmosphere in the country which made the witchhunt possible. It wasn't that Americans of one persuasion all of a sudden got mean and angry and anti-constitutional in their relationship to free speech and its rights. There was a fear in the land. We feared very much the atomic bomb, particularly since it had come into the hands of the Soviet Union. And it was those who willingly manipulated that fear in the public who were truly the enemy and who were able through manipulating that fear to make America do such damage to itself.

Now today there is once again fear abroad in our land. Fear. Fear. Fear. And that fear is once again being manipulated to achieve devious ends by people who have their own concept of what this country is, and our place in this country. The fear now is of an economic disaster that creeps closer and closer to happening every day. The average American no longer feels secure, no longer feels safe, is no longer sure that tomorrow's going to happen at all, certainly not for his children and maybe not for his parents. Unemployment rises, not only among the traditionally unemployed, but the white collars, the Harvard graduates.

There is fear, and that fear is being manipulated. That fear, to some people, appears in the form of what we would call "immigrants," or in the form of what we call "black folks," in the form of "criminals," or young folks with "strange" lifestyles. Now they have found, in some cases, those symbolic weapons that they use so skillfully. If they succeed in executing Mumia Abu-Jamal, they will release the floodgates and sort of make authentic the move and the cry out of hysteria to kill all of the rest of the people on death row. I say that in order to remind us that we are not only fighting to save the life of one man, and to remove the death penalty. We are fighting because greater, more profound issues are at stake.

Some of these days we are going to have to deal constructively with what is behind the fear, the economic fear, generated in our country. What kind of economic and social and political system do we have, and do we need to look at it with the possibility of suggesting basic systemic changes, so that we don't have an economy that says to us with the straight face of Mr. Milton Friedman that there's a natural rate of unemployment, and that natural rate means that six percent of your workforce has got to be laid off before inflation will quiet down. If you have too much employment, then the bondholders are going to suffer, because inflation will get their momma!

We need to struggle. We have examples before us of social protest being used to influence judicial outcome. We struggled in the streets to get a better verdict for Angela Davis. And we struggled in the streets to change the verdicts in the case of the Scottsboro Boys. There comes a time when we must take the struggle beyond the courtroom into the streets, and arouse the people's wrath against the powers that be and put a stop to all of this!

We can ratchet the struggle up a little higher. One thing that we must remember: this is the beginning of a struggle which may well take a very long time. We are in for the fight of our lives, and we might as well face that. But once facing that, the power, the strength, the purpose of the people, once focused and set in motion, can achieve justice. And maybe the time has come for us to recognize that in this country, there ain't no other way to do it.

WV Photo

Ossie Davis with trade-union speakers at New York rally. From right: Jan Pierce (CWA District 1), Brenda Stokely (AFSCME Local 215) and James Webb (Coalition of Black Trade Unionists).

COC Productions

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

High-Tech Hell

The following statement from Jamal for the international campaign of protest was read to the February 11 New York rally

Over many long years, over mountains of fears, through rivers of repression, from the depths of the valley of the shadow of death, I survive to greet you, in the continuing spirit of rebellion. ONA MOVE!

My words come to you from Pennsylvania's new, bright, shining hell. This state's supermax is a wholly political construction, erected solely to ease the fears of those who have feasted for years on the blood and misery of the weak and the poor. It is correction's newest, latest fashion craze; but I ask you, those who labor under the illusion of their own so-called freedom, do you feel safer now?

As America's ruling classes rush backwards into a new Dark Age, the weight of repression comes easier with each passing hour. But as repression increases, so too must resistance. Prayer vigils are not enough. Midnight strolls in candlelight are not enough. Prestigious appeals for government piety are not enough.

It is time for direct action. For mass action. For concerted action of the silent many whose silence through timidity is perceived as the silence of acquiescence. Like our forefathers, our foremothers, our kith and kin, we must fight for every inch of ground gained. The repressive wave sweeping this country will not stop by good wishes, but only by a counterwave of committed people firm in their focus. I hope you will be among them.

From death row, you have my thanks and my salute. ONA MOVE! *LONG LIVE JOHN AFRICA!*

—9 February 1995

defend class-war prisoners, jailed for defending their unions and fighting against racism.

Spartacist League spokesman Marjorie Stamberg denounced the death penalty as a "hallmark of police-state rule." She drew the connection between the institution of the death penalty and the consolidation of fascist dictatorships in Mussolini's Italy in the 1920s and Hitler's Germany in the 1930s. Stamberg concluded, "Capitalist reaction always has recourse to the death penalty, and thus, ultimately to get rid of it, you need a socialist revolution. That requires above all a revolutionary workers party to lead it. As Lenin stressed, it must be a 'tribune of the people' which is 'able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it appears, no matter what stratum or class it affects'."

Democrats No Friends of Blacks, Labor

The rally drew unionists who pledged to get key sections of labor—hospital, communications and city workers—behind the fight to save Jamal. And their presence sparked an interesting and crucial political debate over the relationship between the labor movement, poor people and minorities, and the Democratic Party. Since Roosevelt's "New Deal" of the 1930s, which were rocked by massive struggles to organize integrated industrial unions, the Democratic Party has *posed* as a "friend" of labor and the oppressed while serving the same capitalist class more nakedly represented by the big business Republicans. The old "New Deal" coalition of Democratic Party constituencies has been shoved aside by the Southern racist yuppie Clinton's "New Democrats." Clinton denounced minorities and organized labor as "special interest groups" and publicly snubbed Jesse Jackson, sending the message to black people that there isn't any room even at the back of the bus.

Jan Pierce, vice president of Communications Workers of America District 1 representing 150,000 workers, stated bluntly that "I believe the union cause, without a social component, is a lost cause. And I must stand here before you and admit, in this day and age, the union movement is almost a lost cause." Addressing the "politics of fear" referred to by Ossie Davis, Pierce stated that "we cannot deal effectively with any of those other issues, of hunger, homelessness, injustice, inequality, union-busting, gay-bashing, racism, sexism, or political executions, within the existing political framework. We need a real movement."

Brenda Stokely, the president of AFSCME Local 215, which represents social workers and is part of the 22,000-strong District Council 1707, differed with Brother Pierce on the state of the labor movement. She went on to note that with less than 15 percent of the workforce organized, and with very few people coming out to vote, "we have a very serious mandate" to go out and organize. Stokely called for connecting the campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal with union organizing. Regarding the Democrats, she remarked:

> "A lot of what's happening in the labor movement is that people pushed people into thinking that they had some stake in voting for the Democrats, that somehow there's some fundamental difference between the Democrats and the Republicans. And as far as I know, the same racist money-hungry people who defeated the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party [in 1964] always existed in the Democratic Party. As far as I know, both parties have always defended the interests of the people who rule this country, which are the people who control the resources and the money in this country and throughout the world.
> "I get tired of people criticizing folks because they didn't go out to vote, because I think when people are clear that something's in their interest, they move. When Jesse ran—and we're not going to get into a debate about Jesse ...people thought they heard or saw something that was different from these two wings of the same party, or the head and the tail of the same body. And they came out to vote."

James Webb, president of the New York chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, a veteran of the struggle to extend voting rights to the disenfranchised black population in the Jim Crow South, disagreed with the idea that black people had nobody to vote for in the midterm elections. Webb argued that not voting led to "what we have in this city, this state and the country now." Angela Doyle, a vice president of Local 1199 which represents 100,000 hospital workers, concurred with the sentiment against the "Republicrats and Democans" but noted her union had "worked very, very hard in the recent gubernatorial and mayoral campaigns" (Local 1199 president Dennis Rivera is vice chairman of the state Democratic Party). She concluded that "we have to give people an alternative that they can believe in."

Robert Grahn

300 demonstrate outside U.S. embassy office in Berlin, February 9, part of international campaign of protest to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Spurned by the racist capitalist party they had served so loyally for so long, many smarting labor officials and black Democratic Party fixtures are now making noises about forming an independent "third" party. Cynical maneuverers like the "Labor Party Advocates" or Jesse Jackson's former campaign manager Ron Daniels with his "21st Century Party" talk about "independence" while in fact seeking to funnel discontent into pushing the Democratic Party "to the left." This "popular front" pressure politics is a dead-end strategy. But it is also true that the desperation and alienation at the base of this society is so extreme that a few labor leaders with integrity feel the pressure to find some way to fight the racist onslaught on behalf of the workers they represent.

For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

To find an equivalent precedent for the ruthless repression and destruction

continued on page 6

Michael and Robert Meeropol

Political Execution: "Could It Happen Again?"

The following statement by Michael and Robert Meeropol, sons of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, was read to a PDC forum in Boston on February 16.

In June of 1953, our parents Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were executed by the United States government. The official charge was conspiracy to commit espionage. The charge in the public consciousness, and the charge that both the judge and President Eisenhower used to justify the Death Penalty was that they had stolen the secret of the Atom Bomb and placed our nation's very survival in jeopardy. We now know that that charge was totally false, and the FBI and prosecutors who developed that charge knew it to be false. This is small consolation because our parents have been "safely dead" for years.

Even at the time of the execution, when America was gripped with Cold War McCarthyite hysteria, it was evident to everybody that the case of our parents was first and foremost a POLITICAL case. They themselves were clear that they were POLITICAL PRISONERS

We have worked to bring the truth of our parents' frame-up to the public for over 20 years. When we began to speak out, over and over again, people asked anxiously, "Could it happen again?"

We are gathered here tonight because for the first time since the execution of our parents, a political prisoner sits on Death Row. Make no mistake about it. The death penalty was imposed in this case because of the POLITICS of Mumia Abu-Jamal. Make no mistake about it, the legal system is brushing aside all evidence of prosecutorial misconduct and other denials of due process because of Mumia Abu-Jamal's POLITICS. Make no mistake about it, the answer to the question of whether something like our parents' case could happen again is a snarling YES pronounced by the Supreme Court and new Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Our parents were almost saved by the mobilization of thousands of Americans. Mumia can yet be saved if we devote ourselves wholeheartedly to spreading the word about his specific case and also about the awful way the Death Penalty is used as the ultimate weapon against political opponents of the status quo—both to kill the most dangerous and to frighten the rest. We must not be frightened. We must not shy away from the defense of Mumia. We must make sure that NO AMERICAN POLITICAL PRISONER suffers the fate of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

International Campaign of Protest—Mobilize Now!

SAVE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL!

Death Row Political Prisoner • Black Journalist • "Voice of the Voiceless" • Former Black Panther • MOVE Supporter

All proceeds from these events go to Jamal's legal defense.

BAY AREA

Speakers include

Don Alexander, Partisan Defense Committee
Robert Bryan, attorney
Mike García, President, SEIU Local 1877,* San Jose, CA
Anthony Van Jones, Director, Bay Area Policewatch*, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights of the San Francisco Bay Area*
Ben Visnick, President, Oakland Education Association/CTA/NEA,* Oakland, CA
Lydia Wallace, sister of Mumia Abu-Jamal
Leonard Weinglass, Jamal's lead counsel

*Organization for identification purposes only

Saturday, Feb. 25, 7:30 p.m.
For more information: (212) 580-1022, (510) 839-0852
ILWU Local 6 Union Hall
99 Hegenberger Road, Oakland
(Hegenberger exit off #880/ Bus #58 from Coliseum BART)

Sponsored by the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black League for Social Defense

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Saturday, Feb. 25, 2 p.m.
Undergraduate Library Lecture Rm.
Howard University
For more information: (202) 872-8240
Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee

LOS ANGELES

Saturday, March 4, 7 p.m.
SEIU Local 399 Union Hall
1247 W. 7th Street (at Wilmer)
For more information: (213) 380-8239
Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee

CHICAGO

Speakers include

Jackie Breckenridge, International Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union,* Chicago, IL
Paul Cooperstein, Partisan Defense Committee
Danny K. Davis, Cook County Commissioner,* 29th Ward Peoples Assembly, Chicago, IL
Seth Donnelly, Executive Director, Illinois Coalition Against the Death Penalty,* Chicago, IL
Hector Flores, Vice President, Amalgamated Transit Union Local 308, Chicago, IL
Belgium Greene, President, Chicago Westside Branch NAACP, Chicago, IL
Wadiya Jamal, wife of Mumia Abu-Jamal
Katie Jordan, President, Coalition of Labor Union Women,* Chicago, IL
Clifford P. Kelley, Chicago, IL
Darby Tillis, former death row inmate, Pastor, Friends to Strangers Ministry,* Chicago, IL
Leonard Weinglass, Jamal's lead counsel
Standish E. Willis, Chairman, Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers; Spokesperson, African American Defense Committee Against Police Violence, Chicago, IL

*Organization for identification purposes only

Saturday, March 4, 2 p.m.
For more information (212) 580-1022, (312) 663-0719
United Electrical Hall
37 S. Ashland

Sponsored by the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal and the Partisan Defense Committee

TORONTO, CANADA

Speakers include

David Bleakney, Chief Steward (South Central), Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Toronto Local*
Lennox Farrell, Black Action Defense Committee
Marc Lamarre, Haitian Resistance Movement in Toronto
Zoltan Lugosi, Prison News Service
Peter Stevens, *Spartacist Canada*
*Organization for identification purposes only

Saturday, March 11, 7:30 p.m.
For more information: (416) 593-4138
St. Paul's Centre, 427 Bloor St. W.
(one block west of Spadina subway)

Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee

VANCOUVER, CANADA

Speakers include

Yvonne Brown
Gord Hill, Anti-Fascist Info
Awels Issa, Somaliland Friendship Society of B.C.
Man Chui Leung and Alas Cienfuegos, Third World Alliance, Vancouver
Jim Lougheed, 1st Vice President, Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Vancouver Local*
Miriam Scribner, Partisan Defense Committee

*Organization for identification purposes only

Saturday, March 11, 7:30 p.m.
For more information: (604) 687-0353
Centre culturel francophone de Vancouver
1551 West 7th Avenue
(west of Granville, 2 blocks north of Broadway)

Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Save Jamal...

(continued from page 5)

of labor and minorities today, you would have to turn the clock back in this country to the 1920s, when the Klan was on the march, the trade-union movement was decimated and radical workers Sacco and Vanzetti were executed. Trying to pressure the Gingrich-Clinton coalition is a lost cause—all they offer is poorhouses, orphanages, hoot camps, or the executioner's chair.

The political agenda of the American ruling class is to reverse the minimal gains wrested through mass militant struggles during the civil rights, Vietnam antiwar and women's liberation movements. The promise of black freedom held out by the defeat of the slaveowners in the Civil War is today openly repudiated by the capitalist rulers, who declare it is irrelevant that the death penalty is blatantly racist. Black oppression has dramatically intensified since the collapse of Stalinism and the destruction of the Soviet Union. With no "red menace" to deflect mounting domestic discontent and fear over the economy, the bourgeoisie plays the race card—with a stacked deck backed up by police-state measures—to divide the working class along race, sex and ethnic lines.

Black people never much bought the anti-Soviet war drive because they knew that *their* enemy was at home. Yet blacks were cynically used as voting cattle for the bosses' Democratic Party—*by its front men like Jesse Jackson*—who dismissed struggle as the means for achieving social justice. During a 1983 campaign stop in New York City, Jackson lectured black students that "You cannot serve the age of those who sat in, you cannot serve the age of those who rode the flaming buses.... We can use the ballot to bring about change and transition through elections and not bloody revolution." When Jackson denounces revolution he is arguing for *maintaining* the capitalist system based on exploitation and oppression of the many for the profits of the few, a system in which labor and blacks always lose.

Everything—the right to vote, to form unions, to attend school—*anything* that working people and minorities have in this country they won through hard class struggle. Notably, a quarter of black workers are union members today and have some consciousness of the social power of the integrated labor movement. This more militant sector can lead more backward white workers in action. It is necessary to wage a political fight against the labor lieutenants of capital in order to break the ties that bind the working class to the parties of capital. We need to forge a multiracial workers party that is not a parliamentary machine but the revolutionary vanguard in the class struggle. And such a workers party will surely attract some of the more serious black and labor officials from the orbit of the Democratic Party, who will break from mainstream bourgeois politics in order to stand with the oppressed.

The working class has the organization and the social power to lead a revolutionary fight against the *system* of racist repression. United-front action around the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal can be a catalyst for the kind of open political debate and militant struggle that's needed in combatting the war on black people, immigrants, labor, women and all the oppressed. The hundreds of unions and community organizations, and the several thousand activists who have become involved in his case are just the beginning. In fighting the "legal lynching" of Jamal we will strike a blow against the whole system of capitalist exploitation and oppression. *Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!* ■

Urgent: Send Funds for Jamal Defense!

Money is absolutely vital to the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal's life. Cases which have successfully overturned death sentences have cost at least $1 million, and Jamal is up against the vast financial resources of the state.

All money raised by rallies and forums to save Mumia Abu-Jamal, organized by the Partisan Defense Committee, is going for Jamal's legal defense. Over $7,500 has been collected and pledged since February 9, including $1,000 from Chicago ATU Local 308, and $200 each from the Northern California Newspaper Guild and ILWU Local 10 executive boards. Hundreds of thousands more $$$ are needed. Time is of the essence, so send a generous contribution NOW!

To help raise funds, Jamal's legal team initiated the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, co-chaired by actors Ossie Davis and Mike Farrell. Advisers include Whoopi Goldberg, Harry Belafonte, Ed Asner, E.L. Doctorow and Sonia Sanchez.

Make out your tax-deductible contribution for the defense to: Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and send it NOW to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, NY, NY 10023-5001.

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Young Spartacus

Rutgers: "Bell Curve" Racism Ignites Storm of Protest

AP photos

Rutgers students march through New Brunswick, New Jersey campus, February 9. Rutgers student demands ouster of university president Lawrence at Board of Governors meeting (top right). Black woman student initiates sit-in forcing cancellation of Rutgers-UMass basketball game (below right).

For more than three weeks, student protests have swept the three Rutgers campuses (New Jersey's state university) in response to racist remarks made by Francis Lawrence, the university's president. At a faculty meeting at the Camden campus last Novemher, Lawrence casually referred to "a disadvantaged population" which lacks the "genetic, hereditary background" to score well on standardized college admissions tests.

On February 1, nearly 500 angry students, mostly black and Hispanic, marched through the main New Brunswick campus after the Newark *Star-Ledger* (31 January) reported Lawrence's comments. One student paper, *The Daily Targum*, and the national director of the NAACP called for Lawrence's resignation. Several days later, Lawrence apologized, calling his remarks an unfortunate "slip." But many students aren't huying it and want him out. As one protest sign put it: "Fran hetter bell-curve his ass out of here."

Each day he remains in office is a hurtful reminder of his hateful words and the racist program of *The Bell Curve*—the pseudo-scientific tract that paints blacks as "genetically inferior." Lawrence's code words are common parlance for white supremacy and ruling-class privilege. While his remarks came in the context of a useful argument he sought to make against the use of notoriously biased "standardized" test scores, their message was no less clear. As *New York Times* columnist Bob Herbert wrote in "Lawrence Must Go" (11 February):

> "It was another blow to the solar plexus of those blacks who cling to the slender hope of someday being seen by whites as fully human and equal beings. For not only was the remark racist, it was an expression of the bedrock concept on which the entire edifice of white racism is built."

We agree.

A February 7 protest put a national spotlight on the rage and anguish sparked by Lawrence's words. A lone young black woman sat in at center court at halftime during a nationally televised baskethall game between Rutgers and 4th-ranked University of Massachusetts, sending a message that "Lawrence must go." The crowd had just spent the first half cheering black athletes playing for good ol' Rutgers. With the sit-in, their cheers suddenly turned to racist taunts of "n---er," "s--cs" and shouts to "put a banana on a string" to get the woman off court. Facing down the taunts, more than 200 people joined her in the protest, shutting down the game. "We're fine as long as we're passing that ball around and putting it in the hoop," one protester said afterward. "But if I try to make a stand on behalf of my humanity, I'm just another n---er."

Black basketball players on the Rutgers team who had intended to sit out the game in protest were threatened with losing their scholarships and were later ordered not to comment on the sit-in. The next day, nearly a thousand students marched in solidarity with the protest. While out of one side of his mouth Lawrence bleated that his comments were a mistake that contradicted his real record, out of the other side he threatened to call out the cops to stop the protests. Lawrence announced he would not tolerate further disruptions of athletic events and warned, "We cannot allow the action of one group to interfere with the rights of another." On February 10, Lawrence mobilized campus cops to repulse student protesters trying to get in to a Board of Governors meeting, which voted unanimously to back him.

Racist Assault on Blacks and Poor

In three words, Lawrence captured precisely the racist onslaught targeting blacks and working people in the U.S. *The Bell Curve* is the textbook for a bipartisan assault on black and poor people—from Bill Clinton's electoral pledge to "end welfare as we know it" to Newt Gingrich's vow to root out the last vestige of 1960s "counterculture." The drive to dismantle social programs, schools, hospitals, jobs and welfare amounts to a program of genocide for an entire layer of inner-city, predominantly black and Hispanic poor.

This agenda is pushed hy so-called liberals and racist conservatives alike. Liberals who once might have marched for black rights and argued to spend more to educate the "truly disadvantaged" now rally against crime and cry out "not in my back yard" against social welfare centers. They, too, see a "cognitive elite" threatened by a growing underclass of poor, allegedly dumh, darker-skinned people who necessitate social control through police-state tactics. Trying to outdo the conservatives with "get tough on crime" rhetoric, they feed a reactionary climate characterized by the triumph of the far right in the 1994 midterm elections.

Lawrence's defenders have made much of his track record of recruiting and promoting minorities. In fact, none of this contradicts the tenet that black people will be "uplifted" through accepting a helping hand from social reformers. Liberals think the capitalist system works, except for the "problem" of blacks who don't fit in. This liberal bias was a fundamental underpinning of the mainstream "war on poverty" of the 1960s, which sought to tinker with the machinery of the racist capitalist state to make it appear more egalitarian. But in order for black equality to be achieved, the capitalist system that is designed to keep black people "in their place" must be scrapped.

For Free, Quality Education for All!

Mass student meetings at Rutgers have argued for reforms, and a coalition of students has formed across the New Brunswick, Newark and Camden campuses. They demand: a rollback in tuition payments; a restructuring of the board of governors; multi-ethnic studies added to core curriculum requirements; women's centers on all campuses; removal of the SAT from admissions requirements and the resignation of Lawrence.

Some of these measures may well improve life at Rutgers, but to eradicate the inherent race and class privilege in higher education will require a socialist revolution to bring about free, quality education for all. The New York Spartacus Youth Club has protested at Rutgers, pointing out the role of the universities in training the next generation of technicians and architects, scientists and administrators for capitalist rule. University presidents like Lawrence are simply

continued on page 15

Sex and the Surgeon General

Trippett/Sipa

Henry W. Foster

Joycelyn Elders

Haber/AP

Washington doesn't want a surgeon general at all—it's a high priest they're after. Amid the fundamentalist diatribes emanating from Capitol Hill these days, the controversy over Clinton's nomination of Henry W. Foster as surgeon general underlines the bipartisan support for the bigots' agenda, especially anything to do with sex. As the "pro-life" reactionaries line up to denounce Dr. Foster as an "abortion activist," the White House waffles on support for its own nominee for performing a legal medical procedure which is a necessary part of his specialty, gynecology. "Pro-choice" politics Clinton-style means caving in to bigots who hold that abortion is illegitimate and should be illegal. This only emboldens the anti-abortion murderers who shoot doctors! Clinton is in tune with the times, when "justice" means cranking up the machinery of legal murder and "kindness" equals cutting poor women and children off welfare to starve.

Clinton picked Foster as his candidate to promote the anti-sex witchhunt. George Bush declared this "family values" doctor one of his "1,000 points of light" for his "I Have a Future" program preaching sexual abstinence to teenagers. As if leaking a guilty secret, the number of abortions Foster "admitted" performing climbed from one to "fewer than a dozen" to 39. Wasting no time, the nominee declared, "I abhor abortion; I abhor war." He swore he had performed abortions only in cases of rape or incest or to save a woman's life, and had delivered "10,000 babies." Then, in a February 10 speech at Georgetown University, Foster "slipped," referring to abortions as "illegal." He emphasized that if confirmed as surgeon general, he would mount a bully pulpit to preach against teenage pregnancy—while opposing the distribution of condoms without parental consent. Meanwhile, the fact that Foster performed sterilizations on retarded women has been brushed aside as "accepted" medical policy at the time.

The bungled nomination sparked a crisis in the Democratic Party, already in disarray over the Republican victory in last November's elections. It's symptomatic of the pervasive political mood opposing abortion rights that the *Wall Street Journal* castigated Clinton for not showing enough "respect" for the "right to life," urging "compromise" with the religious right. The *New York Times* called for the withdrawal of "The Tainted Foster Nomination," taking out the White House for naming Foster "without... knowing the answers to potentially explosive questions" (10 February). Voicing the discomfort of the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie, the *Times* maintains its nominal support for legal abortion, however limited: After all, they want to be sure that their own daughters, wives and mistresses can get out of a fix. While they look down on the fundamentalists who preach creationism and rail against sex, they need their help in promoting social control of the masses.

Down With the Anti-Sex Witchhunt!

The anti-abortion veto threatening Foster's nomination was guaranteed by Clinton's humiliating dismissal of Joycelyn Elders as surgeon general last December. It was a move dictated by the right wing, which disliked this outspoken black woman's support for sex education, abortion rights and the decriminalization of drugs. Uptight bigots demonized Elders as the "black condom queen" for comments like, "Look who's fighting the pro-choice movement—a celibate, male-dominated church" (*Washington Post*, 10 December 1994). The event precipitating her dismissal couldn't be a more ludicrous indictment of the anti-sex mania of the "family values" agenda. At a United Nations-sponsored event commemorating World AIDS Day, Dr. Elders was asked about the prospects for "a more explicit discussion and promotion of masturbation." She replied, "I think that is something that is a part of human sexuality and it's a part of something that perhaps should be taught" (*Washington Post*, 10 December 1994). This bland statement led Clinton to immediately fire her, while the *Times* denounced her "adventurous sallies on sensitive issues"!

AP

Students in Brooklyn display condom distributed at their public school. Such programs save lives, but reactionary anti-sex bigots want to shut them down.

The post of surgeon general has little actual power and serves mainly as a platform for exhortation of the public. But to what purpose? Increasingly over the last 15 or 20 years, that purpose has been to preach a message of "morality" in medical terminology: smoking, drinking and having sex are bad, and those who get sick deserve their fate. While individual surgeons general have not always played along with the reactionary dogma, government policy has been to turn public health departments into vice squads. People with AIDS are neglected and abused, gay sex is stigmatized, as is all non-married, non-monogamous sex. Drug users go to jail for years and years. And the highest rate of teenage pregnancy in the industrialized world is to be dealt with by denying young women access to abortion and contraception, throwing young mothers off welfare and ramming their children into orphanages. While the U.S. has no established church, America is uniquely among the advanced countries steeped in religiosity. Yet the practice of medicine is rooted in the sciences, so any surgeon general is likely to come into conflict with the utterly reactionary policies of the government. Even the ultra-conservative C. Everett Koop ran afoul of his masters in proposing some basic measures of public health in response to the AIDS epidemic.

Elders' frank talk about sex and masturbation touched a deep nerve in America. It's a real clash of human biology with the reactionary social atmosphere, in which sex is supposed to barely exist. For example, late last year a new study of American sexual behavior by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago, published as *Sex in America: A Definitive Survey* (Little, Brown; 1994) finally released its findings to combined anxiety and glee. Proposed in order to come up with ideas to contain the spread of AIDS, the study had been opposed from the beginning in Congress. Senator Jesse Helms thundered in 1991, "The real purpose behind the current sex survey proposal is not to stop the spread of AIDS, but to compile supposedly scientific facts to support the left-wing liberal argument that homosexuality is normal, just another life style." Funding for the survey had to come from private sources.

According to the triumphant bourgeois press, the survey purported to discover that "Faithfulness In Marriage Thrives After All." Most people screw very little, and almost always at home, crowed the media. But the surveyors themselves point out what is wrong with their own survey: "American society is structured to reward those who play by the marriage rules." The book documents the myriad controls society places on people's relationships, especially sexual ones—from the institution of the family itself to segregation by race, class and religion. What reason do the researchers have to believe their respondents are telling the truth? As Robin J. Ely, associate professor of public policy at Harvard, commented, "There is probably a fair amount of measurement error in people's wishful thinking. And people underreport behavior that has negative social consequences" (*Ms.*, January/February 1995).

For a doctor like Joycelyn Elders, a pediatrician, the real problems of children and youth just don't square with the bigots' agenda. Kids are reaching puberty at a younger age, and hormones and glands aren't going to wait for the preachers' OK. But any medically or scientifically sensible proposal for sex education in the schools is anathema in the current social climate, when government has been trying instead to impose prayer in the classroom. Nor can a sex education program devised by the rulers of this deeply conservative country take into account the social backgrounds of individual students, whose parents run the gamut from "illegal" immigrants to lesbians to strict Mennonites.

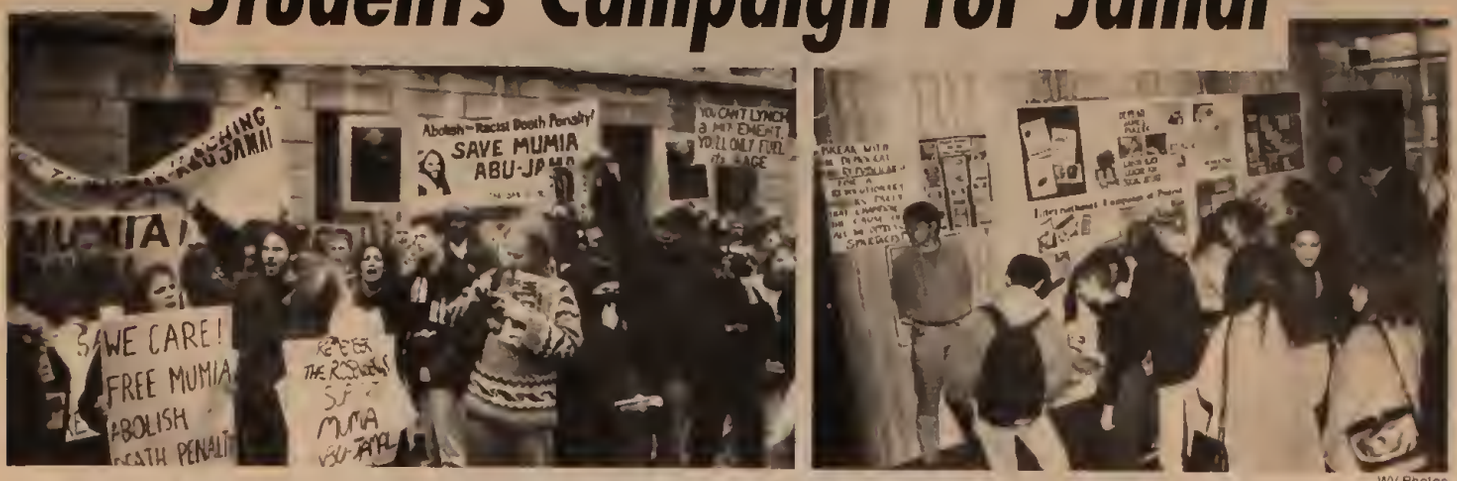
When Elders acknowledged that masturbation was "a part of human sexuality," she touched a deep taboo in American society. It starts from the biblical injunction against Onanism ("spilling your seed upon the ground") and goes on to the deep puritanical anxieties of this very strange and sexually repressive country. As documented in *Sex in America* itself, stopping masturbation among the young was an obsession of 19th-century doctors and reformers, who claimed the practice would ruin youths' physical and mental health. J.H. Kellogg said cornflakes would do the trick, while Sylvester Graham, the inventor of the cracker, had a complete dietary plan. Kellogg further advocated circumcision "without administering an anesthetic, as the brief pain attending the operation will have a salutary effect upon the mind, especially if it be connected with the idea of punishment." He advised the parents of girls to apply "pure carbolic acid to the clitoris." Entrepreneurs invented devices to prevent masturbation, including a genital cage that used a spring to hold a boy's penis and scrotum in place and a device that sounded an alarm if a boy had an erection. The result was "a reign of terror and fear that was reflected in the anxieties reported by young men as late as the Kinsey studies conducted in the 1930s and 1940s."

Young children are taught from infancy that touching themselves is wrong, learning fear and disgust for sex and their own bodies. Today these anti-sex horrors are carried on by such bigots as the feminists MacKinnon and Dworkin, who are revolted that men look at pornography as an aid to masturbation. And until recently, guys at West Point were expelled if caught masturbating.

It's hard to make sense out of all this madness. But manipulation of anxiety and insecurity about sex has long served the ruling class to regiment the population into adopting behavior and attitudes reinforcing their rule. The school prayer program serves to prop up two institutions fundamental to the maintenance of capitalism: the family, the main source of the oppression of women in class society, and institutionalized religion.

A recent *Newsweek* featured a cover article, "Shame: How Do We Bring Back a Sense of Right and Wrong?" with accompanying sidebars, "What Ever Happened to Sin?" and "No 'Perverts' Allowed." According to this article, public humiliation, such as publishing the pictures of convicted prostitutes in the newspapers, and physical punishment, such as paddling of juvenile criminals, is on the rise. This drive for "morality" is going to affect all of us. For example, many states are considering legislation that would make it harder for couples with children to get an easy divorce. Proper moral regimentation, say the experts, will stop the "slip-sliding toward turpitude" that threatens "fragile

Students Campaign for Jamal



WV Photos

Young activists champion the cause of Mumia Abu-Jamal in January 17 march at inauguration of Pennsylvania governor Ridge in Harrisburg (left). Youth from 17 area campuses turned out for New York rally on February 11 (right).

Students across the country are rallying to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal. On the West Coast, youth activists galvanized by the fight against anti-immigrant Proposition 187 have turned their energies to the fight against the death penalty. A multiracial audience of more than 250 Laney Community College students attended a screening of "From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal" at a February 8 event co-sponsored by the Ethnic Studies Department and the Spartacus Youth Club.

Before the video, Hursey Bush of the Labor Black League for Social Defense underlined the urgency of the fight to save Mumia's life: "If Mumia is executed, it will be the first political execution since the Rosenbergs, Jewish communists framed and killed in the 1950s. So the death penalty has a political purpose for the ruling class. The death penalty is the Klan's lynch rope made legal." Some 50 students signed up on the spot to work on the campaign. The African Student Union agreed to circulate campaign material and to set up a table on the campus to fill petitions addressed to Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge. Some students plan to join SYC members at supermarkets to petition, while others took the forms with them. A few students want the video shown to their friends and at other classes. Here's what's happening elsewhere:

• At the University of California at Berkeley, the SYC gave an hour and a half presentation and video showing in Professor Robert Allen's class on racial politics. Joseph Seymour of the Spartacist League spoke of the message behind the government's campaign to kill this courageous and eloquent spokesman for the oppressed: "Central to the testimony [against Mumia] was his political association, the fact that he was a Panther. He wasn't convicted as a criminal. He was convicted as a revolutionary. That's a message. And the message for every black radical, for everyone who goes beyond the bounds of 'respectable' opinion in this country, is if we can kill Mumia, we can kill you." The following night, two students from Allen's class came out to another video showing in Berkeley to get involved in the fight for Mumia's life.

• A benefit concert by the popular group Pothole drew a youthful crowd of about 200 in the San Francisco Bay Area on February 19. One rap artist, Click Dark, announced at the event that 10 percent of the proceeds from his new CD will go to political causes, including the defense of Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) and Mumia Abu-Jamal. $540 was raised for Jamal's legal defense from the band's performance.

• About 100 participants from Boston campuses, western Massachusetts and New Hampshire attended a February 16 Boston University forum on the campaign to save Mumia. The event, co-sponsored by the BU black student group Umoja, BU Friends of the Spartacus Youth Club and the Partisan Defense Committee, featured labor and community organizers as well as historian Howard Zinn, author of *A People's History of the United States*. Many students returned to their campuses armed with petitions and packets of information on the case. More than $600 was raised for Mumia's legal defense.

• In the South, historically the center of racist "legal lynching," 30 people attended a forum at Georgia State University co-sponsored by the Black Student Alliance and the PDC. The assembled aholitionists joined a representative of the Black Workers for Justice in chanting, "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!" to kick off the event. During the discussion after the video presentation, a friend of Mumia and a spokesman for Political Prisoners of War urged the youth in the crowd to get involved: "The movement needs new cadre!" A highlight of the event was the response of campus maintenance workers who plan to show the video to co-workers. The BSA president jumped at the idea of organizing with other BSAs to save the life of Jamal.

At the February 8 Laney event, students raised many questions not only about how to defend Jamal but also about the capacity of the working class to struggle. What strategy can win in the fight against the racist capitalist system? How do you unite the workers and the oppressed in the struggle when there are so many desperately poor and unemployed?

Our comrades pointed to the power of the multiracial working class, the one force that can and must be mobilized if there is to be a real fight against this whole rotten racist system. That many youth can't conceive of the labor movement as a force to fight on its own behalf, let alone on behalf of blacks, immigrants, desperate welfare mothers, or the ghetto poor, is a question of leadership. The key to realizing the revolutionary potential of the working class is to build a multiracial revolutionary vanguard party forged in struggle against the racist, pro-capitalist leadership of the labor movement.

When one Laney student asked, "Where is the leadership?" another called out to him, "You are the leadership! You know what must be done, and you lead and get others to join the struggle." Another student said, "It's up to you. You can take the *Workers Vanguard* home and leave it in your book bag, or you can take the knowledge you've gained and go out and talk to others about this!" ■

civilization." And that, our rulers believe, will ensure a workforce that will turn up on time, work till they drop, accept the wage cuts necessary to increase profits...and go to war when ordered.

There are some real heroes in medicine in the United States today, but they aren't to be found sitting behind desks on Capitol Hill or yelling at teenagers for having sex. In less than two years, two doctors, an escort and two receptionists, all working to provide abortion services to women, have been brutally murdered by anti-abortion bigots in this country. Scores of others have been shot at, threatened and stalked, as the clinics where they work are bombed and blockaded. Many of the doctors travel hundreds of miles a week to perform abortions in isolated counties where abortions would otherwise simply not be available.

This is a real indictment of the barbarism of this capitalist system, which spawns the reactionary atmosphere encouraging intimidation and even murder of women and their doctors over ending a pregnancy. Clinton and his cops aren't going to do anything to defend the clinics—it's up to workers, women, youth to mobilize to stop the bigots. We need free abortion and contraception on demand, as part of free, quality health care! But in order to get what should be every human being's right, we're going to have to overthrow this profit system and build a new society. It's about time we put this ruling class out of the business of telling us what to do in our bedrooms—and out of business, period. ■

Protests Against Racist Backlash at Berkeley's Boalt Law School

One week after Hitler-lover David Irving's return to UC Berkeley was spiked, vile race-hate flyers appeared for a second time in the mailboxes of minority students at University of California's Boalt Hall School of Law. More than 200 students and faculty rallied against this racist provocation on February 15.

Behind the flyers' racist epithets and semi-literate whining about affirmative action stands the real threat of fascist terror. The ruling-class effort to dismantle affirmative action programs in California has rapidly become a rallying point for racists everywhere. Coinciding with the hate mail at Boalt Hall, Nazi flyers appeared at nearby College of San Mateo. These outrageous provocations are part of a campaign of racist intimidation aimed at driving minority students off campuses. Defense of affirmative action on the campuses must become part of a broad working-class fight to defend blacks, minorities and immigrants against all-sided racist reaction!

In a disgusting turn of events, Berkeley Chancellor Tien was allowed to appear at the Boalt protest. This is truly gross! The university had just tried to provide Irving with a police-protected venue on February 3, even after he was run out by anti-fascists last October (see "Hitler-Lover David Irving, Foiled Again," *WV* No. 616). Tien now threatens "the strongest possible sanctions" against the anonymous perpetrator(s) at Boalt. Students beware: Leftist and anti-racist protesters have always been the ultimate target of university disciplinary codes.

A law student speaking at the February 15 rally noted, "There are a lot of messages going out throughout the state saying racism is OK." These messages emanate from the capitalist ruling class, from Democrats as well as Republicans, and start with the corporate millionaire U.C. Board of Regents, which is now "rethinking" affirmative action. Professors from the right-wing California Association of Scholars are pushing for a reactionary "Son of [Proposition] 187" voter initiative to ban affirmative action in employment, education and contracting. Hoping to save them the trouble of getting signatures for the ballot initiative, a state senator from San Francisco, Quentin Kopp, co-sponsored an identical piece of legislation as a constitutional amendment. All these reactionary forces agree on reversing what is left of the minimal gains made for blacks and other minorities through *fierce struggle* against the American rulers' racist order.

The Spartacus Youth Clubs understand the urgency of fighting the racist backlash at Boalt Hall, which is part of a nationwide push to ensure that higher education remains overwhelmingly white and upper-middle-class. We defend affirmative-action admissions in education to open access to universities for minorities, but quotas are not our program, and indeed they take racial discrimination in U.S. society as a given. To combat the race and class privilege inherent in higher education under capitalism, we call for free tuition and open admissions to open the school doors to all. This requires a revolutionary party that fights for a socialist revolution to end capitalist rule. Join us in building that party! ■

East Europe: Five Years of Counterrevolution

Part 3: Nationalism and Social Democracy in the Baltics

We print below the conclusion of a three-part series. Part 1, "The Fall of Polish Solidarność," appeared in WV *No. 614 (13 January); and Part 2, "Hungarian 'Socialists' Push Anti-Worker Austerity," was published in* WV *No. 615 (27 January)*

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union was accompanied by and in turn fueled a sharp rise in nationalism, both Great Russian chauvinism and myriad separatist movements among the non-Russian peoples. Since Boris Yeltsin's seizure of power from the collapsing Stalinist bureaucracy in August 1991, ushering in capitalist restoration and the dissolution of the USSR, fratricidal civil wars have flared up in one after another former Soviet republic. Yeltsin's invasion and occupation of the tiny Caucasian region of Chechnya is an attempt by the new capitalist overlords of Russia to restore the tsarist prison house of peoples.

The spearhead for the nationalist breakup of the ex-USSR, triggered by the Baltic secessionist drive, was the Sajudis movement in Lithuania, which in early 1990 became the first Soviet republic to declare independence. Spouting virulent anti-Russian chauvinism and shot through with outright fascists, Sajudis and its leader Vytautas Landsbergis initially rallied wide popular support as they sought to resurrect the anti-Communist Lithuanian regime of the period between World Wars I and II. Yet less than three years later, by the fall of 1992 this arch-reactionary outfit had been reduced to an empty shell, while the once-despised Stalinist bureaucrats rode back to power on a wave of popular discontent with the effects of capitalist restoration. The Lithuanian elections established a pattern of Stalinists-turned-social-democrats displacing right-wing nationalists, which was then repeated in Poland, Hungary and, most recently, Bulgaria.

When independence brought not expected Western-financed prosperity but near-total economic collapse, the Lithuanian masses turned against the reactionary fanatics of Sajudis and in favor of the ex-Stalinists, who promised to restore ties with Russia and ameliorate the harsh economic austerity imposed by the nationalists. Under Sajudis, industrial output and wages dropped 50 percent, while inflation reached *1,700 percent*. Food production plummeted by two-thirds in three years, the result of a forced-march *de*collectivization by the Sajudis regime, which laid waste to productive farmland by handing it back to its pre-1940 owners. One cooperative farm worker said bitterly, "I know one thing: We were better off under Soviet rule."

AP

Breakup of Soviet Union has brought economic immiseration amid nationalist frenzy. Store clerk in Vilnius demands customer show Lithuanian passport to buy bottle of vegetable oil.

WV Map

In the October 1992 elections, the Democratic Labor Party (DLP), successor to the Lithuanian Communist Party, won 76 out of 141 seats in the Seimas (parliament) against a mere 27 for Sajudis. A few months later, in February 1993, DLP leader Algirdas Brazauskas was elected president with over 60 percent of the vote, defeating a relic of the interwar regime who was backed by a coalition of 14 right-wing nationalist parties. But far from offering a return to the living standards and economic security of the Soviet era, the DLP is firmly committed to capitalism. "The word communism does not exist in our party," Brazauskas announced following his election, adding that privatization would be "one of the main means of stimulating and modernizing our industry." At his inauguration at Vilnius' Catholic cathedral, this former "Communist" vowed allegiance to "Nation, Country, God."

Like its Polish and Hungarian counterparts, the DLP benefited from the popular identification of capitalist immiseration with hard right-wing, anti-Communist (and anti-Russian) nationalism. This contrasts with Russia, where the Stalinist leftovers were able to join forces with open anti-Semites, monarchists and fascists in a chauvinist "red-brown" coalition for a Great Russian *derzhava* (strong state) against Yeltsin's pro-Western orientation. But to the Lithuanian nationalists of Sajudis, *anything* smacking of the former Soviet Union was anathema. Thus forced to defend themselves against victorious right-wing nationalism, the ex-Stalinists of the DLP had little choice but to define themselves as a pro-working-class opposition.

The Sordid Legacy of Baltic "Independence"

During the Cold War, the Baltic republics provided a stock theme for anti-Soviet "Captive Nations" propaganda in the West. Like the CIA and its émigré nationalist agents—many of them former Nazi collaborators—Sajudis and its nationalist "Popular Front" counterparts in Estonia and Latvia looked back to and glorified the vaunted "independence" of the interwar years, when tiny ruling elites exploited and terrorized the workers and minorities of their respective countries. In fact, under capitalism, these statelets—whose total population is barely eight million—were historically and are again today nothing more than neocolonial vassals of the European imperialist powers. But the worker and peasant masses had a long history of struggle against their foreign and domestic masters.

Before 1917, the three Baltic states were incorporated into the tsarist empire. Under Russian administration, a German-derived nobility—the Baltic barons—exploited the Latvian and Estonian peasants and town laborers, while the Lithuanian upper classes were intermeshed with their Polish cousins. As the tsarist autocracy began to crumble in the early years of this century, Latvia and Estonia became bastions of left-wing socialism, joining the Bolsheviks in revolutionary opposition to the imperialist war, while Lithuania was a center of the SDKPiL of Rosa Luxemburg, Leo Jogiches and the Polish Lithuanian Felix Dzerzhinsky.

Already in May 1917, the Latvian Rifles became one of the first military units to come out for soviet power. Paying tribute to their critical role in defending the October Revolution, Red Army founder Leon Trotsky said in 1918, "Let anyone name any military units that are as disciplined, as firm and as self-sacrificing as our Lettish units." After the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia, Soviet republics were established in the northern Baltic region with massive popular, centrally proletarian, support. Soviet power in Latvia and Estonia was, however, overthrown by an unholy alliance of British and German imperialism, White Russian forces and Baltic bourgeois nationalists. Large numbers of left-wing Lettish and Estonian workers and intellectuals were forced to flee to Soviet Russia and elsewhere.

By the 1930s, the three Baltic states had become right-wing dictatorships which suppressed the left and workers movement and persecuted Jews through such measures as the *numerus clausus* restricting access to higher education and the professions. (Among the Lithuanian Jews who fled the right-wing regime were the families of the late South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo and SACPer Ronnie Kasrils, now South Africa's deputy minister of defense.) Nonetheless, their existence as independent states fostered a national identity among the Baltic peoples distinct from

the Slavic core of the Soviet Union. At the same time, the Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian Revolution—especially the bloody purges of the mid-1930s—increasingly alienated the traditionally socialist and pro-Soviet proletariat of Latvia, Estonia and also Finland.

Following the 1939 Hitler-Stalin pact, the USSR annexed the Baltic states as a strategic defense measure. While insisting on *unconditional military defense of the Soviet degenerated workers state* against all its capitalist enemies, Trotsky warned that the military advantages accruing to the Soviet Union would be more than offset by the negative political effects:

> "It cannot be doubted that control over the military bases on the Baltic coast represents strategical advantages. But this alone cannot determine the question of invasion of neighboring states. The defense of an isolated workers' state depends much more on the support of the laboring masses all over the world than on two or three supplementary strategical points. . .
>
> "At present this important pre-condition for revolutionary intervention exists, if at all, in a very small degree. The strangling of the peoples of the USSR, particularly of the national minorities, by police methods, repelled the majority of the toiling masses of the neighboring countries from Moscow. The invasion of the Red Army is seen by the populations not as an act of liberation but as an act of violence, and thereby facilitates the mobilization of world public opinion against the USSR by the imperialist powers."
>
> —Leon Trotsky, "The World Situation and Perspectives" (February 1940).

With the Estonian coast overlooking the western approach to Leningrad and its capital Tallinn barely a hundred miles away, Soviet control of the Baltics was of vital strategic importance. But Stalin squandered this military advantage by placing his confidence in Hitler's assurances of "non-aggression," having already decapitated the Red Army on the eve of war. When the Nazi leader launched his Operation Barbarossa in June 1941, the Wehrmacht was able to roll right through the Baltics and Byelorussia to the very edge of Leningrad, stopped there only by the heroic efforts of the Red Army and the city's population.

Meanwhile, the Baltic nationalists seized on the German invasion to enlist in the Nazi Holocaust. Lithuanian anti-Semites carried out the worst pogrom in East Europe in Kaunas (Kovno) two days after the invasion, while the Lithuanian police later enthusiastically assisted in the slaughter of 120,000 people, overwhelmingly Jews, at Ponary. Estonian and Latvian SS units, the latter including the Arajs Commando death brigade, surpassed even the German Nazis in their anti-Semitic zeal. The Estonian SS killers went on to form the Forest Brothers, a terrorist gang that attacked Jews and Communists after the war. In Latvia, the Aizsargi fascist militia began carrying out pogroms even before the German army entered the country in 1941. These same fascists had earlier been instrumental in overthrowing the 1919 soviet republic and in installing the Ulmanis dictatorship in 1934.

Sipa

John Voos

Ex-Stalinist, now social democrat Algirdas Brazauskas replaced anti-Communist fanatic Vytautas Landsbergis (at right, under picture of 13th-century King Mindaugas) as Lithuania's president in 1993.

This is the legacy of "independence" of which the various Baltic nationalists speak so fervently today, as they seek to recreate the totalitarian, anti-Semitic regimes of the interwar years. Among the first acts of the Sajudis regime was to pardon fascist war criminals who had been imprisoned by the Soviets. In Estonia, the regime extinguished the eternal flame in Tallinn in memory of Soviet fighters against fascism. And, "Latvia may be the only place in the world building monuments to the SS"—with at least 19 of these grotesque celebrations of the Holocaust, as the London *Guardian* (12 February 1993) reported. The infamous Aizsargi are back on the streets in force, while SS veterans publicly flaunt their iron crosses and meet regularly at Riga's War Museum.

Gorbachev "Market Reforms" Ignited Baltic Counterrevolution

The immediate backdrop to the rise of rabidly nationalist secessionist movements in the Baltics lay in the market-oriented perestroika "reforms" introduced by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in the mid-1980s. Gorbachev looked to the Baltic republics—the most economically advanced part of the USSR—to become the vanguard region of perestroika. To this end, he promoted the formation of the Latvian and Estonian Popular Fronts and the Lithuanian Sajudis (originally called Movement for the Support of Perestroika) as a means of getting around more conservative elements in the bureaucracy. But these movements were quickly taken over by pro-imperialist anti-Communists, and the ensuing nationalist upsurge tore the Baltic branch of the Soviet bureaucracy to shreds.

In Latvia and Estonia, the principal leaders of the Communist parties broke with Moscow to become bourgeois-nationalist politicians indistinguishable from their erstwhile anti-Communist opponents. In Lithuania, the old-line Stalinist leadership of the CP was replaced in 1988 by the "reformer" Brazauskas, who favored a gradual move toward independence. The following year Brazauskas, too, broke with Moscow, provoking a split by a pro-Soviet minority, which has since been driven underground. But the chauvinist fanatics around Sajudis regarded even nationalliberal Stalinists like Brazauskas as traitorous agents of the Kremlin. One member of the Lithuanian parliament proposed the summary execution of all present and former members of the Communist Party!

Egged on by its imperialist sponsors, the Sajudis regime embarked on a course of provocative confrontation with the Kremlin. Despite their equally rabid chauvinism, the Latvian and Estonian Popular Fronts were somewhat constrained in pushing for secession by the opposition of large Russian-speaking minorities (primarily ethnic Russians, but also Ukrainians and Byelorussians). These make up half the population of Latvia and almost 40 percent of Estonia, but only 20 percent of Lithuania consists of Russians and Poles. Rightly fearing they would be persecuted or expelled following independence, these minorities—who formed the majority of the industrial proletariat in both countries—rallied behind Moscow-loyal CPs and the so-called "Internationalist Movement."

Led by a Russian and a Siberian Estonian, the "Inter-Movement" organized a series of effective strikes and protests against discriminatory measures by the Estonian Popular Front regime, harking back to Lenin in calling for "equal rights for all nations." But despite such appeals, in practice the leadership of the "Inter-Movement" sought to pressure the Kremlin to act as guardians of the Russian-speaking population. However, the rising tide of nationalism could not be stopped without ousting the entire Stalinist bureaucracy through proletarian political revolution and halting the rapid slide toward capitalist counterrevolution. What was needed was a Leninist-Trotskyist party fighting to restore soviet democracy and Bolshevik internationalism.

Following independence, the Baltic nationalist regimes moved to strip the Russian-speaking population of citizenship, if not to expel them outright. Latvian president Gorbunovs (former head of the Latvian Communist Party) expresses open admiration for apartheid South Africa as a model for solving the "ethnic question." Non-Balt residents of Estonia and Latvia—including those who were born there—are required to get visas costing as much as $20 (the equivalent of four months' pay) to return home if they cross the border. Many were fired from their jobs. Even a more liberal law passed last year under pressure from the West denies Latvian citizenship to many Russian speakers at least until the year 2000 and excludes all those who opposed independence or were active Communists.

To justify their chauvinist onslaught, Latvian and Estonian petty-bourgeois nationalists maintain that the large-scale influx of Russians and other "Soviet peoples" into the northern Baltic region was a deliberate plot by Moscow to destroy their national identity. In fact, these areas, particularly in the cities, traditionally had large non-Balt populations. On the eve of the Russian Revolution, Riga was a thoroughly multinational city: 20 percent of its inhabitants were Russian, 14 percent German and 7 percent Yiddish-speaking Jews. The in-migration of Russian speakers following World War II was, by and large, a reflection of the general mobility of Soviet workers in response to economic opportunities. Russian working people, especially youth emigrating from the countryside to the cities, were attracted to the higher living standards and job openings in Riga and Tallinn.

During the Soviet era, the Baltic republics not only experienced an enormous

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Niedenthal/Time

AP

Lithuanian Sajudis nationalists, shown demonstrating against Gorbachev visit to Vilnius in 1990 (left), were in forefront of counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. Supporters of Lithuanian Communist Party (right) protest against secession from the USSR, January 1990.

East Europe...

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improvement in the living conditions of all their inhabitants but also preserved and deepened their distinct national cultures. In his sympathetic account of the Baltic secessionist movements, Anatol Lieven, who is of Latvian descent, acknowledges:

> "By 1940, use of the Baltic languages in education and higher culture was still new and fragile. Despite Russification, the fact of official status for their languages, and the opportunities afforded by Soviet republican institutions (such as schools and universities in the Baltic languages, Writers' Unions, and so on) put the Balts in a better position to defend their language and identity than several other small linguistic groups in modern Europe: the Gaelic Irish in the last century, or the Basques, Bretons and Welsh in this one, for example."
>
> —*The Baltic Revolution: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and the Path to Independence* (1993)

Independence and Economic Collapse

The Baltic nationalists dreamed that capitalist independence would quickly allow them to live like Swedes or Finns. Expecting the West to shower them with dollars and D-marks as a reward for aiding the destruction of the Soviet Union, the Lithuanian Sajudis and its counterparts in Latvia and Estonia made little or no attempt to negotiate new economic arrangements with the Yeltsin regime in Moscow when the USSR broke apart in late 1991. As part of the integrated Soviet economy, the Baltic republics received oil, natural gas and other raw materials at nominal cost. But now they had to pay hard currency at the extortionate world market price manipulated by the Seven Sisters/OPEC cartel. Fuel prices in the new Baltic states skyrocketed, climbing to as much as *800 times* their 1990 levels. By the end of 1992, industrial production in Lithuania had fallen by half, in Estonia by 40 percent and in Latvia by a third. Bread was rationed, and homes had hot water for only two days a week and in many cases not at all.

Speeding up the political suicide of Sajudis was the move to decollectivize agriculture and restore farmland to those who had owned it in 1940 or their descendants, many of whom lived in West Europe or North America. When angry collective farmers marched in Vilnius in late 1991 to protest the seizure of their land for the benefit of Lithuanian Americans in Chicago, Sajudis boss Landsbergis denounced them as agents of Moscow! By contrast, the ex-Stalinists of the DLP presented themselves as champions of the rural toilers.

More generally, the social democrats promised to restore the economic advantages of the former Soviet Union, which Brazauskas & Co. had helped to destroy. During the election campaigns, the DLP leader boasted, "I have thirty years experience with the Moscow bureaucracy.... I won't get lost in those Moscow corridors." However, the Moscow bureaucracy of Yeltsin was separated from the Moscow bureaucracy of Brezhnev or even Gorbachev by a fundamental divide—the divide of counterrevolution. The Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy at least paid some lip service to internationalism, while the new rulers of capitalist Russia are openly nationalist, with a vengeance.

Boni and Liveright

Latvian rifle battalions in Petrograd played heroic role in 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. Workers and farm laborers in northern Baltic region of the tsarist empire were stronghold of left-wing socialism.

As president of the Russian republic during the last period of the Gorbachev regime, Yeltsin was initially the main friend and protector in Moscow of Sajudis and the Latvian and Estonian Popular Fronts. But the disintegration of the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy led to a mushrooming of *Russian* nationalism. In order to maintain and develop the Soviet Union *as a whole*, the bureaucracy had been willing to subordinate the narrow economic interests of Russia to a considerable extent, heavily subsidizing, for example, the poorer, Turkic-speaking regions of Central Asia. But now Yeltsin promoted an independent Russia that would no longer have to subsidize Central Asia or supply cheap oil to the Ukraine and other Soviet republics. Following the breakup of the USSR, Yeltsin then slapped a 100 percent tariff on industrial imports from the Baltic states.

Hence the shift in governmental power in Lithuania from right-wing nationalists to ex-Stalinist social democrats in no way halted the economic collapse. A year after the DLP took power, industrial production remained less than 35 percent of the Soviet-era level. Factory workers were working one or two days a week in a transparent attempt to disguise the reality of mass unemployment.

Far from bringing Scandinavian-style prosperity, independence has reduced the Baltic states to impoverished neocolonies of the West. Even Estonia, which leads the Baltic republics in foreign investment and is hailed as a Baltic success story for Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs' draconian "shock therapy," has seen a massive economic collapse. A couple of winters ago, thousands of Estonians nearly froze to death but for an emergency shipment of heating oil from Finland. In the Russian-populated industrial center of Narva, one out of two workers is unemployed. Yet Fatherland Coalition prime minister Mart Laar "wants to keep unemployment benefits meager to encourage the jobless to work" (*New York Times*, 13 June 1994).

The Baltic economies, such as they are, have essentially been subordinated to imperialism, particularly Germany and the Scandinavian countries. Declaring "Baltic States Look Back to the Future," a headline in the *Central European Economic Review* (Winter 1994) asked, "A New Hanseatic League?" referring to the German-dominated Baltic coast mercantile alliance of the 14th and 15th centuries. The Treuhand, the Bonn agency responsible for closing down East German industry following reunification, now has a branch office in Tallinn to oversee Estonia's "privatization" process, while "Latvia's central bank was created under the watchful eye of the Bundesbank." Sweden and Finland dominate foreign investment in Estonia; Germany and the U.S. in Latvia. The Estonian kroon is pegged to the D-mark, while the new Lithuanian lita, like its prewar antecedent, is pegged to the dollar.

Imperialist domination of the Baltics is not simply economic. Estonia's army is commanded by a former U.S. army colonel (and supplied with Israeli weaponry). In Latvia, not only is the defense minister an American (whose family fled Latvia...in 1944, for Nazi Germany), but so is the minister for foreign trade and a leading parliamentary figure. This reverse diaspora is dominated by such hard-bitten anti-Communist nationalists that even a Latvian politician was driven to complain: "They want Latvia the way it was before they left. Many of them are full of revenge. It is very dangerous" (*Washington Post*, 6 July 1994).

For Socialist Revolution Throughout the Lands of the Former USSR

During the heyday of nationalist euphoria in the Baltics, an American journalist observed, "Ordinary people in Lithuania are mostly sane, but their leaders are mostly mad." But the chauvinist frenzy which has taken hold in East Europe and the former Soviet Union is neither an insane "excess" nor is it a throwback to primitive tribal impulses, as Western commentators would have it. Rather it is a direct consequence of capitalist counterrevolution. And the responsibility for this enormous catastrophe for working people the world over lies squarely at the feet of the Stalinists.

The Soviet economy was integrated on an all-Union basis, and enterprises were designed to take maximum advantage of economies of scale. For example, 70 percent of all the different types of machine tools made in the USSR were produced in one factory and in no other. Energy supplied to most Soviet enterprises came from a few huge oil and natural gas fields in Siberia. The integrated economic development of the USSR went hand in hand with the *intermingling* of its diverse peoples. However, the multinational character of Soviet society and its economic structure stood in sharp contradiction to the increasing Great Russian chauvinism of the Kremlin oligarchy and corresponding anti-Russian nationalism of the intelligentsia and even much of the bureaucratic *nomenklatura* in non-Russian republics.

Thus the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR has produced and was bound to produce fratricidal slaughter, especially in the Caucasus, and Russian economic warfare against the far weaker neighboring states of the "near abroad." The current slaughter of the Chechen people by Yeltsin's Russia and the Nazi-like laws depriving Russian speakers of citizenship in Latvia and Estonia underscore a fundamental fact of the post-Soviet world: the rulers of the nascent bourgeois states arising out of the breakup of the USSR will invariably trample on the large national minorities living in those territories.

The October Revolution and the formation of the multinational USSR were made possible only through the Bolsheviks' internationalist opposition to such Great Russian chauvinism—and all nationalism—expressed in Lenin's call for the right of self-determination for all nations in the tsarist prison house of peoples. The Stalinist usurpers simultaneously encouraged nationalism while bureaucratically trampling on the national—as well as social and political—rights of the diverse Soviet peoples. As nationalist strife threatened to blow the USSR apart, a host of pseudo-Trotskyists cheered on Sajudis, in some cases (e.g., the British Workers Power group and the Argentine-based Morenoite tendency) even demanding that the imperialists aid this anti-Soviet movement.

In contrast, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) opposed capitalist restoration down the line and fought for proletarian political revolution as the only way to save the Soviet degenerated workers state. At the same time, we insisted on the right of all nations to separate from the rest of the Soviet Union as independent *workers states*—i.e., where "independence" was not a cover for counterrevolution.

Far from ensuring the national rights of the non-Russian peoples, capitalist restoration has produced a chauvinist frenzy of fratricidal slaughter, forced population transfers, deportations and pervasive discrimination. Today, as well, we stand for equal rights for all nationalities, and for full citizenship and language rights for all peoples throughout the lands of the ex-USSR. But these elementary democratic demands, particularly given the degree of interpenetration which continues to exist among different peoples, can only be achieved through united proletarian struggle for socialist revolution against all the wretchedly reactionary capitalist regimes now in place.

To combat the social and economic degradation of the counterrevolution and the ensuing nationalist and communalist wars, the working class throughout the former USSR, centrally Russia, will have to rediscover and reacquire its own revolutionary tradition, which was destroyed by Stalinism. The proletariat which made the October Revolution learned from Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks that it was part of an international struggle. It understood that the only prospect for survival lay in extension of the revolution to the advanced capitalist countries. Only as part of the struggle to reforge an authentic world party of socialist revolution can the working people in the lands of the former Soviet Union cohere the leadership they need to sweep away the horrors they now confront. ■

Wayne Sorce

Fascist former members of Latvian SS units, which fought with Hitler's Wehrmacht against the Soviet Red Army, now flaunt their Nazi medals and celebrate the Holocaust.

Carlos Cisneros

Espartaco

Hundreds of thousands have demonstrated in Mexico City's Zócalo (central square) against military occupation of Chiapas. Right: Supporters of Grupo Espartaquista de México call to "Mobilize the Working Class Against Repression and the Starvation Plan."

Mexico...

(continued from page 1)

impose "tight money" policies that would lead to a collapse of banking and industrial production, while insisting that the U.S. has control of Mexico's multi-billion-dollar oil revenues as a condition for its bailout "loan." Such outright looting can only produce outrage in this country where General Lázaro Cárdenas' 1938 nationalization of foreign oil companies is seen as a second declaration of independence.

The military assault on the EZLN's base of support in the Lacandon rain forest in Chiapas was long in preparation. An estimated 60,000 of the Mexican army's 130,000 troops were concentrated in the region. Some 100 tanks and armored cars were sent down dirt roads to seize scores of communities. The Mayan Indian peasants fled into the hills, and those who were captured were subjected to torture by military interrogators trained by Argentine officers who carried out the infamous "dirty war" against the left in the 1970s. On the other side of the border, Guatemalan *kaibile* counter-insurgency troops cut off escape routes to the south and east from the Mexican army's "cordon of death." Meanwhile, in the capital and other cities, helicopters flew low over neighborhoods as judicial police carried out a witchhunt for alleged Zapatista supporters. The "arsenal" they seized consisted of a few pistols and homemade bombs, making a mockery of Zedillo's claim that this justified breaking off dialogue and sending the army after Zapatista leaders.

But most disturbing for the government was the hornet's nest of opposition its assault touched off. On Saturday, February 11, only two days after the military operation was launched, more than 100,000 protesters poured into the Zócalo, the huge square in the center of Mexico City, to denounce the government. While the bourgeois opposition Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) called the protest under the slogan "For a Peaceful and Democratic Solution—No to the War," thousands of demonstrators showed a combative spirit sharply contrasting with such pacifistic appeals. Students commandeered buses, draping them with "Viva EZLN!" banners. "We are all Marcos" was by far the most popular slogan, along with "Marcos hold on, the people are rising up!" Union contingents carried full-size posters of the EZLN leader in his trademark ski mask. When PRD activists tried to mount a cheer for their leader, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, and even for his father Lázaro Cárdenas, massive cries of "Viva Marcos!" drowned them out.

And the protests have not stopped. In midweek, tens of thousands again protested in solidarity with the Zapatistas, and on February 18 an even larger crowd, estimated at between 120,000 and 200,000, gathered in the Zócalo to denounce the regime's bloody repression as well as its brutal economic policies which spell starvation and misery for the Mexican masses. And what is the response of the popular-front opposition led by the PRD? At the February 11 demonstration, Cárdenas said that it is necessary to "fill the plazas a thousand times over to obtain an immediate truce, a peaceful and political solution for Chiapas and the construction of peace with justice and dignity" (*La Jornada*, 12 February). A week later, Cárdenas called to "build bridges with other political forces," namely the right-wing PAN and forces within the ruling party. But many protesters must be asking themselves if marching "a thousand times over" under the leadership of bourgeois politicians is going to solve the burning problems of the oppressed.

For the crisis is more than that of the peso, the repression, or Zedillo's presidency. The domination of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), which has maintained a one-party regime for the last six and a half decades, is beginning to crack. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) not only sharply intensified Mexico's semicolonial subjugation to the U.S.; it has produced an economic collapse that is already setting off massive social unrest. As we have noted before, using Lenin's image of tsarist Russia in World War I, *Mexico is the weak link in the chain of U.S. imperialist domination of the hemisphere*. And as the brittle edifice of the PRI-government comes under attack, it is urgent to mount internationalist *class* struggle against this authoritarian capitalist regime.

While the Mexican left joins in channeling unrest into the bourgeois-nationalist "democratic" opposition, the Grupo Espartaquista de México issued a 14 February statement headlined, "Mobilize the Working Class Against the Repression and Starvation Assault." In the U.S., the Spartacist League joined protests against the military repression in Chiapas, with signs denouncing "Peso Crisis, Repression Made in U.S.A."

Wall Street Demands Bloody Payback for Bailout

In a communiqué responding to the government's assault, the Zapatista command issued a statement eloquently declaring, "Zedillo has opted to be humble and servile toward the powerful, and highhanded and haughty toward the poor." It denounced the government for demanding that the EZLN fall to its knees as a condition for "dialogue": "It is mistaken; since 1 January 1994 we are living on our feet. On our feet we will talk, or on our feet we will fight, or on our feet we will die." It noted that the price of the U.S. loan is "to be paid off with Mexican blood, especially with Indian blood, in order to liquidate the debt" (*La Jornada*, 13 February). In fact, while the Mexican army was chomping at the bit to finish off the Zapatistas, there is plenty of evidence that they got a big push from Washington and Wall Street.

In the 1 February issue of *CounterPunch* magazine, Alexander Cockburn and Ken Silverstein published a memorandum of the Chase Manhattan Emerging Markets Group authored by Riordan Roett, a Chase adviser on leave from his position as director of Latin American Studies at Johns Hopkins University. In the memo, dated 13 January, Roett baldly argues for wiping out the Zapatista insurgents:

> "While Chiapas, in our opinion, does not pose a fundamental threat to Mexican political stability, it is perceived to be so by many in the investment community. The government will need to eliminate the Zapatistas to demonstrate their effective control of the national territory and security policy."

And at a conference of academics and financiers on Mexico in January, Roett argued that it is "essential, from the investor point of view, to resolve the Chiapas issue as quickly as possible."

Chase Manhattan is one of the handful of major banks holding hundreds of millions of dollars in Mexican commercial debt. With the Mexican government begging for emergency loans from the U.S. and the IMF, such "recommendations" from Wall Street amount to orders. Roett's memo also pointed to the fundamental issue of "whether or not the Mexican working class will accept a prolonged period of wage losses and diminished living standards." Although Roett was subsequently dropped as an adviser by Chase Manhattan, the program of deliberate immiseration of the working class is still being followed with a vengeance by the policymakers of U.S. imperialism. And now they are openly going after Mexico's oil revenues as well, as a prelude to demanding that PEMEX, the nationalized oil company, be privatized and opened to foreign investors (i.e., takeover). This imperialist assault must be resolutely opposed by the workers movement.

The impact of NAFTA on Mexico has been devastating. In the year since the "free trade" agreement went into effect, an estimated 475,000 jobs were lost in Mexico, more than two-thirds in manufacturing. In the state of Jalisco, where the PRI just lost the election, more than 600 businesses, including 185 factories, have closed since July. The peso crash

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Ruben R. Ramirez

Militant strike of over 5,000 workers, mostly women, at RCA Thomson *maquiladora* plant in Ciudad Juárez erupted after peso devaluation drastically cut real wages.

NYC Labor...

(continued from page 16)

a blood lust, and the blood being spilled is almost exclusively that of working people, the elderly and the poor.... The mayor calls the upheaval 'reality therapy.' In Vietnam, they called napalm 'soft ordnance'."

Under this budget of doom, Harlem Hospital will likely be gutted of its maternity facility and many preventive and diagnostic units. Over the last 20 years, eight hospitals in the area have closed. In 1993 alone, the infant mortality rate soared *more than 60 percent*, to 25.2 per thousand births. Yet Giuliani arrogantly complains, "New York has too many hospital beds."

He also rails that "hospitals aren't a job program." Yet Harlem has an unemployment rate of 35 percent. And with the disappearance of jobs in manufacturing, garment and construction, with New York City's productive base gutted by Wall Street brokers and real estate speculators, health care has become one of the few job "growth sectors," keeping tens of thousands of black, Hispanic and Asian workers afloat.

Also targeted for a whopping $600 million cut are nearly 200,000 unionized city workers, who are being squeezed for "increased productivity" and threatened with a *10 percent pay cut* to fund their health benefits. This swindle is being peddled with the lying promise of "job security." Giuliani thundered, "You don't have a vested right to hold on to a government job." Already, over 15,000 city workers have lost their jobs during Rudy the Slasher's 14-month reign, including hundreds who serviced welfare recipients, AIDS patients and the homeless.

Paraskevas/Newsday

Every night, dozens of families are forced to sleep on the floor of the only emergency center for the homeless left in NYC. Giuliani's "reality therapy" will throw tens of thousands more onto the street.

Now Giuliani is actually begging Pataki and the state legislature to appropriate *less* money for social services and higher education for next year, in order to cut back on the city's "matching fund" expenditures. In addition to decimating welfare, Pataki's proposed state budget calls for laying off 7,000 state workers, doubling up inmates in state prison cells and raising tuition at the City University (CUNY) and State University (SUNY) by at least $1,000! This latter amounts to a *racist purge* of higher education in New York, making a college diploma an impossible dream for tens of thousands of working-class and minority youth. With 32 percent of CUNY students already working full-time while going to school, Giuliani sneers that "it might not be so bad for students" to "learn a little civic responsibility" by working harder!

Mass transit is another target: the Transit Authority faces at least $128 million in cuts. The TA has already shrunk its workforce by 3,000 since 1990 through attrition. Now the transit bosses intend to start handing out pink slips to subway cleaners and token-booth clerks, while threatening yet another hike in subway and bus fares from $1.25 to at least $1.50. Giuliani even wants to eliminate the transit subsidies which allow hundreds of thousands of schoolchildren to get to school.

Life in this city is mean and ugly and it's about to get more so. A storefront soup kitchen in Harlem which now feeds 550 people expects to see thousands more line up, while government funding to feed the hungry is slashed. And it's not just people living on the edge. A Queens housewife who voted for Giuliani bitterly complained about the elimination of day-care programs: "I know he thinks after-school programs are a typical New York luxury that the taxpayers have gotten used to. But these things are the backbone of life here. Without them, working families are just going to pack up and move out."

Savulich/Daily News

Wall Street's kind of labor "leader": AFSCME District Council 37 chief Stanley Hill has for years enforced labor peace in the face of massive job losses and cutbacks. Here he offers hand to Rudy "the Slasher" Giuliani.

Giuliani can be defeated. He is despised by wide sectors of New York's population. While elected by a narrow margin on a racist "law and order" campaign, his social base for this kind of economic warfare is extremely small. When racist pig Ed Koch shut down Harlem's Sydenham Hospital, thousands took to the streets. In 1983, angry crowds drove Koch out of Harlem over racist harassment and abuse by the NYPD. In 1991, CUNY students tied up Wall Street and City Hall for days against the last round of budget cuts by black Democrat David Dinkins.

But faced with a dictatorial mayor who refuses to play pressure politics, the labor and black misleaders are caving in. Key is the understanding that *both* capitalist parties share the program of "downsizing" government, as the capitalist system throws ever more people on the streets. While the labor "leaders" grovel before "King Rudy," it's desperately necessary to forge a *class-struggle workers party* fighting to do away with this government of the rich, by the rich and for the rich.

Union Tops Knuckle Under to Cops' Candidate

Naturally, New York City's huge and trigger-happy police force won't lose a penny in the budget—in fact, the NYPD is the only part of city government that's getting an *increase*, to the tune of 7 percent. Meanwhile, the racists-in-blue are being armed with 9mm Glock semi-automatic handguns with 15-round clips. Cops with Glocks have turned "crime scenes" into a hail of bullets. Last week in the Bronx, cops "foiling a robbery in a bodega" fired off 170 bullets without a single shot being fired in return. In December, 18 cops fired 247 rounds during a running shootout with a gunman in Queens, killing a bystander as he left a nearby restaurant. The cops insisted the gunman killed the bystander, and the story would have washed except that Queens Congressman Gary Ackerman was eating in the same restaurant and demanded an investigation.

Giuliani was the cops' candidate in the 1993 elections, after whipping up a racist mob of armed police which laid siege to black mayor Dinkins' offices in City Hall the previous year. The cops greeted his move into Gracie Mansion with a police assault on the Nation of Islam mosque in Harlem and the killing of a Muslim youth in Brooklyn. The first six months of 1994 registered a 46 percent increase in police brutality complaints, and 1994 saw a *50 percent*

Mexico...

(continued from page 13)

and soaring interest rates will cause even more plant closures. While it will push workers to the wall and may provoke desperate strike actions, the economic crisis greatly weakens labor's clout. But there is one sector where production is strong, the *maquiladora* "free trade" plants, particularly along the northern border with the U.S.

We reported in our last issue how 5,600 workers, mostly young women, struck the RCA Thomson plant in Ciudad Juárez, opposite El Paso, Texas. Under police-state conditions, menaced by riot police and hundreds of thugs, this was a truly heroic strike. Although they did not achieve the original demand for a 30 percent increase (they won 13 percent), the Coalition of Workers won recognition by management, new union elections, full pay for the week on strike and no victimizations. This will certainly encourage further strike movements elsewhere in the *maquiladora* belt. The RCA strike, like an earlier work stoppage at TDK in the same city and the unrest in the many auto and parts plants in the region, shows the enormous potential for class struggle in Mexico today. But key is throwing off the stranglehold of the corporatist CTM "unions" which are directly integrated into the capitalist ruling party and the elaborate "conciliation and arbitration" mechanisms of state control.

In a grotesque example of the role of the CTM, its decrepit (over 90 years old) leader Fidel Velázquez, after signing a vicious austerity pact with Zedillo, promised his capitalist masters that there would be no "disobedience" from the workers. And in the wake of the peso devaluation, the CTM boss called for workers to "donate" one day's pay from their starvation wages toward the foreign debt, outrageously saying this was "one way to show solidarity with the rich"! This obscene proposal fell flat, and as the RCA Thomson strikers showed, worker "disobedience" is already beginning. In its supplement, the Grupo Espartaquista put forward a program to "*elect workers committees* independent of the bourgeois parties, including Cárdenas' PRD—to *break the corporatist shackles* of the CTM (which acts as labor cops for the PRI) on the working class, to *smash the wage ceilings* and fight to triple the minimum wage and for a sliding scale of wages to combat inflation."

The EZLN and a host of popular-front leftists blame the present situation on the "neoliberal model" of unfettered global "free markets." But decades of "national development" under the PRI also left the masses in dire poverty. What's needed is *workers revolution*. And this means a *political* fight, first and foremost to break with the "popular front" of class collaboration in and around the PRD. The EZLN calls upon Cárdenas to lead a "National Liberation Movement." Yet Cárdenas declared explicitly that *Zedillo* could head up the "government of national salvation" he has insistently called for (*El Financiero*, 3 February). Meanwhile, virtually the entire ex-Stalinist and pseudo-Trotskyist left has liquidated into the embrace of the PRD, including a number of "independent unions." The Mandelite PRT, which supported Cárdenas for president, hardly exists anymore except for speakers at PRD rallies. And the "Militante" group, followers of British Lahourite Ted Grant, calls itself the "Marxists of the PRD," hawking the bourgeois party's yellow flags at demonstrations. These fake socialists all lack the most basic *class* line.

Perhaps the most militant-sounding of the left groups is the MPI (Independent Proletarian Movement), a syndicalist group which leads the Mexico City bus drivers union SUTAUR and is part of the leadership of the left wing of the "National Democratic Convention," a popular-front grouping linked to the EZLN. The government has accused them of financing the Zapatista rebels, a clear threat of future repression. In a January 5 march in Mexico City, the MPI posed various correct demands, including for a break from the CTM and the Congress of Labor umbrella federation which is a "jail" for the workers. But in reality, the MPI's policy is for marching "a thousand times over" while *refusing* to mobilize the power of its proletarian base in genuine workers actions, which could unite it with auto workers and other sectors where there are independent unions.

What is required is a sharp break with the bourgeois parties and politicians, to forge a revolutionary workers party that fights for a workers and peasants government. Such a revolutionary government would completely repudiate the imperialist debt which is suffocating the working people. Against the inevitable imperialist reprisals, it is necessary to mobilize the workers and peasants in all of Latin America and to unite with the proletariat of the U.S. and Canada. International class struggle is key to combatting the NAFTA rape of Mexico, as well as to defend the Cuban Revolution against attempts at capitalist restoration from within and without. We fight for a Socialist United States of Latin America and for workers revolution throughout the hemisphere. It is to this goal that the Grupo Espartaquista pledges itself in the struggle to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. ■

jump—from 38 to 54—in the number of people killed by cops on the street or who "died in police custody." One of the most recent victims was 29-year-old Anthony Baez, choked to death by a cop in the Bronx after a patrol car was hit by a stray pass in a street football game.

Giuliani was installed in City Hall on a racist, "revenge of the outer boroughs" white vote: without his 80,000 votes from Staten Island, he would have lost. He began his career as a henchman in Reagan's Justice Department, and then as federal prosecutor in Manhattan played a role in the government's vendetta against the Teamsters. The sneering former prosecutor's current vendetta is against the people of New York. Giuliani has succeeded thus far because the working class, the one social force that can bring him down, has been kept quiet. The dismal misleaders who shackle the city's most powerful unions—transit, teachers, hospital workers, Teamster and AFSCME city workers—are utterly beholden to the Democratic Party. The U.S. labor bureaucracy is so completely loyal to and dependent on the capitalist system that it won't even lift a finger against the very gutting of the unions.

Dinkins, who pledged to the bankers that workers and minorities "would take it from me," began the cuts in 1990. And the union tops took it. But not even Dinkins' hiring of 6,000 more cops gave the rulers confidence that he could dish it out, given his close ties with the labor bureaucracy. Giuliani has open contempt for the union movement. When Hizzoner snapped his fingers and directed AFSCME District Council 37 chief Stanley Hill, UFT president Sandra Feldman and the rest of the public employee union heads to report to his mansion on the Upper East Side, they dutifully trooped up there. Hill remarked, "I know there is a tough budget out there, I know the Mayor is going to explain what's out there, and we're going to listen" (*New York Times*, 10 February).

The labor bureaucrats take their cues from the Democrats. Last December the overwhelmingly Democratic City Council vetoed Giuliani's proposed budget changes, 47-to-1. But despite the fireworks and even a court challenge, they only juggled the figures to come up with the same amount of cutbacks. Giuliani gets away with budget ax murder because Republicans and Democrats and labor bureaucrats all accept the dictates of Wall Street. Liberals say that this is a "Gingrich-Pataki-Giuliani" budget, but Democrat Clinton should be right at the top of the list.

The union tops rarely even breathe the word "strike." Hospital workers Local 1199 head Dennis Rivera is now calling for protests against the Medicaid cuts. But instead of mobilizing the city labor movement for concerted *action*, this union leader who doubles as vice chairman of the New York State Democratic Party is trying to channel the workers' anger into pleas to Albany to soften the blow. The unions, especially the powerhouse of NYC labor, the Transport Workers Union whose members run the subways and buses, can paralyze the center of U.S. finance capital. But that means going head on against the whole arsenal of no-strike laws and injunctions. When transit workers struck in 1980 in defiance of the state's Taylor Law, the TWU bureaucrats kept trying to "play by the rules"—setting up the workers for vicious post-strike fines and instilling the defeatist lesson that "strikes don't pay."

But under a class-struggle leadership, strike action by transit, hospital and other city workers could galvanize the deep anger of the working class and minority poor. What's necessary is a struggle to forge a revolutionary workers party to lead the broader battle against the ruling class whose interests are served by both wings of the "property party" in capitalist America.

Young Spartacus

1991 City University budget cuts sparked massive student protests in New York. Above: Student strikers join march of tens of thousands of city workers.

Cancel the Debt Through Workers Revolution!

Wall Street demands that Giuliani slash jobs and burn social services, in large part to pay for a mammoth increase in debt-service payments, which will total 18 percent of the city's tax revenue, almost $5.5 billion, next year. This is more than all the expenditure on welfare and Medicaid combined. Moreover, New York is one of the few states that makes local government pick up a chunk (25 percent) of Medicaid costs. NYC's Medicaid budget next year will be about $2.5 billion—almost as much as the city's entire $2.7 billion estimated deficit.

This is simply the latest blast of the racist bipartisan crusade to abolish "welfare as we know it" and to "shrink big government" through union-busting attacks on municipal labor. The rulers have decided to dispense with a whole layer of the inner-city population, heavily black and Hispanic, who used to make up the "reserve army of the unemployed." Led by right-wing Republicans and me-too Democrats, they want to return to the untrammeled capitalism of the 1920s, which led to the stock market crash of 1929 and ended in the Great Depression. They want the "law" of supply and demand to hold sway, without any kind of Keynesian "interference." The current capitalist offensive, both in Europe and the United States, is partly a result of counterrevolution in East Europe and the USSR. The bosses no longer feel the need to hold up the "welfare state" as an alternative to "Communism." Thus the collapse of the Soviet Union has unleashed...Newt Gingrich.

Gingrich, in the traditinn of a long line of nativist populist demagogues, despises New York City because of its large immigrant, black and Jewish population. During the 1964 elections, Barry Goldwater, the ideological godfather of Reaganite conservatism, openly fantasized about New York City being sliced off America to drift out to sea. During the mid-'70s fiscal crisis, the head of the city's Housing and Development Administration, Roger Starr, anticipated the cutthroat racist vision of New York that Giuliani represents today:

> "We should not encourage people to stay where their job possibilities are daily becoming more remote. Stop the Puerto Ricans and the rural blacks from living in the city. . . . Our urban system is based on the theory of taking the peasant and turning him into an industrial worker. Now there are no industrial jobs. Why not keep him a peasant."
>
> —Robert Fitch, *The Assassination of New York* (Verso, 1993)

Starr's remarks caused such outrage that he was forced out of his city post... whereupon he joined the *New York Times* editorial board, helping to shape elite "public opinion" for the '80s.

Two decades down the road, New York is a lot closer to the wasteland Starr envisioned. Fitch recently wrote an article, "Explaining New York City's Aberrant Economy" (*New Left Review*, September-October 1994), noting that "Truly, Gotham has become the Bermuda Triangle of lost jobs." Some 600,000 manufacturing jobs were lost in the '70s which have never been recovered. But this is part of a broader national and international pattern, and as we wrote at the time of the Dinkins cuts, "within the confines of New York City, and the capitalist system, there's no solution to the problems this city faces" (*WV* No. 514, 16 November 1990):

> "America, with its declining economy, is now paying for the world's most expensive military establishment, and for the past decade and a half, the capitalist rulers have systematically starved America's cities of funds. Koch got the banks to roll over the huge municipal debt, but now the whole financial system is in deep shit and they're calling in the loans. It's a blind alley, and the only way out is revolution that expropriates the entire capitalist ruling class."

In order to carry out any defense of the unions, to fight for housing for the homeless and health care for the poor, to beat back racist cop terror, it is necessary to challenge—and sweep away—the profit system and its apparatus of state repression. The situation cries out for Bolsheviks everywhere. There are no reformist solutions to the mess that capitalism has made of New York. The way out is the expropriation of the capitalist class by a workers government. ■

Los Angeles...

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campaign is in part a backlash against the multiracial upheaval of L.A.'s poor and dispossessed in 1992 sparked by the acquittal of the LAPD cops who viciously beat black motorist Rodney King. And the chauvinist hysteria whipped up over 187 to attack immigrants necessarily also targets blacks.

D.A. Garcetti has made a practice of refusing to prosecute racist attacks on Latinos and blacks. He refused to file charges against the Compton cop videotaped beating Felipe Soltero last July, and also the Lynwood grocer who in April chased down and shot 14-year-old Aldo Vega for allegedly stealing a box of cookies. Meanwhile, the fascist skinhead scum who are Masters' spiritual kin are stepping up attacks on blacks and Hispanics throughout Southern California. The day before Masters shot Arce and Hillo, black musician Leonard Boles was stabbed on Ventura beach by some of these knife-wielding, swastika-tattooed vermin. Another two skinheads are to go on trial for the murder of black Huntington Beach resident Vernon Flournoy last September.

As if to drive home the futility of appeals to the capitalist state, Garcetti stonewalled members of the Mexican American Bar Association who met with him February 8 to plead for a grand jury investigation of Arce's killing. And the Masters atrocity also tears the mask off the bourgeoisie's drive for "gun control"—it's meant to disarm minorities and the working class while leaving the forces of capitalist state repression, and their chosen extralegal hit squads, armed to the teeth.

"Anti-crime" vigilantism, which is spreading nationally, is racist violence encouraged and subsidized by the capitalist state. In Southern California, cops organize "neighborhood watch" patrols and give $500 "rewards" for fingering "taggers." In Texas—where Masters once got himself arrested for brandishing martial arts swords and taking a gun into a courthouse—a group called "Dead Serious Inc." offers a $5,000 cash payment "in the event you kill someone in accordance with Texas Penal Code 9.42 while they are in the process of committing a crime against you, your family or your property" (*New York Times*, 11 February). This is a serious move toward old-fashioned American lynch law historically carried out by the nativist fascists of the KKK to terrorize blacks.

Los Angeles is not some rural backwater where KKK-style lynch mobs can roam freely. Latino workers in the L.A. area—from Justice for Janitors and *drywalero* construction workers to truckers—have been in the forefront of fighting for the rights of workers in this historically open-shop town. Los Angeles is home to a vast multiracial working class with the power to drive these vigilante/fascist dregs off the streets. It's the capitalist ruling class that holds the leash on these rabid attack dogs, and it will take workers revolution to sweep them all away. Mobilize L.A. labor to defend immigrants and minority youth! ■

Rutgers...

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the agents of the racist ruling class which decides what constitutes learning and what to read, write or think. The SYCs fight for open admissions and free tuition. We say: abolish the boards of trustees! Universities should be run by students, workers and faculty. Education should be a right, not a privilege.

The campus is simply a microcosm of the rot and racist crap permeating society as a whole. Racist dogma cloaked in pseudo-scientific theory like the "Bell Curve" is a key weapon for a ruling class that no longer wants to spend money on educating poor black children because there are no jobs for which to train them. The racist exploiters only invest in what they can profit from. As Marxists, we in the Spartacus Youth Clubs fight for a society whose purpose is to maximize the potential of *all*.

The ideology of racial inferiority and a master race originated to justify American slavery. The systematic oppression of black people as a forcibly segregated race-color caste is fundamental to the American capitalist system in every sphere: in jobs, housing, education and even personal relations. To challenge racial oppression and class exploitation requires a thoroughgoing proletarian revolution. And that requires a revolutionary party which champions the causes of all the oppressed, the type of leadership the SYCs are dedicated to building. Join us! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Workers, Students, Minorities—All Under the Ax

NYC Labor: Smash Giuliani's War on the Poor

WV Photo

Hospital workers rally last September against massive budget cuts which will decimate half of city hospitals and wipe out up to 80,000 jobs in health care.

Proving that capitalist politics in America's largest city is the continuation of war by other means, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's Valentine's Day budget massacre will slash a staggering *$2.7 billion* from the New York City budget next year. This comes on top of massive $2 billion cuts in welfare and Medicaid by New York's newly elected Republican governor George Pataki in Albany. Not since the Great Depression, when New York became a vast poorhouse for immigrants and the unemployed, have the workers and poor of this city been subjected to such starvation cutbacks.

For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

Giuliani's ax will fall most heavily on welfare and health care. At least 2 million New Yorkers rely on public assistance and food stamps to stay alive, barely, and many more depend on the city's eleven municipal hospitals for health care. Combined with state and federal cuts, the new budget will slash the city hospital system's operations by *one-third*—$1.2 billion out of $3.7 billion. As entire hospitals, nursing homes and community clinics are forced to shut down, up to 80,000 health care industry workers may be laid off.

Giuliani grotesquely calls this "reality therapy." But even important spokesmen for the ruling class such as the *New York Times* (15 February) objected to the mayor's budget, calling it "shock therapy" which would throw "the entire system into cardiac arrest." And *Newsday* columnist Sydney H. Schanberg added: "Pataki and Giuliani seem to have taken the budget-cutting to the realm of

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Racist Vigilante Murder in Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES—Around 1 a.m. on January 31, a white gunman shot down two youths in Sun Valley, killing 18-year-old Cesar Rene Arce with a shot in the back and seriously wounding 20-year-old David Hillo. Why? They were Latino and they were graffiti "taggers," spray-painting on a freeway pillar. To the gunman, William Andrew Masters II, who describes his victims with racial slurs, that meant they were fair game. The LAPD and District Attorney Gil Garcetti agreed, releasing Masters after a day and a half with *no charge*!

The killer boasted of carrying guns without a permit. If he had been black or Latino, the cops would have come down on him like a ton of bricks. Instead, authorities have considered charging Hillo, who survived Masters' attack—not only for "armed robbery," but under a bizarre California law, for the murder of his friend committed by Masters! This is *state-sanctioned racist terror*, and it has sparked a dangerous pro-vigilante, racist outpouring in the city.

Masters, a part-time bit actor, claimed he felt "threatened" by the youths when he wrote down their car license number and told them he would turn it in to police, resulting in an argument. He said he felt they were about to rob him, so he pulled out his .380 semiautomatic and shot them down as they tried to flee. Masters' flimsy cover story is as credible as this apparently compulsive liar's claim to be a Marine (he was kicked out after 41 days). But the cops proclaimed the word of this racist vigilante inherently "more compelling" than Hillo's, who told how Masters held the gun to his head as he lay wounded on the pavement.

In fact, as Masters proudly explained, he regularly took one of his six guns and went out at midnight searching for "taggers" to confront: *he went looking for minority youth to kill.* Holding court for reporters and well-wishers after he was freed, the swaggering Masters called his victims "a couple of skinhead Mexicans" and blamed Arce's death on Arce's mother: "She murdered her son by being an irresponsible, uncaring parent" (*Los Angeles Times*, 4 February). With Arce's mother overcome by grief, his sister Lilia Arce replied, "It's [Masters'] mother's fault for making that kid so paranoid.... He's not a hero, he's a killer."

The psychopathic bigot Masters was immediately hailed by talk show racists and other reactionaries. For a layer of white petty-bourgeois suburbanites, "tagger" is a code word for minority youth (in L.A., Latinos in particular) who are regarded as vermin to be exterminated. Sandi Webb, a councilwoman from the white enclave of Simi Valley, raved, "Kudos to William Masters for his vigilant anti-graffiti efforts" and declared him a "crime-fighting hero" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 12 February).

Racist terrorists have been emboldened by the passage of California's Prop. 187, the anti-immigrant initiative passed last November targeting especially Mexicans and Latin Americans. While 187 is tied up in the courts, it is having its intended effect on the ground. This immigrant-bashing

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 618 | 10 March 1995

Lockdown U.S.A.

Racist Prison Hell: 1.5 Million Behind Bars

Photo: Leifer/Camera 5

America's rulers have embarked on an all-sided assault on the poor, the elderly and children. In the past month, Congressional committees have voted to scrap the national school lunch program, food supplements for pregnant women and infants, assistance to unmarried mothers with children and aid to thousands of poor children with physical or mental disabilities. There are also plans afoot to reduce the Medicare program for the elderly, while the so-called balanced budget amendment—which recently failed by one vote in the Senate—would entirely gut the Social Security system, already regularly looted by the federal government. Now the Republican-controlled Congress is rewriting the Democrats' "crime" bill, passed last fall, to make it even more vicious, jacking up federal subsidies for spending on prisons to over *$10 billion*. And crowning it all is the massive speedup on death row.

The bipartisan drive to deny millions of poor people even a semblance of subsistence has nothing to do with "balancing the budget," which is bloated by hundreds of billions in military expenditures. What they want is to be rid of a whole layer of the black population which has been deemed "surplus" by the racist rulers. The coldblooded policy of starving black welfare mothers and their kids is augmented by a racist "war on

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For Workers Political Revolution to Stop Capitalist Counterrevolution!

Turmoil Brewing in China

After their bloody suppression of the 1989 Tiananmen Square uprising, the aged bureaucrats running the People's Republic of China smugly basked in a booming economy as other Stalinist regimes collapsed throughout East Europe and the former Soviet Union. Today, working people from East Germany to Siberia face the miseries of mass impoverishment and all-sided social reaction produced by capitalist counterrevolution. In response, many leftists, especially leftover Stalinists, have desperately latched onto Deng Xiaoping's "socialist market economy" to answer the bourgeoisie's triumphal cry of the "death of communism."

Yet capitalist financiers and industrialists around the world are also praising Deng's China, and pouring in tens of billions of investment dollars, fueling its galloping growth rate and an apparent rise in living standards of workers and peasants. Why? Many imperialist spokesmen see the "Chinese model" as a *better road to counterrevolution*, aiming at a regime of "market authoritarianism" (as an American banker in Hong Kong, William Overholt, advocates) along the lines of South Korea, Singapore and...Taiwan.

The impending death of "paramount leader" Deng Xiaoping is serving to throw a clearer light on developments in the Chinese bureaucratically deformed workers

continued on page 8

South China Morning Post

Explosive situation in China as masses of unemployed laborers flow from countryside into cities looking for work.

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Obscenity in Texas

Prison Bans WV Over Vietnam Photo

The authorities of the Texas Department of Criminal Justice-Institutional Division outlawed an issue of *Workers Vanguard* and prevented men and women languishing in the Lone Star State's jail cells from receiving their subscriptions. The particular issue in question (*WV* No. 613, 30 December 1994) was banned because of the photograph reprinted again here which depicts the utter terror U.S. imperialism inflicted on the Vietnamese people. The photograph shows Vietnamese children running away from a U.S. napalm bomb attack on their village. The young girl in the center of the picture ripped off her burning clothes as she fled.

This photograph brought the truth and horror of U.S. imperialism's dirty war home to many Americans and stirred revulsion against a government that burned babies in the name of "national security." This photograph by AP photographer Huynh Cong Ut won the prestigious Pulitzer Prize in 1973. Today, it is banned in Texas. In a "publication denial notification," the Texas authorities inform us that "page 2 contains picture of a nude child" and notes:

> "(d) A specific factual determination has been made that the publication is detrimental to prisoner's rehabilitation because it would encourage deviate criminal sexual behavior."

Maybe the bureaucrats in the Texas Department of Criminal Justice get off fantasizing about human bodies blown to bits by U.S. anti-personnel bombs and find babies charred beyond recognition by Dow Chemical Company's incendiary napalm jelly a real turn-on. We don't, but neither would we underestimate the state of Texas' *lust* for genocide.

After all, this is the state which colluded with Janet Reno's "Justice Department" in murdering 86 men, women and children by burning them to death in the Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Texas on the pretext of "child abuse"! This is the state whose uncontrollable thirst for death has made it the "legal lynching" capital of the country—Texas has executed over 90 prisoners since the death penalty was reinstituted in the U.S. In Fort Worth, Christian fundamentalist prison authorities have even gone so far as to establish a segregated prison population, the "Christian Rehabilitation Pod" (known by inmates as the "God Pod"), to force white Christian "morals" down the throats of people imprisoned in Texas.

The hypocritical and truly obscene morality of the capitalist state and its vast prison complex recall the words of playwright George Bernard Shaw: "The nation's morals are like its teeth: the more decayed they are the more it hurts to touch them." Looks like we really hit a nerve. *Stop government censorship of prisoners' mail! Let* Workers Vanguard *be read!* ■

UPI/AP

PUBLICATION DENIAL NOTIFICATION

TITLE OF PUBLICATION Workers Vanguard 12/30/94 N613

The above listed publication has been reviewed and denied in accordance with Section 39 of the TDCJ-ID Rules and Regulations for the reason(s) checked below

[X] (d) A specific factual determination has been made that the publication is detrimental to prisoner's rehabilitation because it would encourage deviate criminal sexual behavior

REMARKS Page 2 contains picture of a nude child

(Qualifies for clipping. Page 2 [1 page].)

Mao's China: A Deformed Social Revolution

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Stalinist bureaucrats in China are dismantling many of the gains of the 1949 Revolution, which smashed the semicolonial landlord-capitalist rule of Chiang Kai-shek and established a bureaucratically deformed workers state. In 1955, the then-Trotskyist American Socialist Workers Party warned that Stalinism would imperil the revolutionary gains, and called for workers political revolution to oust the bureaucratic misrulers. Today, in the wake of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, the Chinese Stalinist bureaucrats have vastly increased social inequality and brought the country to the brink of capitalist restoration.

China is a deformed workers state because of the Stalinist deformation of the Third Chinese Revolution.

The contradiction between the conquests of the revolution and the bureaucratic rulers is the central internal contradiction of Chinese society, determining its movement. At the same time, it is the point of departure for the Trotskyists to base their policy for China....

(6) Exploiting the social antagonisms, along with their prestige as leaders of the revolution, the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy has intrenched itself as an uncontrolled caste alien to socialism.

(7) The revolution, deformed by the ruling bureaucracy, manifests its proletarian character in the new property relations and planning; the superiority of these new productive relations and institutions is bound to assure a stormy growth of industry and of the Chinese proletariat, numerically and qualitatively, increasing its specific social weight and bringing it into conflict with Stalinist methods of rule, management and administration....

(12) On the road to socialism the workers would have to abolish the bureaucracy along with the Mao leadership that now heads it....

The impact of the Third Chinese Revolution, the social transformations it brought about, the blows it delivered to world capitalism, have been second only to those of the 1917 Revolution in Russia. The "Russian question" has been the main axis in world politics for nearly four decades; it now has found its extension and deepening in the "Chinese question."...

One thing is certain, there is no solution along the course of the Peking and Kremlin bureaucracies. Their narrow nationalist course, their coexistence line, brings them into conflict with the needs of the world socialist revolution, but it will not save them from imperialist assault. The interests of the working class in the capitalist countries, just as the interests of the workers of China and the Soviet Union, are expressed in the program of the permanent revolution, the program upon which the Fourth International is founded.

—"The Third Chinese Revolution and Its Aftermath," resolution adopted by 1955 Socialist Workers Party Convention

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is March 7

No. 618 **10 March 1995**

International Campaign of Protest—Mobilize Now!

SAVE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL!

Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee
All proceeds from these events go to Jamal's legal defense

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Gord Hill, Anti-Fascist Info

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Am Johal, Director of Administration, Alma Mater Society at the University of British Columbia*

Jerusalem B. Kidanu, Colour Connected

Man Chui Leung and Alas Cienfuegos, Third World Alliance, Vancouver

Jim Lougheed, 1st Vice President, Canadian Union of Postal Workers, Vancouver Local

Miriam Scribner, Partisan Defense Committee

*Organization for identification purposes only

Saturday, March 11, 7:30 p.m.
For more information (604) 687-0353

Centre culturel francophone de Vancouver
1551 West 7th Avenue
(west of Granville, 2 blocks north of Broadway)

TORONTO, CANADA

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David Bleakney, Chief Steward (South Central), CUPW, Toronto Local*

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(one block west of Spadina subway)

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Union Tops Obstruct All-Out Strike

German Metal Workers Stand Off Bosses' Offensive

The following article is adapted from Spartakist *No. 117, March/April 1995, published by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany.*

MARCH 7—After provoking the first West German metal workers strike in eleven years, today the metal industry bosses agreed to a settlement with the powerful IG Metall union. Until the last minute, through ten days of the strike, the Gesamtmetall employers association refused to make a counteroffer to the union's demand for a 6 percent wage raise, instead insisting on "compensation" for the scheduled reduction of the workweek to 35 hours. The gradual introduction of a 35-hour week was won as a result of the seven-week strike in 1984. To back up their hardline stance, the bosses made elaborate plans for widespread lockouts. But the union was in a strong position, with the German economy on an upswing, profits soaring, order books full and signs of dissension in the employers' ranks. This morning, after all-night negotiations, Gesamtmetall accepted a pattern agreement for a 4 percent wage increase, and the 35-hour workweek will go ahead with no loss in pay.

The IG Metall leadership, which has long preached "social partnership" with the bosses, never wanted an all-out strike. With more than 3 million members, it certainly has plenty of muscle and could have quickly paralyzed the metalworking industry. Instead, the union tops limited the strike to 33 plants with barely 30,000 workers in the state of Bavaria. IG Metall's Bavarian leader had threatened that "if it comes to lockouts we will ensure that all hell breaks out in every town in the federal republic" (*Financial Times*, 28 February). This worried many of the metal bosses; the head of the AEG household appliances division complained that "lockouts mean war." And *Der Spiegel* (6 March) reported "hard criticism" within Gesamtmetall over the employers association's "confrontation course," as many companies sought separate deals with the union.

The strategists of the metal bosses association embarked on a hard line seeking to sharply raise the rate of exploitation, in order, they claimed, to regain "competitiveness." Over the last four years, with the cooperation of the union tops, they have been able to drive down real wages by roughly 4 percent. But with German wage costs 40 percent higher than in Japan and 70 percent higher than in the U.S., the bosses are far from satisfied. As a result of the destruction of East German industry following capitalist reunification, and the longest recession since World War II in the West, the German Labor Federation (DGB) has lost 17 percent of its members since 1991. At least a sector of the bourgeoisie thought the time had come to land a heavy blow against the workers, and has been calling for open class warfare. The head of the German Chamber of Industry and Commerce denounced the metal workers settlement as "a slap in the face."

In the period after World War II, workers' struggles in West Germany won higher wages and social services. But the decades of so-called "social partnership"—when the bosses deducted a few crumbs from their profits in exchange for the social-democratic union tops selling out the strikes—are over. The current attacks on the unions are above all a direct result of the collapse of Stalinist rule in East Europe and the Soviet Union. With the annexation of the East German bureaucratically deformed workers state, the DDR, the capitalists no longer felt the need to buy the loyalty of the West German workers in waging the Cold War against "communism." At the same time, the myth of a "golden West" was propagated to subvert the DDR internally.

The dismantling of the "social state" is part of a broader development throughout Europe. In Italy, the rulers want to break the power of the workers movement and solve their budget crisis by immiseration of the working people. Italian workers answered with the largest general strike in decades, which forced the bourgeoisie to postpone its pension "reform" and led to the fall of the right-wing Berlusconi government. But with the support of the Italian PDS (Democratic Left Party), the bourgeoisie was able to install the Dini government of "technocrats" which seeks to ram through the same brutal program against the workers.

The showdown in the German metal industry was anticipated for some time. The re-election of Helmut Kohl's Christian Democrat/Free Democrat (CDU/FDP) coalition government last October, although by a razor-thin margin, gave the green light to assaults on social services. The head of the German Employers Association, Klaus Murmann, demanded that Germany "say goodbye to the welfare state in its present form" (*Capital*, November 1994). But by year's end, more moderate elements in the bourgeoisie were beginning to get worried about a wholesale assault on the "German model" of class collaboration. Under the headline, "They're Setting the House Aflame," *Der Spiegel* (26 December 1994) wrote: "Almost daily the employers' representatives are demanding new givebacks from wages and benefits. They say they want to improve the competitiveness of the economy. In reality they are threatening social peace. Even in their own ranks, the proposals are controversial...."

The Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the leaders of the unions offered to continue collaborating. The SPD is in a de facto "grand coalition" with the CDU/FDP cabinet through its control of the Bundesrat, the upper house of parliament. At a meeting with federal chancellor Kohl and employers' representatives at the end of January, DGB union leader Dieter Schulte responded to the bosses' demands for "labor flexibility" by offering to introduce Saturday work with no premium pay. Last year, IG Metall chief Klaus Zwickel worked out a deal with the SPD government of Niedersachsen (co-owner of Volkswagen) to introduce a four-day workweek at VW as a "job-saving" measure. In reality, this turned out to be a 20 percent wage cut, and saved no jobs at all. But the profit-hungry employers wanted much more.

To undercut labor costs and weaken the union, the bosses have begun transferring production to low-wage countries such as Mexico, South Africa, and above all the former deformed workers states of East Europe. This trend will now undoubtedly escalate. Volkswagen pays workers in its Skoda works in Czechoslovakia *one-tenth* as much as VW workers earn in Wolfsburg. The trade-union bureaucrats' only "answer" is the poison of protectionism, which sets unionists against their fellow workers abroad. Given the intensifying international competition, this is a call for *trade war*, which ultimately leads to imperialist war. And the SPD knows its place: today they defend "production site Germany," tomorrow, as in the past, it will be defending the "fatherland."

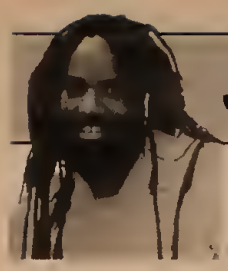
The Social Democrats also played a key role in the drive for capitalist reunification, which whipped up German nationalism, preparing the ground for the rising racist terror against immigrant communities that was reinforced by the wholesale destruction of the East German economy. In West Germany as well, unemployment has been at the highest level since the immediate postwar years, and economic insecurity has fed Nazi attacks in the West. The SPD's support for gutting the right to asylum helped spark the 1992 Rostock pogrom, and through its stranglehold of the unions it blocked strike action in protest against the fascist arson attacks that killed Turkish workers and their families in Mölln and Solingen. The Spartakist Workers Party fights for full citizenship rights for immigrants and for mobilizing the power of the working class to smash the fascists.

While the bosses' offensive was stalled, the IG Metall strike could have been the springboard for concerted class struggle across the board. For starters, the metal strike should have been extended to the entire country. This would have brought VW workers, angry over the "four-day workweek" swindle, into the streets. Turkish workers concentrated in the Ruhr are a stronghold of union militancy. The economically weaker East German workers, who showed their will to struggle in a solid 1993 metal strike, need the full strength of the unions behind them in fighting for equal pay for equal work. But the DGB bureaucrats do everything to keep the workers' struggles in East and West separate. Meanwhile, the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism, successor to the former Stalinist ruling party of the DDR), in its self-appointed role as "people's representative" of the East, is supporting an SPD-led government in the state of Sachsen-Anhalt, whose economics minister was in charge of the chemical industry for the Treuhand, the hated government agency which has laid waste to East German industry.

Metal workers showed their readiness to strike together. At the beginning of the strike, a bus with workers from Zwickau (in the East) showed up at the gate of a plant in Ingolstadt in Bavaria to walk the picket line, while a solidarity delegation from the auto workers in Stuttgart showed up at AEG. In contrast to the U.S., Britain or France, where unions have been greatly weakened over the last decade, IG Metall remains a powerhouse of German labor. But in the long run, in the face of the bosses' threats to shift production to low-wage countries, it is necessary to wage an *international* workers struggle. This underscores the need for the leadership of an internationalist workers party, built in struggle against social democracy—both West (SPD) and East (PDS) variants—which is the main obstacle to waging and winning even defensive struggles.

The answer to the current offensive of capital is not to uphold a nonexistent "social market economy" and the institutionalized class collaboration of "social partnership." It is necessary to wage a broader struggle to defend social gains, such as the day-care centers which were shut down by the thousands in the East as a result of the restoration of capitalism. Not just a 35-hour week, but a fight for a sliding scale of wages and hours is necessary, to divide up the available work among all those seeking it, with no loss in pay. But such a plan, together with a massive program of public works, can not be carried out under capitalism. What's needed is a workers government based on the power of democratically elected workers councils. In contrast to the DDR deformed workers state with its myth of building "socialism in half a country," this can only be done through international extension of the revolution leading to a Socialist United States of Europe. ■

IG Metall workers rally in Frankfurt, February 15. With more than 3 million members, an all-out strike by powerful metal workers union could spark working-class offensive against German capitalists' war on labor and minorities.



Join the Campaign to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Rallies in U.S., Paris, Tokyo, Sydney

Around the United States, in Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, Oakland, and Washington, D.C., and internationally from Berlin to Paris to Tokyo and Sydney, Australia, trade unionists, students, minorities, leftists and death penalty abolitionists came together over the last three weeks in rallies and demonstrations to demand, "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!"

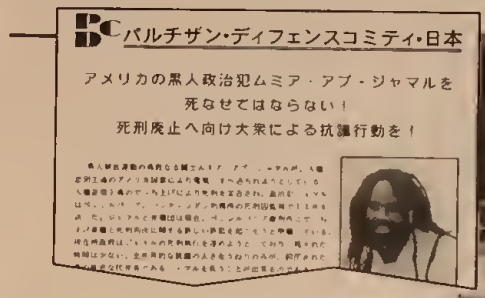
At a February 21 protest rally outside the American Chamber of Commerce in Paris, a statement was read from the Confédération Générale des Travailleurs (CGT) dockers union in Marseille: "Today they condemn a man to death because he had the courage to say 'No' to barbarism and arbitrary cruelty—but above all to racism against blacks and the poor.... Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!"

In London, several members of parliament have endorsed a motion by Labour MP Neil Gerrard which reads, "That this House is dismayed at the decision of the Governor of Pennsylvania to begin signing death warrants; believes that the death penalty is barbaric; and in particular calls on the Governor not to sign such a warrant in the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, when there is grave concern that a serious miscarriage of justice took place in his conviction."

The life of Jamal—a former Black Panther, supporter of the MOVE organization and award-winning journalist who was sentenced to die for his political beliefs—is in imminent danger. On February 28, Pennsylvania's Republican governor Tom Ridge signed three death warrants. While the state house gears up to open the execution chambers which have not been used since 1962 in Pennsylvania, Philadelphia police have renewed their vendetta to silence Jamal through death (see article on page 5).

At a February 25 Oakland rally, held at the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 6 hall, Jamal's lead counsel, Leonard Weinglass, told a crowd of some 200 people, "The opposition is strong and the odds are great, but the support that's developing is also strong.... So it just might be that this case becomes the focal point of the national and even the international debate on the death penalty."

Although modest in size relative to the urgent task at hand—to save the life of this courageous and eloquent spokesman for the oppressed—the united-front rallies and protests sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee and its fraternal organizations internationally have brought together individuals and organizations behind which stand thousands of workers, youth, minorities, opponents of the death penalty and others who can and *must* be mobilized in Jamal's defense. In the proletarian tradition of anti-sectarian defense work, embodied in the slogan of "an injury to one is an injury to all" and carried forward by the PDC, many other left organizations were encouraged to participate in these rallies, and did so with speakers and literature tables.



Leaflet by Partisan Defense Committee of Japan calls to "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!" PDC-initiated rallies in Tokyo (right), Sydney, Australia (below).

Spartacist Japan

Australasian Spartacist

• In **Sydney, Australia**, a February 9 rally at the Automotive, Food, Metals and Engineering Union hall raised over $900 for Jamal's legal defense. Speakers included student and trade-union militants as well as Sam Watson, manager of the Aboriginal Legal Service in Brisbane.

• On February 16, a rally in **Boston**, whose speakers included well-known Boston University professor Howard Zinn, raised over $600 for Jamal's defense. The same day a rally was held in **Atlanta**, co-sponsored by the Georgia State University Black Student Alliance, whose president has suggested a city-wide action conference for Mumia bringing together all the BSAs in the area.

• In **Paris**, the February 21 protest demonstration was supported by the Committee for the Defense of Liberties and Human Rights, the League for the Rights of Man, the CGT National Journalists Union and Voie Prolétarienne (OCML). Letters of protest to Governor Ridge were read from the Confederation of Kurdish Associations in Europe, from Nazi-hunter Serge Klarsfeld in the name of the "Sons and Daughters of Deported French Jews," and from the CGT union of proofreaders as well as the dockers.

• In **Washington, D.C.**, a rally on February 25 at Howard University was addressed by Mrs. Dorothy Copp Elliott, whose son Archie was killed by the police in Prince George's County, and by George Moffat, a former political prisoner from South Africa, who spent 15 years imprisoned on Robben Island. Leigh Dingerson, executive director of the National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty, told the rally, "You can't take the slime out of the swamp, and you can't take the racism out of capital punishment. It simply would not exist and could not exist if it weren't for the disparities that make it up."

• At the February 25 rally in **Oakland**, which was co-sponsored by the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, statements of support for Mumia came from Congressman Ron Dellums, Angela Davis and author Alice Walker. ILWU International president Brian McWilliams sent a letter of protest to Governor Ridge. A statement from the Northern California Newspaper Guild noted its "special duty to prevent an activist journalist from becoming the first U.S. political execution...since the Rosenbergs."

From behind bars at Mule Creek State Prison, former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), who has been imprisoned for close to 25 years for a crime he did not and could not have committed, wrote of Jamal's "compassion and outstanding abilities" and called "for those who have supported me to join the struggle to save the life of Mumia." A moving personal account by Jamal's sister, Lydia Wallace, brought a standing ovation from the crowd who contributed over $1,700 to Jamal's defense.

• In **Tokyo**, on February 26, over $300 was raised at a forum attended by death penalty opponents in Japan, the only other major industrialized country which still has the death penalty. Speakers included a Meiji University law professor

continued on page 7

Urgent: Send Funds for Jamal Defense!

YOU CAN HELP—JOIN THE CAMPAIGN TO SAVE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL! Jamal fights with his voice and his pen. We must organize mass protest to save his life and fight the racist death penalty. Take petitions. Ask your friends, neighbors and co-workers to sign. Organize a showing in your union, community group, church or school of the PDC video, "From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal." Send letters and get Jamal's powerful columns into your local newspapers, school or union newsletters; raise motions in your union or at your school to send a letter to Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge demanding "Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!" The organized force of labor, minorities and death penalty abolitionists must be brought out in social struggle and protest to stop the executioner. For information on how you can join the campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 406-4252.

SEND $$$ FOR JAMAL LEGAL DEFENSE NOW! Funds are urgently needed to wage the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal's life. All money being raised through these rallies and forums organized by the Partisan Defense Committee goes directly to Jamal's legal defense. Since February 9, over $12,000 has been collected and pledged! More is needed now! Jamal's legal team initiated the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, co-chaired by actors Ossie Davis and Mike Farrell, to help raise funds. Make out your tax-deductible contribution for the defense to: Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and send it to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

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Youth Outrage Over Racist Cop Killing

Paterson, N.J.

Paterson, New Jersey has been rocked for more than a week by protests over the coldblooded police killing of black high school student Lawrence Meyers. The 16-year-old youth was shot in the back of the head by white housing cop Ronald Cohen February 21 during a joint "drug patrol" with city police outside the bleak Ellison Street housing project. Lawrence Meyers died three days later. He was buried on March 2.

For three straight days after the shooting, hundreds of Meyers' fellow students at Eastside High School and other youth, predominantly black, took to the streets in outrage. Students at Eastside and John F. Kennedy High walked out twice to march on City Hall. A vigil has been kept at a shrine placed at the site of the shooting.

Cohen was granted leave with pay, giving the usual cop alibi that the unarmed youth had tried to grab his gun. But eyewitnesses say that Meyers had his arms stretched out in front when he was shot. One angry youth at a March 3 protest said, "Suspension with pay, a.k.a. a paid vacation. I'd like to see justice." Many protesters recalled the racist cop killing of another 16-year-old black youth, Phillip Pannell, in nearby Teaneck in 1990. Cohen has now hired the same lawyer who got Pannell's killer acquitted of criminal charges.

Paterson cops responded to the outpouring of protest with a virtual state of siege, surrounding Eastside High and arresting 33 demonstrators. "They treat us like animals," said a Hispanic student. On February 23, cops maced over 100 youth as they walked out of an NAACP meeting shouting for justice, while a National Guard helicopter hovered overhead. Earlier that day, a police cruiser ran down 16-year-old Roberto Rodriguez while elementary school students watched in horror.

The cops have gone out of their way to provoke a riot which they could use to justify a bloody massacre. The day after the shooting, as Meyers lay in the hospital on life-support systems, they went on the air to say he had died. Two days later, an Eastside High student was arrested for "inciting a riot," only hours after he had urged protesters at City Hall to stay calm. That night, riot-clad cops blocked off the street in front of the school after school officials canceled a talent show. Defying the cops, the students stood their ground and refused to go home.

Hill Record

AP

High school students protest killing of 16-year-old Lawrence Meyers (right) by Paterson cop. Police responded with virtual state of siege.

Following Meyers' killing, black youth have been voicing their bitterness at the rotten conditions around them and the cop terror that constantly hounds them. "We live in a kind of slavery," said one. An unemployed cook remarked bitterly, "This used to be a real city of opportunity—Silk City!—but now there's nothing." Thousands of black families moved here from the South after World War II to work in the city's teeming textile mills, followed by large numbers of Hispanics. Today this aging industrial city symbolizes the decay of capitalism.

Paterson is notorious for racist repression. Despite a population which has a large majority of blacks and Hispanics, and a growing number of immigrants from the Near East, the police force is overwhelmingly white. In 1966, middleweight boxing contender Rubin "Hurricane" Carter, targeted by the government for his outspoken advocacy of black self-defense, was framed up with his friend John Artis for the murder of a Paterson couple. Carter spent 18 years in prison before the courts admitted he was innocent. And it was at Eastside High that principal Joe Clark became a Rambo "hero" during the Reagan years for walking around with a baseball bat threatening students.

City officials turned to the NAACP to put a lid on the boiling anger over Meyers' killing, but their efforts failed utterly. They have also looked to an outfit called "Black Cops Against Police Brutality," led by DeLacy Davis, which along with the Nation of Islam has gotten a hearing from many of the protesters. The existence of such an organization, which is composed of black policemen from cities and townships in New Jersey, speaks volumes about the depth of vicious cop racism in the state. Davis describes the nationalist demagogue Leonard Jeffries as his mentor and recently spoke alongside NOI anti-Semitic bigot Khalid Muhammad at a meeting in Paterson.

The NOI and Davis' black cops joined in policing the March 3 protest, and both promote the racist "war on drugs," which has now claimed Lawrence Meyers as a victim. By channeling the anger of Paterson's desperate ghetto youth away from the racist capitalist oppressors, they also help set the atmosphere in which some white youth who have come out to express solidarity have been driven off.

Leading the March 3 protest were Al Sharpton and Herbert Daughtry. While marchers chanted "Stop the killer police!" Daughtry and other speakers issued liberal appeals to vote out the city's white mayor. Meanwhile, reformist groups like the Workers World Party have called for a civilian police review board. Behind this demand, like the call to put a handful of black faces in high places, is the illusion that the racist capitalist state can be pressured to serve the interests of working people and the oppressed.

Ironically, while Paterson City Hall last week was encircled with cops clutching riot batons, student protesters could see a Black History Month flag flying above City Hall. Today, the legacy of slavery survives in the segregation, poverty and racist police brutality of capitalist America. The road to black liberation lies in building a revolutionary workers party, which can link the masses of dispossessed black youth with the multiracial working class. This is the power that can sweep away the racist profit system and begin building a socialist society in which justice and equality are not empty rhetoric but a living reality. ■

They Want to Silence the "Voice of the Voiceless"

Philly Cop Vendetta Against Book by Mumia Abu-Jamal

On February 15, the *New York Times* reported that Addison-Wesley Publishing Company was planning to publish *Live From Death Row*, a book of commentaries by Mumia Abu-Jamal. In response, the Philadelphia police launched a campaign to stop Jamal's book, to seize the $30,000 advance promised the author, and to escalate their efforts to silence Jamal by execution. The Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) and Pennsylvania's state house hangmen have cranked up a media blitz, grotesquely branding Jamal the "Donald Trump of death row" and adding the chilling threat that Jamal should be "meeting his maker." Rich Costello, head of the Philadelphia FOP, sneered that the only words the public should hear from Jamal are "good-bye."

Last year, the FOP pressured National Public Radio into canceling broadcasts of Jamal's commentaries. Today they seek to extend their campaign of censorship to book-banning. They know and fear Jamal's searing indictments of this whole system of racist injustice, his commentaries which radiate with a humanity that speaks to people across the country. They want to silence Jamal to make it easier to kill him.

In a column written from death row, Jamal indicted the racist hypocrisy behind this vicious campaign:

> "How many politicians screamed 'outrageous' at the news of convicted criminal (ex-cop) Stacey Koon's Legal Defense Fund which has, according to one report, netted an estimated $4.7 million in donations? This cop, *videotaped* in the act of beating Rodney King senseless—serving a measly 30-month federal bit!—is getting funds for lawyers and to help his family. Where's the outcry?
>
> "I, after having had one court-appointed lawyer (who was later disbarred), and another on appeal, am fighting, quite literally, for my very life, against an unjust and an illegal Death Sentence, have decided to finally try to hire a good lawyer, and the buzzards of the FOP and political hitmen screech their objections."

Refusing to bow to the pressure of the FOP, Alison Pratt of Addison-Wesley said, "Here is a voice of the voiceless. We've never heard an articulate voice from death row talking about what it's like to be there." Another spokesman for the publishing company announced that Jamal's book will be available in bookstores in May.

In response, Pennsylvania's prison officials are publicly discussing plans to discipline Jamal for carrying on "commercial activity" while on death row! Already they have abrogated Jamal's lawyer-client privilege, confiscated legal correspondence and prevented visits by legal assistants. Jamal's contact with his legal team and supporters has been restricted in a transparent attempt to prevent him from assisting in the preparation of a petition for a new trial being prepared by his attorneys.

The legal pretext for this gross violation of Jamal's rights is the so-called "Son of Sam" law which prohibits an inmate from profiting from the commission of a crime. Not only has the New York state version of this law been ruled an unconstitutional violation of the First Amendment by the U.S. Supreme Court, it in any case has no applicability to Jamal, who has long professed his innocence and whose writings have nothing to do with his own case. In short, this is nothing other than an attempt to stop Jamal from overturning his conviction and sentence of death.

What is posed here is literally a life-and-death question of freedom of speech. Like mullahs in some theocratic state, the Philadelphia FOP thinks it can dictate what the American public can read. When author Salman Rushdie received death threats for his book *The Satanic Verses*, people around the world rallied to his defense and in defense of their own democratic rights. Now, too, it is desperately urgent to mobilize and defeat this attempt at censorship by death. We urge our readers to join the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Lockdown...

(continued from page 1)

crime" which snatches young men and women from the streets and throws them into prison hellholes. Jails replace (nonexistent) jobs, billy clubs are substituted for the blackboard. In the calculations of the American bourgeoisie, the inner-city ghettos which used to provide a reservoir of unskilled labor for the auto plants and steel mills—a "reserve army" of the unemployed to be tapped when the economy needed them—are simply written off, patrolled by police who act like an occupation army and devastated by poverty and disease.

A couple of statistics sum it up. Over a million manufacturing jobs were lost in the U.S. in the 1980s, on top of the wholesale destruction of whole swaths of Midwest industry the decade before. *For every place lost on the assembly lines, one has been added in the prisons.* Since the mid-1970s, the country's state and federal prison population has *quadrupled*, recently passing the one million mark and growing at the rate of 1,500 a week. Added to the nearly half million held in local jails, the total prison population of over 1.5 million equals that of the city of Philadelphia. And black people account for *54 percent* of those behind bars—more than *four times* their proportion of the population as a whole—as compared to 35 percent only 20 years ago.

Since the feds geared up their "war on drugs" in the early '80s, the prisons have been filled to overflowing. This was a deliberate policy decision to send hundreds of thousands of youth to jail. Fully 60 percent of federal prison sentences are now meted out for drug offenses, in many cases simple possession. A slew of Congressionally imposed mandatory minimum sentences has led to the spectacle of tens of thousands of teenage kids being locked away for years without any chance of parole for getting caught with small amounts of crack or marijuana. While black Democrats like Jesse Jackson promote this racist crusade with demagogy about "hope, not dope," we have insisted from the outset that the "war on drugs" is a racist *war on black America.*

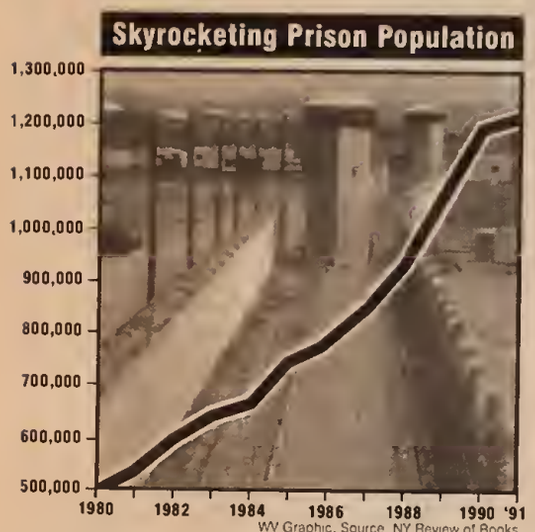
Before 1981, the juvenile arrest rate for drug offenses was higher among whites than blacks. Yet while federal agencies concede that drug use remains higher among white youth, the arrest rate for blacks has skyrocketed. To take but one example, in Baltimore, the number of young blacks arrested for drug sales climbed from 86 in 1981 to over 1,300 a decade later, while arrests of white juveniles remained constant. Today, a staggering *56 percent* of all black men in Baltimore between the ages of 18 and 35 are ensnared in the "criminal justice" system, with comparable figures in other major cities.

The "prison-industrial complex" is just about the only "growth industry" in America today. Not least among the factors driving the phony "war on crime" is a powerful political lobby which seeks to reap ever greater profits from the burgeoning system of incarceration and execution. Combined federal, state and local spending on prisons jumped almost eightfold in the past 20 years, to a rate of *$30 billion* a year. California alone has devoted $10 billion to prison construction in the past decade. And many of the new facilities are designed to be "supermax" high-security institutions, in which prisoners are locked up in isolation 23 hours a day behind high-voltage electrical "death fences." The prototype for these new facilities is the federal penitentiary at Marion, Illinois, which even the U.S. Court of Appeals described in 1988 as "sordid," "horrible" and "depressing in the extreme."

Sitting behind bars at the Greene supermax prison in Waynesville, Pennsylvania is death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Jamal's case has become the focus of opposition to the barbaric death penalty. This former Black Panther and acclaimed black journalist, widely known as the "voice of the voiceless," has been condemned to death solely for his outspoken opposition to racist oppression and persecution. With nothing to offer the masses of black poor and working people but ever-deeper degradation and immiseration, the capitalist ruling class is intent on extinguishing any sign of protest with brute force. *A victory in the struggle to save Mumia Abu-Jamal will strike a blow against the entire system of legal lynching and racist repression.*

Carter/NY Times

Oklahoma State Penitentiary's H Unit: Prisoners are buried alive in high-tech hell of isolation and sensory deprivation.



America's No. 1 "growth industry": Number behind bars has more than tripled since 1980, topping 1.5 million in federal and state prisons and local jails in 1994.

Return of the Chain Gang

We have noted that the death penalty in the United States is rooted in the racist legacy of the slave system. Today, in their vendetta against black youth, reactionary politicians from both capitalist parties are moving to bring back the penal code of the Jim Crow South in all its horror. In the past few years, state legislatures in Alabama, Indiana and Washington have even considered bills to have "sex offenders" castrated. Describing a special session of the Mississippi state legislature last fall, the *New York Times* (17 September 1994) reported: "There was talk of restoring fear to prisons, of caning, of making prisoners 'smell like a prisoner,' of burning and frying." Mississippi has now banned TV, radio, stereo and weight-lifting equipment in prison. In a direct throwback to the days of the chain gang, all inmates will now have to wear striped uniforms with the word "convict" across the back. And Alabama just spent $17,000 for 300 sets of leg irons to be worn by chain gangs.

When it comes to prison "reform," Mississippi—which ranks at or near the bottom of the 50 states on virtually every educational or social indicator—is in the forefront. Congress is now insisting that subsidies to the states for new prison construction mandated by Clinton's crime bill last year be predicated on cutting back or eliminating parole and imposing stiffer sentences. Meanwhile, Congress and the states are enacting new laws daily which will gut the rights of prisoners and the accused, from restricting habeas corpus appeals to eliminating the constitutional ban on police searches without warrants. They want to go back to the days when a 19th-century judge (echoing the infamous 1857 Dred Scott decision that blacks "had no rights which a white man was bound to respect") declared that a prisoner was "the slave of the state," who "not only forfeited his liberty, but all his personal rights."

From California to Florida, state and local governments are banning anything resembling educational, rehabilitation or recreational facilities. Among the measures passed with overwhelming bipartisan support by Congress last year was one cutting off educational opportunities for inmates. In 1989, the Supreme Court ruled that prison officials had full discretion to ban any publication considered "detrimental," from porn to political material. Texas prison authorities recently decreed that *Workers Vanguard* was *verboten* because we ran the world-famous photo of Vietnamese children running naked from a U.S. napalm attack (see article, page 2). Joining a nationwide trend to deny prisoners the relief of an occasional cigarette, California and Texas now even refuse to allow death row inmates a final smoke as a last request before execution!

Such increasingly inhuman prison conditions provoked 374 riots in 1992-93, more than three times the number in the previous three years combined. ACLU National Prison Project spokesman Alvin Bronstein has warned that by making "prisons so harsh," politicians and prison authorities "will ensure another Attica," the 1971 prison rebellion in upstate New York which was drowned in blood by Governor Nelson Rockefeller, who unleashed a cop massacre which left 43 people dead. Today, U.S. rulers appear almost eager to provoke a revolt of prison inmates which they could use as a pretext for a major bloodletting.

In the past decade, 33 inmates have been shot to death by prison guards in California alone. The *Los Angeles Times* (22 September 1994) reports that guards shoot prisoners as a "routine and accepted way of breaking up fights among convicts."

Rape, an ever-present horror of prison life, has also been made an instrument for control and humiliation of inmates. *The Dilemmas of Corrections* (1991) noted: "The contribution to sexual assaults between prisoners that is made by correctional officers...is legendary." Conservative estimates indicate that more than 290,000 males are raped in prison every year, a virtual death sentence for many given the high levels of AIDS in prison. On top of this is the willful misuse of medical care to punish prisoners. A three-part investigative report in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (3-5 October 1994) cited "hundreds of cases" of "incompetent, negligent or punitive" medical care "reminiscent of prison conditions in centuries past."

The treatment inflicted on the mentally ill in prison has become a major social issue because of the slashing of funds for psychiatric care. There are now more mentally ill people in New York's state prisons than in its psychiatric hospitals, a third of them with severe illnesses like schizophrenia and manic depression. Yet, even when convicted of mild crimes, these people are placed in maximum-security prisons where they are subjected to the most stressful treatment. In 1990, the Supreme Court approved forcible injections of anti-psychotic drugs by prison authorities without recourse to

Hawaii Correctional Industries

States are bringing back chain-gang labor. Prisoners in Hawaii working on pineapple plantations.

judicial hearings. This is bitterly ironic when one recalls how the imperialists railed during the Cold War against the use of drugs on prisoners in Soviet psychiatric institutions.

A more recent form of high-tech torture in U.S. prisons is the use of electric shocks. In Los Angeles County, eight people were killed between 1987 and 1989 by guards using Tasers, stun guns which shoot darts that deliver a paralyzing 45,000-volt shock. An offshoot of the Taser gun is an electrical shock belt called React, which has been purchased by some 250 local police forces. The belt, worn by prisoners during court appearances, can deliver a 50,000-volt shock to the back muscles at the push of a guard's button.

High-Tech Hellholes

The "new wave" in prison torment is the so-called maximum-security prisons in which inmates are virtually buried alive in six-by-eight-foot solitary confinement cells with no furniture and only reinforced concrete slabs to serve as bed and table. Solid steel doors, opened electronically by remote control from a central guard post, prevent communication—or even eye contact—with other inmates. Prisoners are fed alone through a slot in the door and are denied access to libraries, training and recreational activity. For the brief period when prisoners are allowed to leave their cells, they are forced to wear leg irons and escorted by a number of heavily armed guards.

These high-tech hellholes have their origins in 1950s "psy-war" experiments on brainwashing techniques. Centered on the use of isolation units and sensory deprivation, they sought to "modify" the behavior and attitudes of political prisoners and resisters. In a chilling report on the prototype supermax prison at Marion, Illinois, journalist Russell Miller wrote in the London *Sunday Times* (23 May 1993):

> "The regime makes no pretense at rehabilitation. Its function is psychological emasculation, to crush the spirit, strip a man of the last vestige of defiance and force him to conform to the most punitive system the courts will allow and the public will tolerate."

Key to these new "maxi" prisons—the most recent is the Florence, Colorado federal prison—is the ability not only to control prisoners, but to *kill* them. As the "industry" journal *Corrections Today* (July 1992) coldly commented, "When contemplating the design of a new maximum security facility, issues related to the use of deadly force must be addressed early in the planning process."

New York State Special Commission on Attica

Attica, 1971: Prisoners stripped and herded into the yard following Governor Rockefeller's bloody suppression of rebellion, leaving 43 dead.

Among the four new super-maximum prisons in California is the notorious Pelican Bay State Prison near the Oregon border. Since its opening barely five years ago, guards have fired on inmates on 129 separate occasions, wounding 23 and killing three. Last month, a federal judge in San Francisco ruled that "the use of excessive force for the purpose of punishment and deterrence" at Pelican Bay violated the constitutional ban on cruel and unusual punishment. Among the examples cited was that of mentally ill inmate Vaughn Dortch, who was thrown into a scalding bath that left him with second- and third-degree burns over a third of his body. One Pelican Bay prisoner remarked bitterly, "I think hell is a better place than this."

Another maximum security institution in California is the Calipatria State Prison, which opened in 1992. An internal prison memorandum recently published in the *People's Weekly World* (24 December 1994) exposed the openly racist policies which are rampant throughout the prison system: "Visits for Black and Mexican inmates will be behind the glass, limited to 15 minutes per inmate per day. Visits for white and other inmates will be unrestricted ... Black and Mexican inmates will be escorted to canteen 10 inmates at a time. White and other inmates will have access to the canteen during their normally scheduled yard periods.... There will [be] no yard activities for Black and Mexican inmates. There will be normal yard activities for white and other inmates...." There are ten suicide attempts *every month* in Calipatria.

Not surprisingly, leftist political prisoners—including American Indian Movement leader Leonard Peltier, Ray Luc Levasseur of the Ohio Seven, Puerto Rican nationalist Alejandrina Torres and New Left activist Susan Rosenberg, among others—have been particularly singled out for these supermax facilities. A former warden at Marion frankly stated that its purpose "is to control revolutionary attitudes in the prison system and in the society at large" (Ward Churchill and J.J. Vander Wall [eds.], *Cages of Steel* [1992]). Former California Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), who has been locked away for 24 years for a crime the government knows he did not commit, has waged a constant struggle against attempts to subject him to a harsher prison regime, and has repeatedly been denied parole for refusing to renounce his political beliefs.

Capitalist Decay and Genocide U.S.A.

The bourgeoisie's vicious drive to imprison and execute ever-increasing numbers of ghetto youth reflects a sinister impulse to genocide against a layer of the black population. Particularly in the wake of the multiracial plebeian uprising which rocked L.A. after the acquittal of the racist cops who beat Rodney King, the ruling class is dead-set on suppressing a generation for whom capitalism in decay offers no productive employment. Spending on education and social services has gone bust, while prison construction booms. Last fall, Texas simultaneously added $1 billion to the "corrections" budget while rejecting a $750 million bond issue for education. Similarly in California, the Department of Corrections hired 26,000 people in the last ten years while the higher education system lost 8,000 jobs. The capitalist ruling class leaves no doubts about its priorities.

While a "reserve army" of unemployed workers is a necessary and inevitable feature of capitalism, the growth of a large sector of permanently unemployed "outcasts" has historically impelled the bourgeoisie toward annihilation of those it considers "surplus" population. In the early years of capitalist development, preceding and during the industrial revolution in Britain, the bourgeoisie deliberately drove vast numbers of peasants off the land, through such measures as the "enclosure laws," in order to create a pool of labor for large-scale manufacturing. But, as Karl Marx explained in *Capital*, "this 'free' proletariat could not possibly be absorbed by the nascent manufactures as fast as it was thrown upon the world." Draconian laws were enacted to intimidate and destroy the resulting mass of unemployed vagabonds. During the 16th-century reign of Henry VIII, some 72,000 beggars and thieves were hanged—when England's population was scarcely a few million.

Today, with capitalism in decline, there is again a drive to get rid of whole sections of the population. But now it is not because the productive forces are too immature to find useful employment for all, but rather because they have vastly outgrown the limits of a system based on production for profit. The 20th century is marked by high-tech barbarism, epitomized by the slaughter of two interimperialist world wars, punctuated by the Holocaust and the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and continuing with countless fratricidal and genocidal conflicts. Augmenting these bloody slaughters, many of them the product of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union and East Europe, are the "peacetime" phenomena of widespread famine and epidemics which ravage much of the Third World and the current "social policy" of the U.S. bourgeoisie directed at devastating and decimating a whole layer of the country's minority population.

What we have called "Genocide U.S.A." is not an ephemeral aberration due to the political victories of right-wing Republicans but rather a strategic policy embracing a bipartisan consensus. It is no accident that the labor bureaucrats and black misleaders—from Jesse Jackson to Louis Farrakhan—are at best impotent and at worst complicit in this drive toward death, because they are committed to the maintenance of this racist capitalist system. The only way out of a grisly future of homelessness, starvation and prison for millions of minority youth lies in a revolutionary struggle to sweep away the capitalist profit system. And the key to that lies in forging a revolutionary workers party which will mobilize the social power of the multiracial proletariat to act as a tribune of all the oppressed in the fight for a socialist society in which there will be an equal and productive place for all. ■

Save Jamal...

(continued from page 4)

who has authored two books on the death penalty in Japan, a representative of the Japanese Association for the Abolition of the Death Penalty and a spokesman for the Spartacist Group Japan.

• In **Los Angeles** on March 4, a forum in defense of Jamal was held at the SEIU Local 399 (Justice for Janitors) hall, the union which last year held a protest demonstration demanding freedom for Geronimo ji Jaga. A statement from Jamal was read by renowned actor and orator William Marshall.

• The same night, in **Chicago**, a rally co-sponsored by the PDC and the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal brought out 175 people and raised over $1,800 for Jamal's legal defense. The West Side NAACP chapter, the Chicago Conference of Black Lawyers, as well as Locals 308 and 241 of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU)—representing over 10,000 Chicago transit workers—were among the endorsers of the rally. Operation Push came with 30 people. Bernard Branche of Local 308 announced that the local had donated $1,000 to Jamal's defense. ATU International vice president Jackie Breckenridge said of Jamal, "The only thing that he's attempted to murder is racism, fascism, discrimination, bigotry and oppression. That's why he's on death row."

Darby Tillis, who himself spent more than four years on death row, spoke powerfully to the Chicago rally: "I am one of almost 450 persons in this country who was convicted of a capital crime and later found to be innocent. The death penalty is unfair, biased, racist and discriminatory.... I was used and abused to get a message to the public at the expense of my life. Innocent—put up to ridicule and killed. Powerless, desperate and frustrated, I sat helpless."

Speaking to the Oakland rally, Don Alexander of the Partisan Defense Committee emphasized that the fight to save Jamal is part of a broader fight against racist capitalism. Declaring that the death penalty is the "continuation of the legacy of slavery in which black people can be killed with impunity," he explained:

> "We built this country—workers, blacks and immigrants—it must and it will be ours! Our coming together for this united-front rally to save Mumia is a way to do our duty and to defend ourselves. To get rid of this sick ruling class with its electric chairs, gas chambers and lethal injections requires the mobilization of the working class to seize state power. This requires building a multiracial workers party to lead the struggles of all the oppressed. Then we can build a genuine socialist society of material abundance in which the wealth of the world belongs to the world of labor. This will end the long nightmare of class society. We add our voices to those around the world in fighting to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty!" ■

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China...

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state. Deng's rise to power in 1978 marked the ascendancy of forces in the bureaucratic apparatus that aimed to decentralize much of China's nationalized economy and break up collectivized agriculture while inviting in foreign capital investment. The professed aim was to turn China into a modernized economic superpower by the year 2000. Where official Maoist jargon called upon party members to "serve the people," by the mid-1980s Communist Party cadres were trumpeting Deng's watchword, "to get rich is glorious."

Deng dubbed his policies "socialism with Chinese characteristics." Yet the introduction of "market reforms" was not a "Chinese" phenomenon, but a tendency common to all Stalinist bureaucracies, with their nationalist dogma of building "socialism in one country." Sitting atop the economic foundations of workers states while depriving the workers of political power, Stalinist reformers have looked to market mechanisms to correct the rigidities of bureaucratic planning without endangering their own positions. "Market socialism" had earlier been introduced in Tito's Yugoslavia and later in Hungary, giving rise to domestic capitalist-restorationist forces which helped destroy both of these deformed workers states.

Deng's reforms and his "open door" to imperialist (and exile Chinese) capital are now threatening to throw the country into turmoil. Last year, the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences warned that the country could break up like Yugoslavia after Deng dies. Unlike the multinational Yugoslav federation, which was torn apart by separatist forces, in China national minorities constitute only 8 percent of the population. Rather, the breakup of the centrally planned economy into a hybrid of state firms, local collectives known as "township and village enterprises" and an imperialist-dominated capitalist sector has created an increasingly independent layer of bureaucrats-turned-entrepreneurs tied to the world capitalist market. The danger that growing regionalism poses is seen clearly in Guangdong province, around the new city of Shenzhen, where "free-trade" SEZs (special economic zones) were first developed. The area is becoming increasingly integrated into the economic sphere of capitalist Hong Kong, which shares strong cultural ties with the region's Cantonese-speaking people.

In a speech last June, president and Chinese Communist Party (CCP) chief Jiang Zemin declared that the party and state were "in danger of collapse" from rampant corruption, with officials enriching themselves by playing off their connections to foreign investors, selling off state property, etc. The autonomy of regional "economic warlords" has grown to the point where they rarely listen to directives issued in Beijing, while banditry and even clan feuds are erupting around the country. Recently, a group of intellectuals, comprised mostly of veterans of the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests but including former editors of the CCP's *People's Daily*, offered two petitions to China's National People's Congress, calling for investigating corruption and "human rights" abuses and for a range of "democratic" measures including a "constitutional democracy."

Marshall/JB Pictures

Growing class division in Deng's China: high rises spring up next to impoverished workers' district in Guangdong province, site of first "free trade" Special Economic Zones.

Such abstract calls for "democracy," in the absence of any declaration of defense of the Chinese workers state, however deformed, against capitalist forces, amount to a program for bourgeois rule, which would be anything but democratic. The petitioners claim that "the values now esteemed and striven for by the societies of mankind are the upholding of human dignity and the safeguarding of fundamental human rights." This is the same language used by anti-Communist "dissidents" in East Europe and the USSR, who were actively supported by the Western imperialist powers. The term "democracy" became a code word for capitalist counterrevolution which swept the former Soviet bloc, bringing nothing but misery, and certainly no democracy, to workers, minorities and women.

The Stalinist bureaucracy's delicate balancing act between world imperialism and the workers and peasants in whose name they rule cannot last much longer. On the one hand, they are pressed by the demands of foreign capital and its local "compradors," whose property rights will not be secure without the establishment of a bourgeois state. On the other, there are signs of rising proletarian struggle, from the capitalist SEZs to state-owned industries where workers are faced with the dismantling of "cradle-to-grave" benefits, which are among the most cherished gains of the 1949 Revolution. This situation cries out for the leadership of a communist-internationalist vanguard, fighting to defend the gains of the Chinese Revolution through a political revolution overthrowing the bureaucracy, and linking up with proletarian struggles in South Korea and especially in imperialist Japan, the industrial powerhouse of Asia.

Social Unrest Wracks China's "Socialist Market Economy"

While the number of "labor-management disputes," many of them protesting corruption, reached 12,000 in 1993, a rise of 50 percent from the year before, the number of strikes and labor protests, including violent attacks on managers and property, rose again by 66 percent in the first quarter of 1994. (The right to strike, previously recognized in China's constitution, was dropped in 1982.) "I think the government should be very careful about what they do in the workers of China," warned a retired steel worker. "If they infuriate the workers, there will be no stopping them" (*Los Angeles Times*, 18 October 1994).

There is also the threat of rebellion by poor peasants left out of the Chinese economic "miracle." At least *100 million* peasants made "surplus" by the breakup of agricultural collectivization roam the cities searching for work, living in segregated enclaves and taking on jobs that longtime residents refuse. This is in addition to the estimated 70 million peasants who provided the labor for both the SEZs and the rapidly expanding local "collective" industries in the first decade of market "reforms." Others are mortgaging their futures to ruthless smugglers for a chance to emigrate. Poverty rates are increasing faster in the countryside than in urban areas, while the population squeeze is tightening with leasing of farmland to private industrial developers. Peasant unrest was recorded in 20 of China's 29 provinces in 1993, along with almost 3,000 violent attacks on tax collectors!

The issue of inflation is particularly volatile: together with anger at official corruption, this fueled the working-class upheaval in May-June 1989 that nearly toppled the government. Last fall, inflation reached an annual rate of 27 percent, the highest since 1989. Sounding the alarm against rising prices at a time of social stress and political transition, the 22 February *People's Daily* noted that prices for basic foods in 1994 rose over 50 percent, which disproportionately affects urban residents.

The fear of social "chaos" helps explain why the regime, to the consternation of international bankers, has *increased* investment in state-owned plants over the last five years. More than 70 percent of investment in China still goes to state-owned factories, although their share of national output has fallen to 43 percent. Last month, Beijing declared an outright moratorium on closing state factories in key industries, and has recently imposed price controls on foods and other items. Meanwhile, the government is scrambling to assemble a "unified social security system" for laid-off state workers, in order to begin applying bankruptcy regulations demanded by imperialist investors.

The head of China's State Council Research Office defended the continued high level of subsidies to the state sector by referring to the collapse of Stalinist rule in the Soviet Union and East Europe: "Some argue that privatisation has become the main trend in world economics, including in China. But this would deny the basis of socialism in China and there is considerable debate in capitalist countries over the success of privatisation. Prospects for it in former socialist countries are not so rosy" (*South China Morning Post*, 8 February).

But this current shift in no way contradicts the experience of the last seven years, which proved that in the absence of massive working-class struggle to defend proletarian property forms, no wing of Stalinism can be expected to fight capitalist counterrevolution. It is not communism that has failed, but its Stalinist perversion. The liberating program and goals of Marxism envision advancing social and economic development through *international* workers revolution.

Imperialist Rivalry Over China

The imperialists are themselves increasingly worried about political instability in China. Foreign investment, which fueled China's economic boom over the last 17 years, dropped in 1994, pointing to a slowdown of the economy. The tussle between China and the U.S. over "pirated" software, CDs and videotapes points to American worries that Chinese administrators haven't yet learned to "respect" bourgeois property rights like copyright laws. But despite its occasional tongue-clucking over "human rights" and threats against trade with China, the U.S. bourgeoisie is loath to shut the door to business opportunities here lest it cede ground to its Japanese and European competitors. Still, as it did during the anti-Soviet Cold War, the imperialists' "human rights" rhetoric can serve to rally pro-capitalist forces inside and outside the country seeking to undermine the Stalinist-ruled workers state.

The high level of U.S. trade with Deng's China has been subjected to shrill denunciations by die-hard anti-Communists like *New York Times* columnist A. M. Rosenthal. Another stalwart of the "let's get tough with Red China" crowd is AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland, who in this case combines anti-Communist fanaticism with flag-waving protectionism. On their left flank stand the "State Department socialists" of the International Socialist Organization, whose newspaper *Socialist Worker* (June 1994) condemned Clinton's "appeasement" of Deng when the U.S. renewed China's "Most Favored Nation" trade status (granting imports from China the lowest level of U.S. tariffs). This is scarcely surprising, since their British mentor Tony Cliff refused to defend the USSR and China (which he labeled "state capitalist") against U.S. imperialism in the Korean War of 1950-53.

The initial phase of Deng's "open door" policies was dominated by light-industrial plants in SEZs in southern Guangdong and Fujian provinces. These plants are mostly owned by Hong Kong and Taiwanese companies, whose brutal

Der Spiegel

Volkswagen joint venture in Shanghai. Deng's "open door" to imperialist exploitation fuels capitalist counterrevolution.

exploitation rivals that of early 19th-century textile mills. The SEZs have since expanded throughout key industrial centers like Shanghai, Wuhan and the Northeast, where Japanese, American and European capital is geared toward advanced technology and heavy industry like power production and aircraft manufacturing.

Renewed interimperialist rivalries touched off by the collapse of the USSR are certain to heat up over China, whose masses of available labor, developing internal market and geographical position in booming East Asia have made it, unlike Yeltsin's Russia, a gleaming target for capital investment. Here the goal of Japanese imperialism to recreate a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere trade bloc runs directly up against the U.S., whose key asset is its global military power. The last time these powers competed for China, the result was the extension of World War II to the Pacific.

The bureaucrats in Beijing have their own "big power" ambitions. By operating its own businesses, the 3-million-strong People's Liberation Army (PLA), the world's largest, has fueled a military buildup, which has set alarm bells ringing from Taiwan to the Pentagon. This development has precious little to do with defending the Chinese deformed *workers state* against imperialism, and everything to do with promoting Chinese nationalism, which serves to derail working-class anger at the corrupt bourgeois-democratic "dissidents" and world bankers—is the need for social stability. In this vein, the regime has recently been on a campaign to uphold Confucian values, seeking to inculcate among the masses passive acceptance of the bureaucracy's "heavenly mandate" to rule. Also, after the 1989 "Beijing Spring" was drowned in blood, a new "People's Armed Police" was created specifically to control "social unrest." The key armed force, however, is the People's Liberation Army. While the PLA's plunge into the market economy has turned many army commanders into aspiring bourgeois exploiters, it is nevertheless the only central state body with a coherent, authoritative countrywide structure.

At a time when the government admits that 80 million people worry about getting food and warmth, the newly rich flaunt their wealth: businessmen's dinners in SEZ boomtowns cost ten times a worker's annual wage. Such ostentatious displays have produced nostalgia for the days of Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung), when egalitarianism, however distorted, was part of the popular consciousness and official ideology. A cab driver in Chongqing declared, "In his day, even though living standards were very low, everyone was equal in rights. Today the country is more developed and the living standard is higher, but there is also a big difference between those who have money and those who do not" (*New York Times*, 16 December 1994).

Peter Turnley

Contingent from Beijing Workers Autonomous Federation arriving in Tiananmen Square, May 1989. Entry of working class into mass student demonstrations posed proletarian political revolution.

bureaucracy. China's claim to the oil-rich Spratley Islands in the South China Sea has brought it close to blows with Vietnam, which despite its devastation by U.S. imperialism's dirty war defeated China's invasion in 1979.

Who Will Receive Heaven's Mandate?

The anticipated death of 90-year-old leader Deng Xiaoping has prompted debate inside the CCP leadership over how to maintain social peace in this volatile country. In early September, a group around former propaganda minister Deng Liqun, which published the magazine *In Search of Truth*, openly held a conference to discuss combatting "bourgeois liberalization." Around the same time, an anonymously authored book called *Viewing China Through a Third Eye* shook the party with its open criticism of Deng's reforms. Warning of impending chaos at the hands of the "living volcano" of the peasantry, it called for confining peasants to the land and argued against any kind of "democracy." Following a plug by CCP leader Jiang Zemin, the book sold some 200,000 copies and became something of a bible for those elements of the bureaucracy who want a tightly controlled transition to capitalism. They argue for the party to get *more* involved in business.

The one common concern of the CCP apparatus—which is shared by

But it was Mao's version of "socialism in one country" that led to disastrous policies that more than once threatened to ruin the People's Republic, and which set the stage for the rise of Deng Xiaoping. With the victory of Mao's peasant guerrilla army over Chiang Kai-shek's decrepit Guomindang regime in 1949, the People's Republic was born as a deformed workers state, ruled by a nationalist bureaucratic caste that adapted the model of the Soviet Union under Stalin to fit Mao's peasant-based nationalism. The adventurist "Great Leap Forward" of the late 1950s sought to propel China into an advanced industrial society through the herculean efforts of its peasant toilers, creating "backyard steel furnaces" out of scrap material. The result was the near-total collapse of agriculture and a horrible famine.

After this disaster led to Mao's loss of authority, he fought back in the mid-1960s by mounting the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution"—in reality a faction fight pitting millions of youthful "Red Guards," backed by the army, against Mao's foes in the bureaucracy. The frenzied campaigns against "capitalist roaders" and "bourgeois liberalization" shut down schools and closed factories until Mao mobilized the PLA against the youth, who were sent to the countryside to "learn from the people."

By the late '60s, the Mao regime clearly signaled that it regarded the Soviet Union (dubbed "social imperialist") as a *greater enemy* than American imperialism. Thus the stage was set for Mao's embrace of President Nixon in 1972, initiating a strategic alliance against the Soviet Union, while the U.S. was raining death and destruction on Vietnam. In the aftermath Beijing opened the door to foreign investment, while beginning the liquidation of collectivized agriculture.

Mao's heirs have now brought the Chinese Revolution to the edge of the abyss. The situation in China today fully confirms Leon Trotsky's prognosis for Stalin's Russia in the 1930s: either the conservative, nationalist bureaucracy would be ousted through a political revolution of the working class seeking to return to the internationalist road of Lenin's October, or the workers state would succumb to the blows of counterrevolution, from within and without. This warning was confirmed in the negative by the restoration of capitalism in East Europe and the destruction of the Soviet Union.

Workers Raise Their Heads

Due to its imperialist-financed economic growth, China's proletariat is rapidly expanding. In March, a petition circulated in Beijing calling for "freedom from exploitation," the right to strike, and the right to organize independent trade unions. The potential social power of the workers has been recognized by a section of the pro-imperialist "dissident" movement, which has turned to labor organizing. A "Chinese League of Laborers" was founded by Han Dongfang and other "dissidents" after the Tiananmen Square uprising. As strikes and protests grew toward the end of 1994, the regime stepped up repression against all "unofficial" labor organizations.

Under conditions of strict censorship, it is difficult to determine the political direction of today's workers' struggles and their leadership. At least some of the labor activists take as their model Polish Solidarność, which led workers rebelling against the Stalinist regime straight into the anti-Communist embrace of Ronald Reagan and Pope Wojtyla. Workers must beware of "independent" union leaders tied to imperialist agencies: Han Dongfang is championed by U.S. president Clinton and backed by the pro-imperialist labor bureaucracy in Hong Kong, where Han is exiled. An article on the labor movement in Shenzhen noted, "Han's efforts are now limited to publishing a labour journal and attempting to maintain links with activists working in China. Some are not eager for his help," the article continued. It quotes a recent university graduate now organizing in Shenzhen: "We want to avoid any links with people outside China" (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 16 June 1994).

The mere formation of trade unions independent of the bureaucracy is not in itself a barrier to capitalist counterrevolution. It is quite possible to have economist "free trade unions" in China which accept the framework of capitalist exploitation. Yet the mounting workers' struggles are against the effects of precisely the kind of "market reforms" that Solidarność fought for and enacted once in power.

In the Shenzhen SEZ, 2,350 labor "disputes" were recorded in the first six months of 1993. These young workers, many of them women, are typically just a few years removed from rural life. The horrendous superexploitation they face often includes working up to 15 hours a day, seven days a week, and sleeping in "dormitories" inside the plants. Workers slave away in cheaply built deathtraps, while government "inspectors" are handsomely paid to look the other way. The government reported that in 1993 in Guangdong province there were *45,000* industrial accidents, claiming almost 9,000 lives. Last summer workers staged a militant protest outside an SEZ plant in Zhuhai after a fire led to the building's collapse, killing 76.

A variety of leftists praise the township and village enterprises, known as TVEs, as a "socialist" alternative to exploitation by foreign capital. By producing for the market rather than according to a centralized plan, the TVEs operate according to the profit principle, and in fact are generating a layer of indigenous capitalist entrepreneurs. This "communal" capitalism can be just as ruthless as the SEZ sweatshops. The horrendous casualty rate in mining accidents, estimated at *10,000* per year, is in no small part due to thousands of township-owned coal mines which account for nearly half of China's coal production.

The tremors of labor unrest are also being felt in state industries, as overseas bankers demand an end to the subsidizing of "inefficient" plants. While many actions have reportedly been led by plant managers working with the official unions to protest budget cuts, others are not so controlled. At the giant Wuhan Iron and Steelworks, managers have reduced the 120,000-strong workforce by more than half in order to turn a profit; last year workers took to "stealing" the plant's products when the firm could not meet its payroll. At least one soldier died when the army was called in. In another incident, pensioners commandeering trucks and cars blocked the key bridge in Wuhan to protest the erosion of their benefits by inflation.

Last March, some 100,000 workers protesting pay cuts marched through the two main cities of Manchuria's Heilongjiang province, where 2 million workers had lost their jobs the year before (*Business Week*, 1 August 1994). In Manchuria, the struggle to defend workers' "iron rice bowl" intersects bitter resentment toward Japanese imperialism, which ruled the area through bloody terror from 1931 until Japan's defeat in World War II. Japanese plans to expand auto parts production in this aging industrial belt have run up against worker unrest—for example, at Mabuchi Motors' factory in Dalian—fueled at least in part by anti-Japanese sentiment.

Desperate to assert control over the workers, the government has issued a new National Labor Law "guaranteeing" workers in foreign-owned companies and joint ventures the right to form unions...so long as they are affiliated with the All-China Federation of Trade Unions (ACFTU), the only union legally allowed. Run by the state, the ACFTU collaborates on a daily basis with the capitalist SEZ bosses to keep workers in check. "We have a union, but the union is useless," declared a worker at a Shenzhen television factory, adding that he could not recall a single instance where workers went to the union for help.

The new law also allows collective bargaining, previously permitted only in private enterprises, in all sectors. Chinese workers no longer have the benefits

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Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

Free Roger Warren! Canadian Miner Railroaded

TORONTO—On January 20, Roger Warren, a member of Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) Local 2304, was found guilty of second-degree murder in the death of nine scabs during the bitter 1992-93 strike against Royal Oak Mines. The scabs died in an underground explosion at the notoriously unsafe Giant gold mine near Yellowknife, Northwest Territories. On January 26, denouncing the death of the nine strikebreakers as a "despicable crime" and "an act of terrorism," Judge Mark de Weerdt sentenced Warren to life in prison without possibility of parole for 20 years. This railroad conviction and draconian sentence are an outrage!

Genuine acts of terrorism were carried out during and after the Giant strike...by the company, the cops and the courts. Royal Oak's union-busting chairman, Peggy Witte, spent over $2 million to turn the Giant Mine into an armed camp patrolled by Pinkerton guards and attack dogs. Outside the compound, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP)—dubbed the "Royal Oak Mounted Police" by the courageous strikers—fired shotgun volleys and tear gas barrages to break the union's picket lines.

As Roger Warren said, "The full force of the state was coming down on us." The Giant mine blast became the pretext for one of the biggest manhunts in Canadian history, as the RCMP sought to pin the "bombing" on the strikers. The cops questioned *400* unionists, their families and supporters, eventually deciding to frame up Roger Warren, a prominent strike militant. Six hours into Warren's 12th "interview" with an RCMP "interrogation specialist," they managed to extort a videotaped "confession." Warren retracted this statement on the witness stand, explaining that in making it he had hoped to take the pressure off his fellow unionists and unblock negotiations with Royal Oak.

While there is no official death penalty in Canada, the capitalist state is prepared to *kill* Roger Warren for the bosses. The RCMP and the Crown prosecutors know that for Warren—51 years old with a debilitating heart condition—20 years is as good as a death sentence. Roger Warren must not be allowed to die in prison! The whole labor movement must take up the fight to demand his freedom. We print below a protest against Warren's conviction, sent by the Partisan Defense Committee in Canada to federal justice minister Allan Rock.

* * * * *

22 January 1995

Hon. Allan Rock
Ministry of Justice
Ottawa, Ontario

Dear sir,

The Partisan Defense Committee protests and denounces the outrageous second-degree murder conviction of Canadian Auto Workers member Roger Warren. We demand he be freed immediately and unconditionally!

Southam/Edmonton Journal

Yellowknife gold miner Roger Warren being arrested in October 1993.

Roger Warren is a hero of working-class struggle. He is a militant unionist who had the courage to stand up in defense of his union and his livelihood. This is the real "crime" for which he is being railroaded to prison by the RCMP and the Crown, on behalf of Royal Oak Mines and its union-busting owner, Peggy Witte.

The state intends to bury Roger Warren in prison as a warning to anyone who would challenge the employers' attempts to break our unions and grind down our wages and working conditions, just as it did the Winnipeg strikers of 1919 and many more before and since. He will not be abandoned or forgotten by class-conscious working men and women.

Yours truly,
Peter Stevens

Drug Testing Clampdown Angers NYC Transit Workers

The federal government's new drug testing witchhunt, targeting over seven million transport workers, has already sparked outrage among New York City subway workers. In January, conductors and motormen on the No. 7 line between midtown Manhattan and Queens launched a "work to rule" slowdown after Transit Authority (TA) bosses began hauling in workers for drug tests only minutes before the end of their workday. The TA's new "punch out and piss" policy means hours and hours of forced overtime (sometimes unpaid!) as workers are sent miles downtown for the humiliating test.

Subway workers on the No. 7 line are especially angry, since many conductors, train operators and track workers have been viciously harassed by uniformed transit police and "headies" (undercover company cops) in recent weeks for such "crimes" as smoking on the job! On top of this comes the government's order of a *tenfold* increase in "random" drug and alcohol tests for transportation workers (see "Drug Witchhunt Against Transport Workers," *Workers Vanguard* No. 611, 25 November 1994).

Nothing "random" about it, the drug and alcohol witchhunt is meant to terrorize and intimidate workers while alibiing the capitalists for hellish and unsafe work conditions. Black and Hispanic workers are especially targeted—in one Coney Island maintenance shop they were the *only* ones tested—while anyone who stands up to the boss can bet their number is up. Meanwhile, Democrats and Republicans from Washington, D.C. to City Hall are chopping hundreds of millions of dollars from NYC's subway and bus system. Besides urgently needed repairs and capital improvements, the layoff ax is about to fall on over a thousand cleaners and token booth clerks. Mayor Giuliani vows to slash $59 million from the program which gets kids to school by mass transit, and the TA is threatening to jack up the cost of a subway ride by 50 cents!

Transit workers are increasingly fed up with the misleaders of Transport Workers Union Local 100, which was barely re-elected in January over the New Directions "opposition" faction of the bureaucracy. (ND sometimes talks militant, but not when anyone mentions the word "strike," which they oppose!) All that Local 100 president Damaso Seda will do about the testing is a promise to start "legal proceedings" against the TA's new drug policy—and not a peep on fighting the imminent layoffs. In fact, Local 100 officials *volunteered* to submit the 32,000 transit workers to the victimizing tests. The union tops are truly acting as the TA's cops.

And don't expect any fight against the drug witchhunt from "New Directions." ND-endorsed officials in Track Division only argue for "union control" of drug testing—offering up the union as Big Brother's little helper. In a recent leaflet, ND shamefully tells transit workers that they're "stuck with random testing," while advising Seda on how to implement the TA's after-hours drug and alcohol testing.

New Directions says that it's a "moot point" to defy the fed's drug witchhunt, but plenty of NYC transit workers don't think so. Recently, South African workers set a good example of how to deal with such union-busting attacks. On February 26, 6,000 gold miners at a Western Deep Levels mine protested a drug raid by South African police by walking off the job in a three-day "illegal" strike. In New York City as well, what's needed is a *union-wide shutdown* to smash the bosses' drug-testing offensive and to save jobs. When Wall Street has to hoof it to work it will dampen their interest in snooping into what transit workers do on their own time. ■

China...

(continued from page 9)

which they formerly took for granted as the "iron rice bowl"—guaranteed employment, stable wages, free medical care at factory clinics, free childcare centers for working mothers, etc. Instead, 40 percent of workers in state plants now sign individual contracts, which must follow contracts drawn up between the ACFTU and plant management.

For Proletarian Political Revolution!

To successfully defend the workers and peasants against the advancing counterrevolution, labor struggles cannot be limited to defensive economic confines which accept the existence of capitalist exploitation and bureaucratic mismanagement. The fight must be brought to the *political* terrain by mobilizing the working masses to defend the social gains of the 1949 Revolution and stop the sell-off of China to imperialism. This fight must link up with workers' struggles throughout Asia and the rest of the world. It would do a world of good for those Chinese workers with illusions in "democratic" imperialism to hear the experiences of workers in South Korea, where the right-wing government is backed by nearly 40,000 U.S. troops stationed there. Militant labor struggle in South Korea repeatedly confronts bloody state terror, and sympathy with North Korea is grounds for imprisonment and even death.

An upsurge by the Chinese proletariat may well lead to the formation of independent workers organizations, such as occurred in the spring of 1989, with the potential to grow into organizations like the Russian soviets (workers, peasants and soldiers councils) of 1917. Under an egalitarian-communist leadership, these soviet-type organs could topple the politically bankrupt Stalinist bureaucracy, which mocks its Communist name as it prepares the ground for restoring capitalist rule. A workers political revolution would chart the course toward socialism by recreating a planned economy based on a regime of genuine workers democracy and proletarian internationalism.

The 1989 events, which brought China to the edge of political revolution, were preceded the year before by a strike wave caused by galloping inflation and widespread anger at official corruption. The entry of the *laobaixing* ("ordinary people") into the Tiananmen Square protests shook the Deng/Li Peng regime from top to bottom. As Beijing's working people fought PLA troops sent to quell the demonstrations, "workers autonomous federations" and other proletarian organizations sprang up in 19 provinces. In China's far west, workers from the Xinjiang Auto Assembly Plant No. 3 formed the "Red Clan," proclaiming in a leaflet that "the ten years of reform have been ten years of corruption, ten years of hardship for the people." The bloody suppression of the "Beijing Spring" was answered by strikes throughout China.

Western reporters at the time were fixated on the student protesters, ignoring the role played by workers. But as we wrote then, "it was the beginnings of a working-class revolt against Deng's program of 'building socialism with capitalist methods' which gave the protests their mass and potentially revolutionary nature" (*WV* No. 480, 23 June 1989). The onerous repression that followed the suppression of the protests was concentrated against militant workers, many of whom were executed while student protesters were spared this fate. The international working class must demand the release of those still languishing in prison for their stand against the blood-soaked Deng/Li Peng clique.

The resurgence of class struggle around many of these same issues and against the same aged bureaucratic misleaders again poses the question of proletarian leadership. As the International Communist League wrote in June 1989: *"The central lesson of the Beijing spring and the urgent task which stands before the Chinese workers is the forging of an authentic communist party, an internationalist vanguard."* To build such a world party of socialist revolution, to reforge the Trotskyist Fourth International, requires assimilating the lessons of the destruction of the Soviet Union and the disastrous course of Chinese Stalinism which has brought the world's most populous country to the brink of counterrevolution.

Stalinism is politically dead. Today the banner of communism is upheld only by the Fourth Internationalists. This must also be the banner of those who would defend the gains of the Chinese Revolution and fight for a socialist future for mankind ■

NYC Budget...

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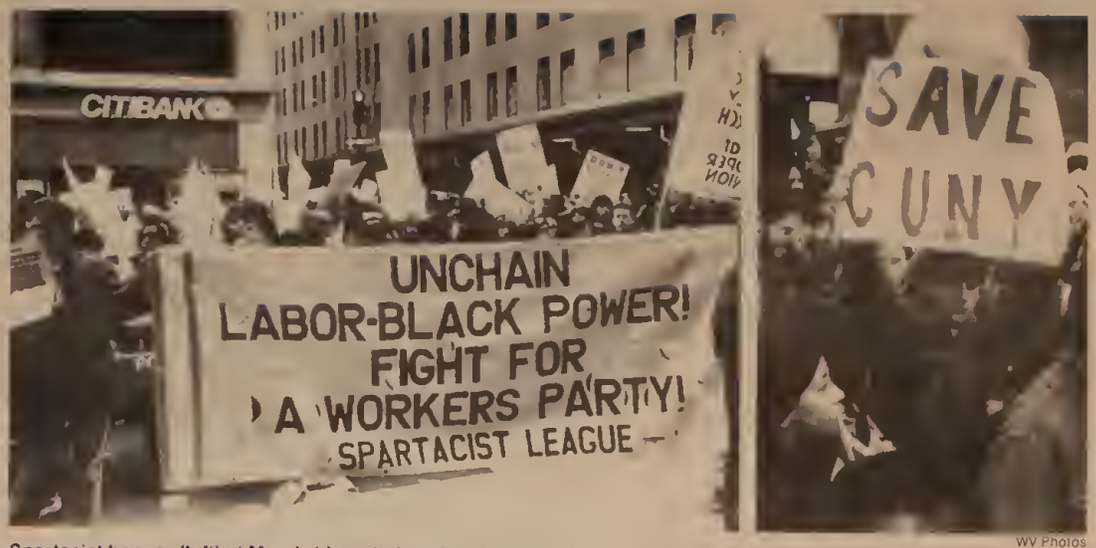
black and Hispanic. A union like 1199, with 117,000 workers in New York state, can play a pivotal role in sparking a fight by all city workers and championing the rights of the poor and homeless. Against the attempts to "privatize" and close outright any city hospitals, there must be strike action by hospital workers, with picket lines backed by a massive mobilization of the black and Hispanic communities. Students mobilized against the budget cuts must be drawn into an alliance with the labor movement.

Any serious social struggle will quickly come up against the whole apparatus that the capitalist class uses to derail and suppress social struggle: the strike-breaking Taylor Law, the racist cops, and above all the ties that keep the working class shackled to the Democratic Party. From the Clinton White House on down, the Democrats are competing with the Gingrich/Pataki/Giuliani Republicans in slashing social welfare programs while spending billions for cops and jails.



WV Photos

Spartacist banner (left) at March 1 hospital workers' protest. Union tops' ties to Democratic Party block class-struggle fight against capitalist attacks on labor, students, minorities.

Build a Fighting Workers Party!

To the capitalist rulers, from NYC to Washington, D.C., inner-city blacks and Hispanics are "dispensable" since their labor is no longer wanted. And in the bourgeoisie's war on the poor, the unions are the "enemy within." Yet bureaucrats like AFSCME District Council 37 head Stanley Hill are so loyal to capitalism that they won't even fight the gutting of their own unions. Summoned to Gracie Mansion in late January by Mayor Giuliani, Hill whimpered, "I know there is a tough budget out there. I know the mayor is going to explain what's out there, and we're going to listen."

Militant labor action can smash this "budget of doom," but it will take unions with *social power*: the transit workers can bring Giuliani to his knees with solid strike action, backed by the rest of city labor. In 1991, a massive march of tens of thousands of city workers against budget cuts tied up the Wall Street area, pointing to the possibility of a *one-day city-wide strike*. But the union tops defended the Democratic Dinkins administration and blocked any movement for strike action. Dinkins had promised city rulers that "they'll take it from me," and the union tops did.

Once again, thousands are in the streets, but once again the organizers of the March 1 protest strictly confined it to being a pep rally for begging the Democrats to fight the cuts. Local 1199 president Dennis Rivera, who is vice chairman of the state Democratic Party, led chants of "Pataki Must Go!" from the rally podium and exhorted the crowd to lobby the state legislature and the city council. Rivera baldly admits "If the Assembly doesn't fight for us, we're dead" (*Chief-Leader*, 10 March). But looking to the Democratic Party state legislators who voted enthusiastically for the racist death penalty, and to the Democratic city council which voted overwhelmingly for Giuliani's 1994 killer budget, is a dead end.

Rivera achieved popularity among Local 1199 workers for rebuilding the union after years of bureaucratic warfare brought it to the brink of destruction in the 1980s. But his close ties to the Democratic Party and the Catholic church hierarchy stand as a *roadblock* to the kind of working-class struggle necessary to defend the jobs of tens of thousands of 1199 members. In 1989, Rivera got Cardinal O'Connor to broker a deal at the city's Catholic hospitals which *gave up union pension money* in return for a "raise." Again this year, in a much-touted deal with the private hospitals, Rivera says he "guaranteed" hospital workers' jobs in exchange for a wage freeze (hospital workers are already atrociously low-paid). But part-time workers and those with less than two years' seniority are "guaranteed" nothing, and even Rivera admitted publicly that if hospitals close, "all bets are off."

The situation in New York cries out for revolutionary leadership of the struggles of the working class, minorities and youth. As the Spartacist League banner at the March 1 demonstration said, what's necessary is to "Unchain Labor-Black Power! Fight for a Workers Party!" And many of the militant, class-conscious and anti-racist workers who will join in building such a party will be found in integrated unions like 1199 and the TWU, which occupy a key economic and political position in this city. In New York and everywhere, the fight to defend the unions, to beat back racist cop terror, for housing for the homeless and health care for the poor, must be part of a struggle to sweep away the profit system of the racist rulers and their state. ■

Frazier...

(continued from page 12)

pointed a gun at them when they shot him. The gun that was "found" in Frazier's car doesn't have his fingerprints, and police radio tapes show no record to back the cops' claim that they radioed for backup to help with an "armed subject." The cops said they shot Frazier from the right side of the car—but the entry wound was in his left temple! These were just a few of the holes in the prosecution's case. Nonetheless, James Frazier was convicted of third-degree weapons possession, a felony which carries a possible prison sentence of up to seven years.

What happened to James Frazier is a travesty of justice. But it was business as usual for the NYPD. On February 22, the day before the jury's verdict was handed down, a "Public Information Meeting" on police brutality was held at Lincoln Hospital in the Bronx. An angry gathering of 400 mostly Hispanic residents packed the auditorium. Henry Baez, whose brother Anthony was choked to death in December, told a *WV* reporter that he and his family came because they wanted "to see if the cops were above the law." Numerous relatives of victims of police abuse spoke out about beatings, torture and execution-style killings of their brothers and fathers.

From the parade of Democratic Party politicians at the meeting they got hot air: self-congratulatory speeches about the Civilian Complaint Review Board (CCRB), set up under the Dinkins administration. Liberals and reformists pushed for the CCRB in New York, but like similar boards in other large American cities, it is impotent to stop the pervasive cop terror against minorities. A mere 145 of the nearly *5,000* complaints processed in 1994 were "substantiated" by the review board. Of these, only a handful resulted in "disciplinary actions" against police officers, which never amounted to more than losing a few days of paid vacation. Under Giuliani's police commissioner William Bratton, guilty verdicts in police department trials dropped from 63 percent to 9 percent! Meanwhile, the NYPD's own statistics show that the number of civilians who "died while in police custody" soared over 50 percent in 1994 from 15 the year before to 23, of which 16 were black, Hispanic or Asian.

One cop bragged to the *New York Post* (11 January) that if "Bratton wants us to break heads, we'll break heads." Last summer there was another chilling reminder of the rampant racist cop terror. Desmond Robinson, a black transit police officer working undercover, was shot repeatedly by white off-duty cop Peter Del-Debbio. Robinson was lying face-down on a crowded subway platform as Del-Debbio pumped bullets into him. After five months, a grand jury finally indicted Del-Debbio, not for attempted murder or manslaughter, but for..."reckless shooting." Manhattan District Attorney Robert Morgenthau openly sided with the racist cop, calling him "a sympathetic figure."

In the face of this *systematic* police terror against minorities, many people came out to keep James Frazier from becoming another faceless victim. Transit workers, other unionists, students and opponents of racist cop terror including the Partisan Defense Committee, the Labor/Black League for Social Defense, the Spartacist League and other socialist groups have mobilized for over a year in his defense. Time after time, Frazier's supporters demonstrated outside the courthouse and filled the courtroom.

This show of support for James Frazier was noted even by the judge, who stated that Frazier "is very fortunate to have so many people who so strongly defend him." Members of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, including some union officials and the Committee for a Fighting TWU, rallied fellow transit workers to come out for their union brother. The Car Maintenance, United Motormen and Track divisions of the TWU passed motions backing Frazier. On the day of the defense and prosecution summations, 40 supporters, including a contingent of black and white transit workers, came out.

Sentencing is scheduled for April 6 in Brooklyn Criminal Court. Once again, Frazier's supporters must fill the courtroom. We urge readers of *Workers Vanguard* to come out and show their solidarity. ■

HATE RADIO, PART II

THE CITY SUN

MARCH 1 – MARCH 7, 1995 SPEAKING TRUTH TO POWER 75¢

'FROM TRAGEDY TO TRAVESTY'

THE CONVICTION OF JAMES FRAZIER

SEE PAGE 4

New York black weekly protests racist persecution of James Frazier.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Workers, Students, Minorities:

Rip Up Giuliani's Budget of Doom!

On March 1, tens of thousands of unionized hospital workers took to the streets of New York City in outrage over the *billions* in budget cuts ordered by Governor George Pataki and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. Two days earlier, 5,000 students rallied in Albany at the state capitol against education cutbacks. They were joined by marchers against the death penalty, which is being reinstituted by the newly elected Republican governor and the Democratic-controlled state assembly. The Spartacus Youth Club carried a banner calling "For Open Admissions and Free Tuition—Students and Workers Unite/Strike Against Cutbacks and Layoffs."

Pushed to the wall by Pataki's and Giuliani's plans to gut health care, 30,000 militant hospital and social service workers massed in Midtown Manhattan March 1, marching from the Empire State Building to Bellevue Hospital. They came from Local 1199 (private hospitals, nursing homes and home care), AFSCME Locals 420 (city hospitals) and 371 (case workers), and SEIU home care workers. They were joined by students from the city and state university system, where the proposal to raise fees by at least $1,000 at CUNY and SUNY amounts to a massive racist purge of black and Hispanic students.

The scope of these draconian cuts is unprecedented. It is calculated that an estimated *80,000* health care workers will be laid off. Rudy the Slasher is threatening to cut fully one-third of the city hospital budget, including selling off, "downsizing" and closing city hospitals, which he calls "an anachronism." The elimination of home care is a death sentence for the elderly patients, and wiping out these jobs would throw thousands of 1199 members onto welfare. Pataki's latest scheme is a 90-day limit on "home relief" benefits—retroactive to last June!—which will immediately throw *85,000* people off welfare and into the streets. Giuliani is slashing the city workforce, and hundreds of layoffs are coming in transit.

There are 450,000 health care and social service workers in New York City, heavily

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WV Photo

New York City, March 1—30,000 hospital workers fill the streets of Midtown Manhattan in protest against Giuliani/Pataki's killer budget cuts.

NYC Transit Worker James Frazier Convicted

A Racist Travesty of Justice

After 16 months of racist persecution, James Frazier was convicted in Brooklyn Criminal Court on February 23 on a frame-up charge of weapons possession. Frazier, a black transit worker, was ambushed by two New York City police officers who shot him in the head from behind on the night of 23 October 1993, blowing out his left eye. Frazier was framed because he committed the "crime" of surviving the cop assault.

Outside the courtroom, Frazier's mother, Ola Frazier, condemned the decision: "First the cops took his eye out, then they took away his job with the transit system, and now they want to take away his chance at life. There's no justice here!" Frazier's many supporters, including fellow track workers, who repeatedly came out to show their solidarity during the trial, were outraged at the verdict.

Gene Herson, a spokesman for the Partisan Defense Committee, which has been active in mobilizing for Frazier's defense, denounced the verdict as "proof, if any is needed, that it is open season for the cops on young black males in racist America." This was part and parcel of a deadly escalation of cop terror against blacks and Hispanics in New York. The day before the verdict, the Civilian Complaint Review Board issued its biannual report, detailing the skyrocketing instances of cop shootings and prisoners killed in custody.

At the trial, the cops' story was full of holes. But, of course, the cops never thought they would be testifying in this case—they tried to make sure that James Frazier never made it to a courtroom.

On the night Frazier was shot, he was driving to the hospital to see a seriously injured friend. In his haste, he took his second car, an Audi which had no plates. When he was stopped at a light in Brooklyn, a cop shot Frazier in the temple without warning. At the trial, an EMS ambulance technician testified that as they went to the hospital Frazier told him, "The police shot me and threw a gun in the car."

At the hospital, the cops told medical personnel that Frazier was dead. A couple of days later, as Frazier was recovering from surgery, his mother received a phone call from a Kings County Hospital worker asking a family member to hurry to the hospital because "the policeman who is guarding him up here is beating him up." Other patients in Frazier's room told her that the cops declared, "From now on your name will be Jimhoy—we'll fix it so your family never sees you again." This attempted murder was stopped only by the intervention of the hospital staff, who sat by Frazier to prevent further assaults.

Having failed to kill James Frazier on the streets of Brooklyn, the cops and the courts continued to railroad him through their criminal system of injustice. The Transit Authority did its part by firing him before he was even operated on.

The jury acquitted Frazier on the more serious charge of possession "with intent to use," indicating they didn't buy the cops' story that he supposedly

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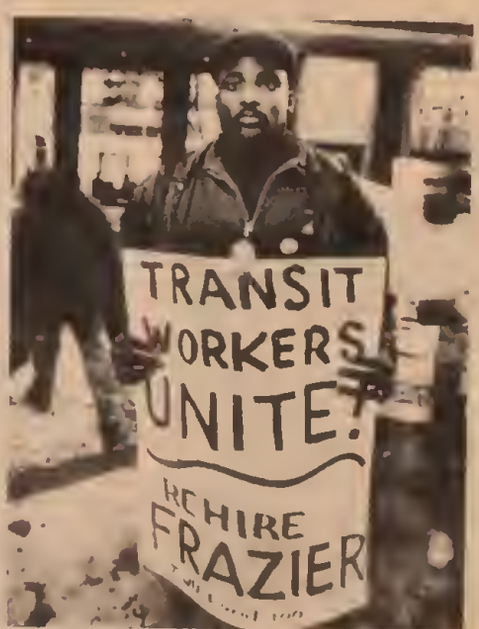

Lisa Terry

James Frazier at March 1994 rally in his defense called by Track Division of TWU Local 100 outside Transit Authority headquarters in Brooklyn.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 619

24 March 1995

Mexico Crisis Jolts World Capital Markets

Lurching Toward Economic Crash?

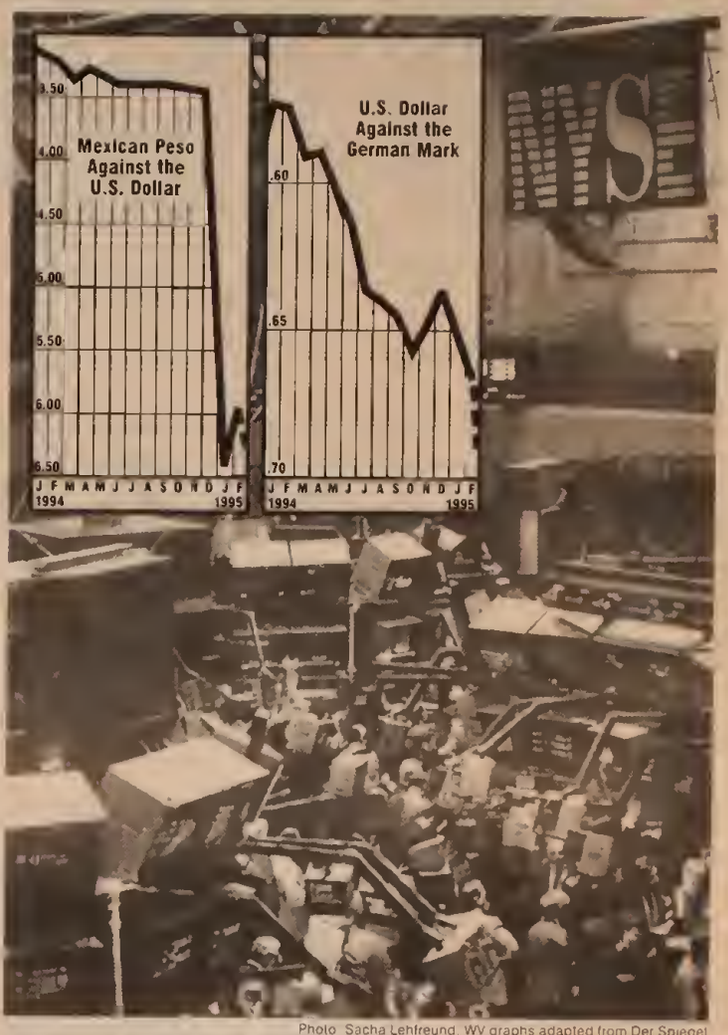

Photo: Sacha Lehfreund; WV graphs adapted from Der Spiegel

Mexican peso collapses, dollar plunges against the German mark—what's next? Wall Street speculators and international bankers dream of untrammeled capitalism. But the "roaring '20s" ended in the Crash of 1929.

Mexico has become the weak link of American imperialism. A rebellion of Mayan peasants in the impoverished southern state of Chiapas causes tremors on Wall Street. A 50 percent devaluation of the Mexican peso plunges the dollar to new lows against the German mark and Japanese yen. The Mexican financial crash brings down the rest of Latin America in its wake. And the reverberations go far beyond the Western Hemisphere. European bankers are asking themselves: will Italy or Spain be the next Mexico as the lira and peseta are battered in world currency markets. Japanese investors worry that it will be Thailand or Indonesia.

Clinton's $50 billion international "rescue plan," imposed over the objections of the Republican-dominated Congress and reluctance of West European governments, has in no way resolved the Mexican crisis. The peso continues to fall as capital flees the country. Facing American-dictated austerity and economic depression, the pressures for a social explosion in Mexico are greater than ever before. At the same time, the Mexican financial crisis has been imported, so to speak, onto the terrain of American partisan politics and inter-imperialist rivalries.

Just a few weeks after the Mexico crash came the spectacular bankruptcy of Barings—Britain's oldest merchant bank—when a 28-year-old trader working out of Singapore lost a billion dollars of the bank's money playing the futures game in Japan's Nikkei stock exchange. In the immediate aftermath, Japanese stock prices fell sharply while the British pound plummeted to a near-record low against the German mark. And the bankruptcy of California's Orange County, too, was linked to speculation in the futures market of "derivatives."

An estimated *two trillion dollars* of "hot money"—volatile speculative funds—are sloshing around global financial markets. Hence even tiny shifts in relative interest rates or currency exchange rates can produce sudden, massive movements of money across national borders, wreaking havoc not only with stock and bond prices but with government economic policies as well. In 1992, currency speculators ripped apart the European Monetary System of fixed exchange rates anchored to the German D-mark. And any West European government other than Germany which today tried to stimulate its economy through a liberal Keynesian program of deficit spending and low interest rates would find its foreign exchange reserves wiped out in the space of months, if not weeks.

It has become almost a cliché among financial journalists that international speculators are now more powerful than central bankers or finance ministers. In a survey piece last fall on "World Economy & Finance," the London *Financial Times* (30 September 1994) wrote:

> "The liberalisation of capital markets around the globe and the falling cost of telecommunications have greatly increased their turnover and volatility and their capacity to sway events.
>
> "A few years ago, an article such as this would have focused almost immediately on the role of government and economic policymakers as initiators of change. Today, policymakers are lucky if they can avoid being overwhelmed by events. Technological and geopolitical changes have turned many of them into bit players on the world economic stage."

There is another major factor accounting for the increased "volatility" of global capital markets. The world's most powerful capitalist country—the United States—has for the past 15 years been a major *destabilizer* of the international financial system, or rather the lack thereof. The Reaganomics of the early 1980s transformed the U.S. from the world's largest creditor nation to the world's largest debtor nation. The national (U.S. government) debt went from $900 billion in 1980 to *$4.6 trillion* at the present time. And the total government, corporate and household debt was almost $13 trillion in 1994, or 1.9 times the U.S. gross domestic product.

During the 1980s, a large part of these huge deficits were financed by foreign moneymen. At some Treasury auctions, Japanese investors picked up as much as two-thirds of new long-term U.S. government bonds. One liberal economist jocularly remarked at the time: Now we know what "supply-side economics" means. It means foreigners supply the capital. But not for long. Japanese investors pulled out of the U.S. in the late '80s as they lost hundreds of billions due to the dollar's depreciation, in part the result of a deliberate policy by the Reagan/Bush administrations to devalue the U.S. debt. The pullout of Japanese capital was a major contributor to the October 1987 stock market crash and the U.S. recession of 1989-91.

Since 1985, the dollar has lost 55 percent of its value against the German mark and over 60 percent against the Japanese yen. The London *Economist* (25 February)—the house organ of international bankers—explained the factors

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Abolish Racist Legal Lynching!

The Death Penalty: Impulse to Genocide

See Page 4

Labor Protests at Gingrich Office

ATLANTA—The Cobb County, Georgia office of Republican House speaker Newt Gingrich was occupied and shut down on March 15 by an integrated group of unionists. The workers brushed passed a Gingrich aide who tried to block their way and filled every room, chanting, "Boot Newt." Workers also sat down outside the entrance. Teamsters, IBEW electricians, communications workers, government workers and nurses were protesting Gingrich's proposals to wipe out any minimum wage and eliminate even the ineffective OSHA safety standards. A melee provoked by the cops resulted in the arrest of two unionists on charges of "inciting a riot" and obstructing a police officer.

The protest sent Gingrich into a frenzy, as he labeled the protesters "union thugs" engaged in "terrorizing constituents." Later Gingrich announced he is considering filing criminal and civil charges against the Atlanta Labor Council, which organized the demonstration. He alleges that "federal property" was destroyed: a picture of the Newt! The "terrorists" are the twin parties of capitalism that are waging war on labor and minorities. And workers across the country are fed up.

At the protest, Labor Council chief Stewart Acuff blustered, "We ain't waiting two years for another election. If you're determined to rip our guts out, you're going to have a fight on your hands." But in January, Acuff called out the *immigration cops* in a raid on foreign-born construction workers at an Olympic Village construction site! And the labor bureaucrats are rolling over in the face of widespread scabbing that threatens to break the unions in two Georgia strikes.

At the Red Cross, members of Local 254 of the Aluminum, Brick and Glass Workers are facing heavy scabbing by dangerous, uncertified technicians. And at Miller Brewing in Albany, Georgia, the company is flying in scores of scabs from Milwaukee to break the strike of 500 members of the Machinists union. The integrated labor movement is under attack, especially here in the racist, open shop South. It will take *mass picket lines* and concrete acts of labor solidarity—*refusing to handle or transport scab produce*—to win these isolated strikes.

Cobb County is notorious for its racism, anti-labor and anti-gay bigotry. Due to repeated protests against the county's anti-gay campaign, the scheduled Olympic events were moved. With the unions under attack, the labor tops are feeling the heat. But behind their focus on "Boot Newt" is the same old program of chaining labor and minorities to the Democratic Party. It is because the misleaders of the unions defend the capitalist system and play by the bosses' rules that strike after strike has been broken. To really boot Newt and can Clinton, fight for a class-struggle workers party! ■

Hannans/Atlanta Journal and Constitution

Trade unionists blockade Republican House speaker Newt Gingrich's office in Cobb County, Georgia, protesting his anti-labor legislation.

Capitalist Crisis and the Fight for International Socialism

TROTSKY

LENIN

In an introduction to a compilation drawn from Karl Marx's Capital, *Leon Trotsky outlined the basic contradictions of the capitalist economy in the imperialist epoch. Writing shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War in Europe, Trotsky describes how advances in industry and international commerce constantly clash with the confines of the bourgeois nation-state, leading eventually to the outbreak of imperialist war. Capitalism's cycles of economic depressions, fueling trade wars and world wars for redivision of markets and colonies, will only be overcome through socialist revolution, under the leadership of an internationalist proletarian vanguard party.*

Capitalism achieved the twin historical merit of having placed technique on a high level and having bound all parts of the world with economic ties. Thus it pledged the material prerequisites for the systematic utilization of all of our planet's resources. However, capitalism is in no position to fulfill this urgent task. The nidus [breeding ground] of its expansion continues to consist of circumscribed nationalist states with their customs houses and armies. Yet the productive forces have long outgrown the boundaries of the national state, thereby transforming what was once a progressive historical factor into an unendurable restraint. Imperialist wars are nothing else than the detonations of productive forces against the state borders, which have come to be too confining for them. The program of so-called autarchy has nothing to do with going back to a self-sufficient circumscribed economy. It only seems that the national base is being made ready for a new war....

Partial reforms and patchwork will do no good. Historical development has come to one of those decisive stages when only the direct intervention of the masses is able to sweep away the reactionary obstructions and lay the foundations of a new régime. Abolition of private ownership in the means of production is the first prerequisite to planned economy, i.e., the introduction of reason into the sphere of human relations, first on a national and eventually on a world scale. Once it begins, the socialist revolution will spread from country to country, with immeasurably greater force than fascism spreads today. By the example and with the aid of the advanced nations, the backward nations will also be carried away into the main stream of socialism. The thoroughly rotted customs toll-gates will fall. The contradictions which rend Europe and the entire world asunder will find their natural and peaceful solution within the framework of a Socialist United States in Europe as well as in other parts of the world. Liberated humanity will draw itself up to its full height.

—Leon Trotsky, "Marxism in Our Time" (1939)

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San Francisco Attorney Acquitted

Witchhunt Against Patrick Hallinan Spiked

The repressive apparatus of the U.S. government's "war on drugs" was dealt a stunning setback on March 7 when a federal jury in Reno, Nevada acquitted prominent San Francisco defense attorney Patrick Hallinan of charges of drug conspiracy, witness-tampering and money-laundering. During the grueling and dramatic six-week trial, which capped a 20-month ordeal for Hallinan, the government's case proved so flimsy that the judge successively dismissed racketeering and most other charges. The jury deliberated for less than four hours before finding Hallinan innocent on the remaining six counts. "It was so simple," said one of the jurors, "they didn't prove anything at all."

It wasn't for lack of a massive frame-up effort, spearheaded by the federal Organized Crime Drug Enforcement Task Force. The government went after one of the most effective and able criminal defense attorneys on the West Coast with a vengeance. The entire case was based on the testimony of convicted drug smugglers who had been Hallinan's clients and who agreed to provide lies in exchange for leniency. It was an all-out effort to destroy the man and his legal practice in order to intimidate lawyers willing to take on drug and other politically controversial cases. It was also part of a vendetta against the Hallinan family for its leftist connections that goes back decades.

In August 1993, then 59-year-old Patrick Hallinan was arrested in an Untouchables-style raid on his home, held spread-eagled on the floor at gunpoint. The arrest was vindictively timed for Friday evening when no magistrate could hear a bail request; Hallinan had to spend the entire weekend in jail before posting a whopping $300,000 bond. With the indictment by a federal grand jury on drug conspiracy charges came the threat to seize not only Hallinan's Marin County home, but his law practice as well—an obvious move to intimidate his partners. The vindictive federal prosecutors even tried to use Hallinan's avocation as an amateur archaeologist against him. They turned over pre-Columbian artifacts seized from Hallinan's home to the Bureau of Land Management, which launched a specious "investigation"—complete with raids on the offices of archaeologist friends of Hallinan—claiming that the objects had been illegally collected.

In July 1994, a few months before the trial had been scheduled to begin, the feds slapped Hallinan with 20 additional counts of participating in a criminal conspiracy under the notorious RICO act. He went into the trial facing the possibility of life behind bars. The feds' intimidation tactics were so effective that as the trial opened Hallinan's codefendant, Reno lawyer Jack Grellman, pleaded guilty and turned state's evidence.

Why a Hallinan?

Putting a big chill on aggressive criminal defense lawyers was only part of the government's motivation in going after Patrick Hallinan. The feds were also pursuing a long-standing vendetta against the Hallinan family and the liberal "progressive" San Francisco politics it has come to represent. The attempted frame-up of Patrick is reminiscent of nothing so much as the decades-long government campaign of persecution of his father, Vincent Hallinan, also a famed criminal lawyer and the Progressive Party's 1952 presidential candidate.

Vincent Hallinan was the son of a strong union man and Irish nationalist who fled Ireland for the United States. Vincent first made a name for himself in San Francisco legal circles in the early 1920s by taking on the corrupt officials who stacked the San Francisco jury rolls in favor of the Market Street Railway Company and other big transportation and insurance companies. He went on to become one of the city's most successful and flamboyant defense attorneys. But it was his 1949 defense of Communist Party supporter and International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) president Harry Bridges which put Vincent Hallinan squarely in the sights of the capitalist state. In this case, too, the ruling class was trying to serve notice that aggressive legal defense of those it targeted would no longer be tolerated.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) had been trying to deport Bridges, a native of Australia, ever since he led the 1934 West Coast longshoremen's strike. This key labor battle sparked a general strike in the city of San Francisco, laying the basis for a waterfront union hiring hall as well as establishing San Francisco as a solid union town. With the onset of the anti-Communist witchhunt, the INS believed they finally had Bridges when they indicted him in 1949. The feds claimed that Bridges and the fellow unionists who had signed his naturalization papers had entered into a conspiracy to commit fraud because Bridges denied being a member of the Communist Party.

Vincent Hallinan's wife Vivian described the treatment meted out to lawyers who defended Communists during the McCarthyite witchhunt: "If the defense attorney gives more than a formal effort, if he does not truckle to the judge and prosecutors, in other words, if he does anything possibly calculated to win the case, he will be destroyed with his client. He will go to jail upon a charge of contempt of court and will probably be disbarred" (Vivian Hallinan, *My Wild Irish Rogues* [1952]).

Vincent Hallinan was threatened and hullied by the judge and universally condemned by what he aptly dubbed the "prostitute press" at every turn during the five-month Bridges trial. The judge slapped him with a six-month prison sentence for contempt only a few days into the proceedings. Despite the fact that the credibility of the parade of renegade ex-Communist "witnesses" called by the government was thoroughly demolished in the courtroom, Bridges was convicted. The decision was eventually thrown out because the statute of limitations on this "crime" had expired even before the charges were brought. It was the Bridges trial which opened Hallinan's eyes to the ephemeral nature of legal protections under bourgeois democracy, and as a result he undertook an intensive reading program in Marxism. After a few years, "I had become a complete socialist," he wrote later in his autobiography, *A Lion in Court* (1963).

But Hallinan's idea of socialism was shaped by the thoroughly reformist Stalinist Communist Party, which in the early 1950s was desperately and quixotically trying to keep alive its coalition with the liberal Democrats. In the mid- and late 1930s, under Stalin's direction, the CP fulsomely supported Roosevelt's Democrats. This proved very useful to the Democratic Party in containing the trade-union upsurge which built the CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations). The bourgeoisie also found the CP's treachery very useful in marshaling support for the interimperialist slaughter in World War II. But after the war, as part of a renewed offensive against the Soviet Union, the Democrats and Republicans launched a witchhunt to shatter the Communist Party and its influence in the working class.

Even as the Democratic Party discarded them, the Stalinists remained committed to the bankrupt strategy of seeking an alliance with a mythical "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie. They formed a third bourgeois party, the "Progressive Party," which roped in a few dissident Democrats around the 1948 presidential campaign of FDR's former vice president, Henry Wallace. But soon after, Wallace broke with his Communist allies over the Korean War. When Vincent Hallinan accepted the Progressive Party's presidential nomination in 1952, the party didn't even have nominal bourgeois support. One week after Hallinan accepted the nomination, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled against Hallinan's two-year-old appeal of his contempt of court sentence in the Bridges trial. The candidate spent almost the entire period of the campaign in the federal pen.

But Vivian Hallinan and their two eldest sons campaigned for him. At the age of 17, before he had even finished high school, Patrick Hallinan spoke to a Progressive Party rally of some 15,000 at New York's Madison Square Garden. The party garnered a paltry vote and foundered soon after the elections. Nonetheless, the Hallinan family was persecuted throughout the 1950s for their Communist connections and sympathies. The government brought fraud charges against Vincent in a drug-related case, and when that failed, they railroaded him to the federal pen in 1953 for 18 months on income tax evasion charges. Both Vincent and Vivian were denied passports. But they remained committed to a pro-working-class outlook. Terence Hallinan, Patrick's brother and currently a Democratic Party member of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, recalls, "The first thing I remember hearing from my mother and father was how I should never cross a picket line and how everyone should be treated equally under all circumstances."

When the civil rights movement shattered the anti-Communist Cold War consensus of the McCarthy period, the Hallinans and their six sons were at the center of liberal-radical politics in the Bay Area. In 1962, Vivian and four of the Hallinan boys spent 30 days in jail for their civil rights activities. Patrick led demonstrations in defense of the Cuban Revolution, and as a young lawyer he frequently defended New Left protesters arrested at UC Berkeley, as well as Black Panther Party members. The Hallinan family was pre-eminent among a layer of Communist Party supporters—trade-union bureaucrats, intellectuals and professionals—which interpenetrated with the San Francisco Democratic Party to an extent not seen in the rest of the country. When Vincent Hallinan died in 1992, the current Democratic mayor and two ex-mayors were the lead speakers at his memorial meeting.

The Hallinans exemplify the layer of ex-CP liberals which has given San Francisco politics its "progressive" cast and made the Bay Area a relative haven for gays and lesbians. At bottom, this rad-lib layer reflects the social weight shown by the working class in the 1934 general strike. The existence of this milieu also explains why the 1991 split to the right from the Communist Party which created the Committees of Correspondence was centered in Northern California.

Lately, Patrick Hallinan has defended certain prominent liberals targeted by right-wing forces in California. He was one of the lawyers defending reform-minded California's state superintendent of schools Bill Honig, who was railroaded out of office on corruption charges. Hallinan also defended U.S. District Appeals Court judge Robert P. Aguilar, one of the first Latinos appointed to the federal bench. Continuing a nine-year FBI vendetta to unseat him,

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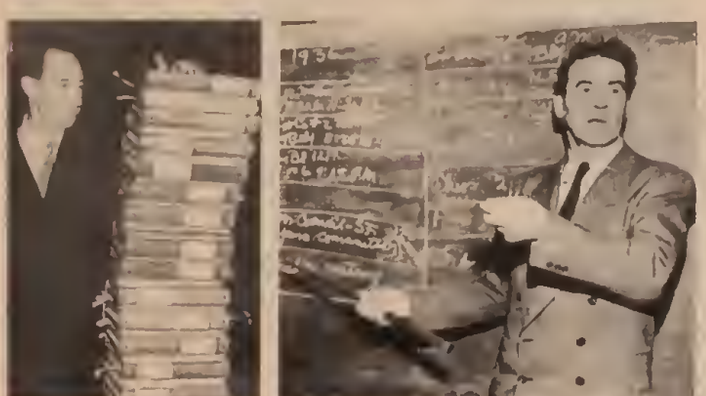
Sibylla Herbrich

Patrick Hallinan



ILWU photos

ILWU president Harry Bridges (left), leader of 1934 SF dock strike, displays court record of McCarthyite deportation hearings against him. Vincent Hallinan (right), Bridges' lawyer, demolished government's lies in court.

The Death Penalty: Impulse to Genocide

Abolish Racist Legal Lynching!

The following is based on a presentation by Charles Brover, co-chairman of the Partisan Defense Committee, at the February 11 New York rally to "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal—Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" It has been edited and excerpted for publication in Workers Vanguard.

For the Partisan Defense Committee, I want to thank you for coming here today. Your presence is an important act of solidarity, as we try to figure out how to respond to this urgent situation.

The state is preparing the first clearly political execution in this country since the Rosenbergs in 1953. Mumia Abu-Jamal is now the most recognizable death row political prisoner. This puts his case squarely at the center of the fight to abolish the death penalty.

For years the Partisan Defense Committee has been saying that the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal is what the death penalty is all about in the United States. The death penalty is racist. This is certainly evident in its legal application, as demonstrated by the disproportionate number of African Americans and Latinos on death row, now over 50 percent. The statistics are well known: a case is most likely to be prosecuted as a capital offense if the victim is white and the accused is black. The statistical proof was brought to the Supreme Court in the McCleskey case, and the Supreme Court acknowledged the racism with its blessing for the entire criminal law enterprise.

But it's not only about statistics. The death penalty is embedded in the racist history of this country going back to slavery. Special laws for death were prescribed in the early Slave Codes, which defined the black slave as chattel, the private property of the slaveowner, to be slaughtered with about the same "safeguards" as might befit a recalcitrant mule. The idea that the black slave was not truly human has always been an essential component of racist ideology in more or less sophisticated forms.

That is why the simple declaration of black humanity continues to resonate. What does it mean to be human? This is the question at the heart of Frederick Douglass's *Narrative*, and it is a central thesis of the abolition movement. Recall the sign carried by the striking Memphis sanitation workers at the time of Martin Luther King's assassination—"I am a man"—or the preamble of the demands of the Attica inmates in 1971: "We are men, we are not beasts."

The recognition of humanity in the face of death is a continuing theme in death penalty literature; for example, in Richard Wright's *Native Son* and Ernest J. Gaines' acclaimed 1993 novel, *A Lesson Before Dying*, in which an innocent young black man is executed in post-World War II Louisiana. It's a novel that has special meaning to me as a literacy teacher because his godmother instructs the local teacher to teach him to read and write before he dies: "I want the teacher make him know he's not a hog, he's a man," she says.

And as in Douglass's *Narrative*, we see the deadly horror of racism against the developing humanity of this man condemned as an animal, and we read it in his journal. Like Douglass, he asserts his humanity in his written voice. It is as if reading and writing—withheld from the slave by law and denied still in less obvious ways—can somehow prove he's human. It is a literacy of resistance and a social gesture that helps to give strength to his community and particularly to his teacher. His is not the final act of moral contrition expected of the condemned: "Tell them I'm strong.... Tell them I'm a man."

Young Socialist

Black Memphis sanitation workers in 1968 strike, facing National Guard repression, defiantly declare, "I Am a Man."

This is what Mumia tells us through his continued prison writing. In November, he wrote about that "face of 'corrections' which outlaws education amongst those who have an estimated 60 percent illiteracy rate... the mind-numbing, soul-killing savage sameness...with neither thought nor hope of growth, makes prison the abode of spirit death.... What societal interest is served by prisoners who remain illiterate?"

Writing is not incidental to Mumia. Just as Douglass said it was his path to liberation, it is essential to Mumia's identity. Mumia is a writer. It's his writing that got him into trouble with the law. It's his writing that keeps him going. And, even locked up tight, it's his writing which keeps him connected to the wider struggles of the oppressed. It also keeps him connected to us.

The Politics of Death

So we do hear Mumia's voice above the clamor for death coming from the White House and state houses, from the Congress, courts, press, hate-talk radio. (Bob Grant in New York City talks about "savages" and, in the language of the ASPCA, he suggests: "put 'em to sleep.") The infamous and oxymoronic slogan of the bloody fascist Spanish Falange—"Long live death!"—seems to have found a place here.

We are now living amid a comprehensive politics of death and punishment—part of a broad and dangerous assault on democratic rights and on the means of survival for many—with the death penalty as the most visible symbol and ritual.

The death penalty is first of all the cutting edge of an all-sided "law and order" campaign, the centerpiece of an extension of state coercion and control. More cops, more prisons, a prison network that stretches out over the American countryside like a black gulag, anchoring local economies in what Mike Davis (writing in the *Nation*) called the "prison-industrial complex." The state of California now has more prisoners than any country except the U.S. as a whole and China.

Even as prisons fill beyond overflowing—creating the most inhumane, violent and degrading conditions—the Democrats and Republicans compete with each other to write even more "get tough" laws. They've put more capital offenses in the crime bill, more mandatory sentences, less parole. They've knocked down "good time" and extended sentences. Now it's "three strikes and you're out." I read (or dreamed) that a guy bought his third by stealing a piece of pepperoni pizza. [On March 3, a California man was sentenced to 25 years to life for swiping a slice of pizza; under the state's "three strikes" law, he is not eligible for parole for *20 years*.]

And they're putting more police power on the streets. Just this week, the House Republicans with a whole passel of Democrats—a group I am inclined to call the American Newtzie Party—passed a bill to encourage warrantless searches. What about the search and seizure protections of the Fourth Amendment? "What's your problem, buddy? You got somethin' in your house you want to hide from the cops?"

Men grow old behind the prison walls. At Angola Prison in Louisiana (where the most famous prison newspaper, the *Angolite*, is written), they got an early start on this stuff and they now have a gathering of grey, dark, old men with all the attendant gerontological conditions. In California's infamous Pelican Bay they had a policy of breaking up fist fights among inmates by shooting them.

The politics of death demand a rush to the lethal gurneys and electric chairs. Faster kills mean less prosecutorial embarrassment when innocent men and women prove their innocence. Since 1973, nearly a third of all death sentences have been reversed or commuted—54 have been vacated because the defendant proved his innocence. Jesse Dewayne Jacobs was executed in Texas last month after the prosecution admitted he was not the killer. The courts decided he got a fair trial, so it was okay. It comes close to "kill 'em first, try 'em later."

Der Spiegel

Lethal injection chambers: machinery of legal state murder.

The politicians say, put more in prison, but don't spend money. With more than a million in prison, and the number climbing, the death penalty has an attraction for these politicians as a "final solution." But they complain it takes too long, leading to considerable pressure against a judiciary perceived as too squeamish about Constitutional niceties. So even though the Supreme Court undercut *habeas* appeals in the Herrera decision, it's not enough for the Newtzies. They want federal *habeas corpus* appeals limited even further. Now we hear echoes of Clinton's "two years and off welfare" for an overall two-year time limit on death row. They've put out a "Contract *On* America." Thomas Paine, he sleeps with the fishes.

But the death penalty is not only about direct coercion. For all the talk about crime, it is clear that the death penalty is not a crime-fighting measure, and it is barely argued as such. Rather this theater of cruel and unusual punishment serves another purpose in the wider politics of death. It is the ultimate spectacle of punishment around which spins

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the entire system of criminal law. The class that rules organizes power in the state. With the death penalty the state determines who will live and who will die. In this society that means overwhelmingly the poor and the black.

A view has been carefully crafted, widely disseminated and held by ideologues of both parties, that there is no sense spending scarce social and economic resources on a new "pauper class," labeled with all the old stereotypes of laziness and immorality: "Their children do not want to learn. Why spend money on public education? As patients they cannot really be treated because they are on drugs or have AIDS. Why spend money on medical care?" Urban black people are being defined as a criminal, semi-criminal and pariah class on a scale which has no historical analogy, except perhaps the redefinition of Southern blacks after the Civil War to set up the intricate system of convict labor and debt-peonage.

A recrudescence of Social Darwinism, with the usual pseudoscientific eugenics, is upon us and getting lots of attention and respect. Politicians are reeling in the results of decades of American "social science," which has largely conspired in silence about the real causes of poverty while maintaining a moralizing focus on individual behavior and an ethnographic fascination for what it calls culture and "cultural" values.

And guess what? It turns out, they tell us, that the successful cultural values are the ones you can read about in Horatio Alger novels: hard work, thrift, "moral" personal decisions, "family values." Flying the banner of "personal responsibility," the focus of public policy then is on how to change the presumed bad behavior of individual poor people and their crystalized, "pathological" culture —their "work ethic," their "skills," their well-known "resistance to chastity." Of course, not admitting the class and racial basis of inequality in society, everything reduces to individual decisions. It is as natural, as obvious, as morally right, as eternal as...private property.

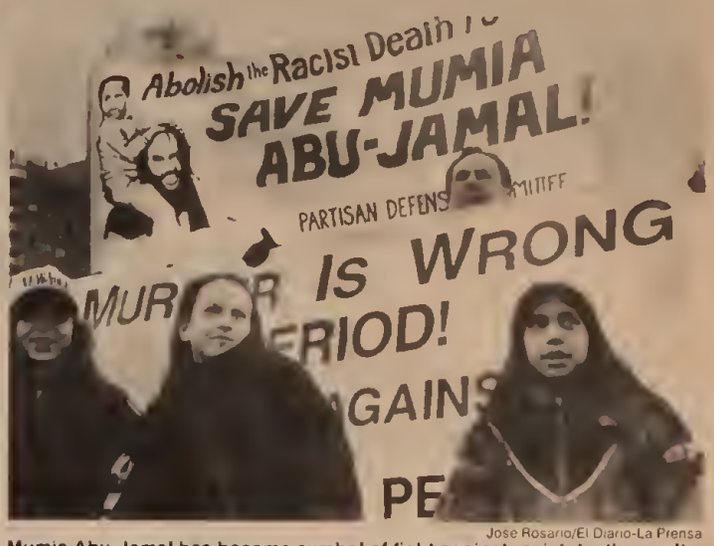
Rather than recognize an economy without sufficient decent jobs, we are presented with workers who allegedly do not want to work. That was the ideological purpose of the poorhouse: to show through the example of punishment that every truly moral worker can find a job.

Capitalism and the Death Penalty

So maybe we haven't come very far—check this morning's news—and we're not likely to if we cannot imagine another way to organize social-economic arrangements. It is capitalism which has created the ever-widening economic inequality, growth of joblessness, decline of real wages, the massive poverty and devastating dislocation which rips up social life for the most vulnerable and sends increasingly desperate youth onto the streets. Embracing the social system which causes this dislocation, mainstream public debate has gone through the ideological looking glass: beating up on the most defenseless—children, for instance—is called "courage" to make hard decisions. The poor are portrayed as snug and happy while the wealthy, we are told, are in need of relief. Prisoners are supposed to be enjoying an easy life of TV and fitness centers. Increasing the coercive power of the state is called "getting government off our backs." Returning to 19th-century Poor Laws is called "reinventing government." Even PBS is condemned as a hotbed of left-wing radicalism.

The meager government programs initiated in response to the civil rights movement are cited as the cause of poverty and racism. In fact, everything *but* capitalist social relations is blamed for the failures of capitalism: out-of-wedlock births, drugs, "immorality," lack of skills, teenage sexuality. And particularly, immigrants make handy scapegoats.

COC Productions



Jose Rosario/El Diario-La Prensa

Mumia Abu-Jamal has become symbol of fight against racist death penalty. Above: January 29 NYC rally against reinstitution of death penalty in New York State.

Now both political parties have coalesced around the idea that welfare—which used to be called poor relief, historically provided in response to protest and insurgency, and to regulate, humiliate and control the poor, cheapen all labor and exalt work at any wage and under any conditions—is itself the cause of poverty. Democrats and Republicans blab on about "welfare dependency," as if taking food out of the mouths of children will redress massive poverty.

Writing about welfare in a recent column in the *New York Times* (17 January), Russell Baker said the unsayable:

> "Attacking the problem at its root would mean admitting it is rooted in the structure of American capitalism. Nobody in public life wants to concede any shortcoming in that structure. Capitalism has just triumphed over its great enemy."

Thus, in a few sentences, Baker connects the root of the problem to the "end of history" ideology which mystifies the political failures of Stalinism and exalts capitalism as the final product of historical experience. In the absence of social struggle (and political opposition), a social system other than capitalism becomes harder to imagine, and the consequences are a breathtaking political illiteracy.

Right in the *New York Times*, Baker offers a version of the classical Marxist analysis of capitalism's inherent need to maintain a reserve army of the unemployed to drive down wages and worker demands. "A marginal class of people," he notes, "highly qualified" for unemployment and prepared for that career by the schools. But he does not go far enough in understanding what has happened in contemporary America.

The levels of joblessness go beyond a structurally useful industrial reserve and intersect historical patterns of racism. After all, plenty of white workers are already enlisted in the reserve army of the unemployed. An elite consensus holds, sometimes silently, that urban black people who live in the older cities and are variously called the "underclass" and "hard-core unemployed" are simply worthless—a drain on resources and a danger—because the capitalist economy cannot and will not absorb them.

This is the scary material basis of the punitive racist politics we see all around us today. And its twisted logic leads to death—not only to control or abandon the poor but to get rid of them. What more spectacular example of the punishment of the individual than the electric chair and lethal injection?

Thus, in its racism and class hatred, the death penalty reveals the impulse to genocide.

So we are here to rally our forces to save Mumia, abolish the death penalty, and oppose the wider politics of death and punishment. But we are not going to win with words alone, with arguments about deterrence and retributive justice. We are going to fight like hell in the courts, but not only in the courts.

AP

1932 demonstration in defense of the Scottsboro Boys and other class-war prisoners, Union Square, New York City. International campaign of protest saved framed-up black youths from execution.

We need to mobilize social protest and do it in a hurry. New Yorkers cannot wait until the death penalty comes here. Pennsylvania will likely be the first state in the Northeast to try to execute. This is where we will need to make our stand, with Mumia. We are going to need to do some old-fashioned stuff—some marching, for instance. It is not just an accident of history that the Supreme Court found capital punishment freakish in 1972, in the wake of the civil rights and antiwar movements. We need to exercise some of the power represented here on this platform—labor, black organizations, community groups, the left, death penalty abolitionists and civil libertarians.

We've all read the polls, but politics on this issue belongs to those who get out and fight. If we can build an effective protest, it will affect the entire constellation of the politics of death and punishment.

We must try to save Mumia's life. As Ossie Davis said at the New York speakout in June: We need him. He is our brother. ■

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Join the Campaign to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Rubin "Hurricane" Carter Speaks Out for Jamal

Rallies in Canada for U.S. Death Row Political Prisoner

TORONTO—More than 170 people packed the auditorium at St. Paul's Centre here on March 11 for a rally to save the life of U.S. death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty. Black community activists, prison rights advocates, socialists, trade unionists, students and anti-racist youth came out for the rally, one in a series held in cities around the world under the sponsorship of the Partisan Defense Committee and its fraternal defense organizations.

The same evening, the PDC hosted a rally in Vancouver, which was addressed by postal and public employee unionists whose locals have endorsed the campaign to save Jamal. On March 18, about 70 supporters of Jamal demonstrated outside the U.S. consulate in Montreal in a protest organized in collaboration with the PDC by local left organizations including Mobilisation, Action Socialiste, Démanarchie and others. More than $1,800 was raised for Jamal's legal defense at the rallies in Toronto and Vancouver.

The urgency of the international campaign to save Jamal was underlined last week when Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge signed a law ordering a 90-day time limit for signing death warrants after the state Supreme Court upholds the sentences *and mandating execution 30 days thereafter*. Ridge campaigned for office vowing to get the machinery of state murder rolling at top speed.

Mumia Abu-Jamal is an award-winning black journalist who became known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his passionate defense of black, poor and working people. Jamal is a supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE organization and was a founding member of the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Panther Party. Long a target of the notoriously racist Philly police for his exposure of their brutality, in 1982 Jamal was framed for the killing of a Philadelphia policeman. Railroaded through the courts, Jamal was sentenced to die explicitly for his political beliefs.

The featured speaker at the Toronto rally was Rubin "Hurricane" Carter. A former middleweight boxing contender, Carter was the victim of a racist frame-up in New Jersey nearly 30 years ago for a triple murder he did not commit. In the aftermath of the 1964 police riot in Harlem, Rubin Carter spoke out for the right of black self-defense. Two years later, he and John Artis were framed up on phony murder charges. Thanks to the racist "justice" system, Carter had nearly two decades of his life stolen from him in prison, and only finally won his freedom in the 1980s. Today, he is executive director of the Association in Defense of the Wrongly Convicted.

Among the other rally speakers were Partisan Defense Committee representative Peter Stevens, Marc Lamarre of the Haitian Resistance Movement in Toronto and Norman Richmond of the African Liberation Month Coalition. Zoltan Lugosi of Prison News Service, which has long publicized Jamal's case, addressed the meeting and read greetings from German prisoners. Two spokesmen for Toronto's Black Action Defense Committee (BADC), Lennox Farrell and Dudley Laws, also spoke out in defense of Jamal. Leaders of BADC including Dudley Laws have themselves been targets of a racist vendetta by the local cops and media because of their active, longstanding opposition to racist police terror.

David Bleakney, a chief shop steward with the Canadian Union of Postal Workers Toronto Local, underlined the need to mobilize the power of organized labor in defense of Jamal. "We've got a duty to defend these prisoners," he told the rally, "whether they be the [Geronimo] Pratts, the Hurricanes, the Scottsboro Boys, whether it be black youth shot down in the streets of Toronto with a bullet in the back, or whether it be members of my own union who've gone to jail for defending their rights on a picket line."

We print below excerpts from the remarks by Rubin "Hurricane" Carter to the Toronto PDC rally.

Spartacist Canada

Rubin Carter, imprisoned for nearly 20 years before court reversed frame-up murder conviction.

* * *

I often begin speaking by telling people how pleased I am to be anywhere, given my history, a history that is not unlike Jamal's history. But I won't say that tonight. I'm gonna be rude. I'm *not* pleased to have to be here tonight. There's a man on death row facing execution for something that he didn't do, and there's nothing pleasing about that. In fact, it is absolutely obscene.

On the other hand, this gathering here tonight is absolutely vital and necessary. I can't tell you how much it means, when you are wrongly imprisoned, to know that there are people out here like you attending events like this. It gives us hope. And in a place as hopeless and as desperate as prison, there's nothing more precious than hope. Hope that something can happen, that wrongs can be righted. And wrongs *can* be righted. My presence here tonight is living proof of that.

In 1966, I narrowly escaped the electric chair for a crime I did not commit. I was sentenced instead to three life terms, and spent almost 20 years in prison before being exonerated. And I would still be in prison today had it not been for the care, efforts and concern of a few people, of a few people who gave meaning to the words, "True justice will never be achieved until those who have not been injured become as outraged as those who have."

When I was first asked to speak out on behalf of Mumia Abu-Jamal, I have to admit that I was not familiar with his case. So I requested written materials from Peter, which soon arrived, and I proceeded to immediately review them. And it wasn't long in my review that I detected a foul but familiar odor emanating from the documents. And the more I read, the stronger the odor got. It was a stench that at one time I had hoped was limited to New Jersey, but which I soon discovered is associated with cases of wrongful conviction everywhere.

The classic legal presumption is that the accused is presumed to be innocent until proven guilty. Well, as the lifers in the halls of Trenton State Prison are wont to say, "poppycock." The reality is that when the state is the accuser, the presumption of innocence is not accorded to the accused, but to the accuser: "You must have done *something* to get arrested," "Where there's smoke, there's fire." Right? It is presumed that police officers are scrupulously aboveboard. They don't plant or falsify or

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Mexico City Meeting to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal

An urgent call to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty was made at a press conference held on March 11 at Mexico City's Leon Trotsky Museum-Institute for the Right of Asylum and Political Freedoms (IDALP). The event, initiated by the Grupo Espartaquista de México, included the participation of Esteban Volkov, Leon Trotsky's grandson; Max Rojas, director of the Trotsky Museum and IDALP; representatives of the Union of Workers at *La Jornada* newspaper; the Grupo Homosexual de Acción Revolucionaria; students from the National University and others.

At the meeting, Esteban Volkov (photo, far right) called the death sentence against Jamal "a demonstration of the ritual sacrifices the U.S. regime carries out against all kinds of revolutionaries, social fighters, racial and ethnic minorities and dispossessed classes." Referring to the assassinations of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, he said that in Jamal's case "they just want to give it a bit more of a legal façade" and stressed that "the international fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal is of extraordinary importance" for all defenders of freedom of expression and the rights of the workers and oppressed. Trotsky Museum director Max Rojas called Jamal "the very prototype and paradigm of the victim of political persecution."

In Mexico, the defense of Jamal has received support from many individuals and organizations, including Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, Section 10 of the National Union of Education Workers and the University Students Council. Articles defending Jamal have recently appeared in the Mexico City dailies *El Día* and *El Financiero*.

Espartaco

Young Spartacus

Contract with Democrats—An Old Trap

NYC "Fight the Right" Rally: Hot Issues and Hot Air

In New York City on March 4, nearly 2,500 people turned out for a "fight the right" rally called by the "National Peoples Campaign" at Cooper Union. Hundreds of students and young people came—one busload was from Oberlin, Ohio—and they were obviously angry about the vicious right-wing attack on themselves, their families and the poor. The rally came on the heels of a 5,000-strong anti-cutbacks demo in Albany five days earlier, and a 30,000-strong New York City hospital union demonstration only days before. This rally and another held March 18 in San Francisco are opening shots in the latest campaign to create a "movement" under the slogan, "Defeat the Contract on America." The ultimate, big exciting conclusion of these rallies is supposed to be "mass action in the streets" in New York and San Francisco on May 6. But don't buy it—this is Democratic Party pressure politics.

Young Spartacus

Workers World Party shills for the Democratic Party: WWP "fight for socialism" banner side by side with campaign for liberal Democrat Jerry Brown, New York City, March 4.

In fact, this latest lash-up of radical liberal forces and fashionable causes (the Green Party, ecology and PBS were big this year) was created by Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP) as a potential electoral vehicle for some refurbished liberal, whether a slicker version of the disgraced Clinton, a more attractive Democratic ticket or even—gasp, how radical!—perhaps some "third party" vehicle. Outside the Cooper Union event, the WWP had a banner, "Fight the Capitalist System, Fight for Socialism." But it's no accident that right next to it was a gigantic red "Jerry Brown '96" presidential banner, as the iconoclastic liberal Brown forces sensed a potential voting bloc in formation.

Young Spartacus

Militant youth outside Cooper Union were attracted to Spartacist banner, Trotskyist literature, campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Sure, some speakers, like rally co-chairman John Jones of the Jersey City All-Peoples Congress, sought to whip up the crowd with radical-sounding rhetoric: "You wouldn't be here today if you believed that elections will change anything! You wouldn't be here today if you thought that Newt Gingrich or the Republicans or Democrats cared about education, health care.... You wouldn't be here today if you had any faith in *that* system." Speakers like radical lawyer William Kunstler spoke harsh words about the "white power structure," while that perpetual fixture of WWP events, Ramsey Clark, famous as Lyndon Johnson's former attorney general and the radical left's folksy answer to Ross Perot, called for all sorts of good things, like cutting military spending and canceling Mexico's debt.

But how is that going to happen? What system should we be for? Workers World Party claims to be a socialist, indeed, even Marxist, party—but the need to "fight for socialism" was carefully relegated to the back halls. Today it's cheap to kick the Democrats while they're down. The *Workers World* newspaper (9 March) stated, "the masses abandoned the Democrats in November" and now there's massive disillusionment in Clinton (who helped spread illusions in him in the first place?), so now "it's time for struggle. Time for revolution." But that's just newspaper talk—the purpose of the front groups they build is to refurbish capitalist liberalism and reformism.

Any "movement" that doesn't explicitly declare its hostility to the Democratic Party is simply waiting to become a vehicle for it. Larry Holmes, the "National Peoples Campaign" main spokesman, explicitly sounded the true theme from the platform: "There are some who say, let's wait for the presidential elections in '96. I think that will be too late.... If you are concerned about influencing the elections, then the best strategy, the best course of action, is for us to get the thousands out there on the streets! If you do that, we will define what the elections are about!"

On the Cooper Union speakers platform, the banners were limited to how together we can defeat "Gingrich-Giuliani-Pataki." That of course is the program of the New York State Democratic Party, whose vice chairman, Dennis Rivera, was one of the featured speakers. Naturally, his party affiliation was kept under cover and his capacity as president of the Local 1199 hospital workers union was instead spotlighted. And while both trade-union speakers and CUNY students spoke about the need to "fight back," no program for independent working-class *action* was presented.

We in the Spartacist League, in our paper *Workers Vanguard* (No. 618, 10 March), said, "Rip Up Giuliani's Budget of Doom!" and raised the perspective of fighting for a one-day, citywide strike. That would serve notice on the city administration, support the CUNY students' struggles and unleash the power of NYC's integrated labor movement to fight in its own interests and for all the oppressed. Key to labor using its power is breaking from the phony "friend of labor" Democratic Party of war and racism. That's the fighting program socialists stand for, but that's not the program of the "National Peoples Campaign"—because that kind of class-independent program gets in the way of making deals with liberal politicians and the Democratic Party.

WWP: You Can't Fool All-Peoples All of the Time

Sam Marcy's Workers World Party has for decades presented itself as the would-be broker between various "movements" and the Democratic Party, creating pressure groups to "make the Democrats fight." During the Reagan years, they ran an outfit called the "All-Peoples Congress" (still lingering alongside today's new, if not improved, "National Peoples Campaign"), which called dozens of rallies and demonstrations to "Fight Reagan." A typical ploy was the call by Larry Holmes (yes, the same guy) back in 1981 to "surround Congress" until the Democratic House majority voted down the Reagan cutbacks. Of course, the Democrats didn't vote them down. The Spartacist League raised the slogan "Break with the Democrats—For Labor Action to Bring Down Reagan!"

During 1990-91, when Iraq was being carpethombed by the U.S., we in the Spartacus Youth Clubs took a side, seeking to build united-front antiwar rallies under the slogan "Defeat U.S. Imperialism—Defend Iraq!" Meanwhile, the WWP's "Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East" simply appealed to pacifist liberal sentiment with their "Bring the Troops Home" slogan.

The Marcyites' first big attempt at creating an anti-Reagan popular front with the liberal bourgeoisie took place a decade earlier, when on 3 May 1981 they marched on the Pentagon, where, with Democrats Bella Abzug and Paul O'Dwyer on the platform, they appealed for a "political solution" to the raging civil war in El Salvador with Reagan's blood-drenched junta. The SL built an Anti-Imperialist Contingent, calling for military victory to the Salvadoran rebels, while the Marcyites' "People's Anti-War Mobilization" formed a goon squad with linked arms to keep people from our rally and make their march "safe" for respectable bourgeois politicians.

The next year, on 27 March 1982, at another El Salvador protest in Washington, D.C., the Marcyites provoked the cops to exclude the Spartacists from their march. We marched independently with our working-class revolutionary

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Angela Davis Witchhunted, Again

Twenty-three years after Angela Davis was exonerated of all charges stemming from the 1970 Marin County courthouse raid demanding freedom for the "Soledad Brothers," vengeful right-wing forces are again trying to witchhunt her out of the University of California system. When Davis, a UC Santa Cruz philosophy professor, was appointed in February to the Presidential Chair by the UC Regents—an honor which brings a $75,000 stipend—senior Republican state senator William Leonard threw a fit, smearing Davis with a supposed "reputation for racism, violence and communism" (*Oakland Tribune*, 11 February) and launching a campaign to rescind the appointment. The usually timid California Black Legislative Caucus "reaffirmed" their support for the appointment (*Oakland Post*, 26 February) in the face of a mounting slander campaign which intersects the racist bipartisan drive to abolish affirmative action.

Davis' many years of loyalty to the pro-Soviet Communist Party USA (CP) is no secret—she ran on the CP's national tickets in 1980 and 1984—nor is her defense of black political prisoners such as the Soledad Brothers and more recently Mumia Abu-Jamal. It is such left-wing politics which sticks in the craw of the latter-day McCarthyites, who are using all the smear tactics of their 1950s mentor.

A particularly vicious op-ed piece by one Peter Collier of *Heterodoxy* magazine re-indicts her for the 1970 Marin County courthouse shootings and equates her with Nazis, suggesting she should not be teaching at all. He retails a classic list of witchhunters' "thought crimes" which boil down to the fact that she expressed "praise for the Soviet Union" (*San Jose Mercury News*, 22 February). To nail it down, he quotes one sentence from her writings in which she noted that the "socialist countries" have made the "only significant steps taken toward ending [women's] domestic slavery"—an undeniable fact when one looks at the terrible devastation suffered by women since capitalism returned to the former Soviet bloc. While Davis' worldview was distorted and limited by the prism of the now-defunct Stalinist bureaucracy which sold out the Soviet Union, she nevertheless symbolizes two things which the ruling class really hates: black people and "communism."

Young Spartacus

Angela Davis, speaking at September 1994 conference on black politics.

Since her "thought crime" is not enough for these legislators to suspend her appointment, she is also accused of "violence" simply for her past association with the Black Panthers and her defense of the Soledad Brothers. But it was the violent police departments and the terrorist "COINTELPRO" arm of the FBI that smeared and destroyed the Black Panther Party through street executions, infiltration, frame-ups and imprisonment. Currently, the state wants to silence one of the last living voices of the Panthers' revolutionary will by legally lynching former Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal, who is living on Pennsylvania's death row under the threat of impending execution.

So far, the UC Regents have stood firm in their decision to appoint Davis, claiming the right to academic freedom. But we won't forget that in 1969 it was the UC Regents, led by then-governor Ronald Reagan, who fired Davis from her job teaching at UCLA, after an FBI infiltrator publicized Davis' CP membership. She went to court and won, only to have the Regents not rehire her because of "unbefitting" behavior. More to the point, she was targeted for her activities as a prominent organizer of the Soledad Brothers Defense Committee, an organization formed to free George Jackson, Fleeta Drumgo and John Clutchette, three radical activist prisoners in Soledad Prison who were framed for the murder of a prison guard in 1970. Their case exposed the sadistic brutality directed against black prisoners, including a long series of murders of militant black prisoners. Jackson's prison letters were compiled and published as *Soledad Brother*.

On 7 August 1970, George Jackson's 17-year-old brother, Jonathan, set up by police provocateurs, led a raid at the Marin County courthouse in which Jonathan Jackson, two prisoners and a judge died. The state of California charged the sole surviving prisoner, Ruchell Magee, and Angela Davis—who was in Los Angeles at the time of the shootout—with conspiracy, kidnapping and murder. The FBI put Davis on their "Most Wanted" list, and the photograph of her being captured, in chains, became an international symbol of racist U.S. capitalist "justice." While the CP criminally abandoned defense of Ruchell Magee, Angela Davis was completely exonerated by the jury of all charges in 1972. This public defeat of the prosecuting team was an international humiliation for which the ruling class has never forgiven Davis. She has since gone on to become a well-known spokesman on the reformist left. Speaking March 14 at New College in San Francisco as part of International Women's Day events, while calling for a "third party," she lamented having voted for Bill Clinton but said she continues to back the Democrats in some ways.

The liberals and the CP tried to trumpet the acquittal of college professor Davis as a triumph of "American democracy," forgetting about the more typical working-class black prisoners like Ruchell Magee languishing in prison or simply gunned down by the cops before they could get to trial. As we wrote at the time (*WV* No. 10, July-August 1972):

> "The acquittals of Angela Davis and other militants are a victory for the working class—of an extremely temporary and reversible character. Bourgeois democracy, i.e., 'fair' trials for the rich and prominent, cop brutality and frame-ups for the rest—is one form of bourgeois rule. The other is fascism, which only workers revolution can prevent."

Hands off Angela Davis! ■

no credit

Angela Davis, then a leader of the Communist Party, was targeted by FBI frame-up, arrested in 1970 but released after international outcry.

"Fight the Right" Rally...

(continued from page 7)

program of "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists!" So there's a long history here of Marcyite collaboration with capitalist politicians, including even calling the cops on us communists when we sharply expose their reformist pretensions.

It will undoubtedly come as a shock to many of the young students that came to Cooper Union to know that the Workers World Party supported the crushing of the Tiananmen Square uprising in China in 1989. They did: *Workers World* (15 June 1989) cheered after the massacre that the "socialist government" in China had "asserted its authority...and withstood a violent counter-revolutionary rebellion." The hallmark of this tendency is in fact its enthusiastic support for the *crushing* of workers uprisings against Stalinist rule—it was Marcy's support to the 1956 smashing of the Hungarian Revolution that ultimately led to his tendency's 1959 split from the Socialist Workers Party.

Under the rhetorical cover of Marcy's "global class war" bombast lies their true program of *global class collaboration*—the fatal policy which contributed to the collapse of the Stalinist regimes of the USSR and East Europe, and threatens those still surviving. In contrast, we always unconditionally defended the deformed/degenerated workers states against imperialist attack, while fighting for political revolution against the bureaucracies to restore the liberating goals of socialism.

Fight for Socialism—Join the SYC!

Youth are being pushed to the wall, as they see not only no future for themselves, but no present. The injustices of this brutal, racist society are felt deeply and people want to do something about it. But instead of a program to fight capitalism, all they got was hot air from the "National Peoples Campaign" organizers about "unity" and "getting in the streets."

For a lot of youth, this was their first political event off campus, and they had plenty of questions. Hundreds were left stranded all afternoon outside the rally hall for lack of space, but luckily the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club were there to provide revolutionary answers, soapboxing and directing people to our banner "Unchain Labor-Black Power: Fight for a Workers Party!" and Trotskyist literature table, where dozens signed up to learn more about socialist politics. Nearly 50 pledge forms were collected for the international campaign to save death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, and over 300 *Workers Vanguards* were sold. No wonder that at the very end, the Marcyites got a little hysterical and a few started to rev up the old, sinister Stalinist CIA-baiting, chanting "CIA go away" to try to scare people off. This lying garbage is deadly poison to the workers movement and it will not be tolerated.

At Cooper Union, class-struggle politics and the WWP's class collaboration once again clashed. As the rally came to a close, SYC comrades provided closing remarks outside. As one SYCer pointed out:

> "You can't fight Republicans with Democrats. Whenever you hear all this talk about 'fight the right' and there's no explicit mention of the treacherous role the Democrats play, you better check your wallet. Because it takes a workers party, centered on class-struggle politics, to bring down this racist capitalist system." ■

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CUNY, SUNY...

(continued from page 16)

There are merely differences in tactics between the partner parties of capitalism. The Republicans certainly get off on being more brutal. At Hunter College on March 15, the New York Police Department's thugs in blue attacked student protesters. Students in Hunter's theater department staged a New Orleans-style funeral procession in the streets marking the "death of education" and of "social justice." The cops waded into the guerrilla theater performance with billy clubs, arresting eight students. The city's message to students: Protests will be countered with all the force the state can muster. The SYC says: No reprisals against student protesters! Drop all the charges!

The violence of the cops has been used as an excuse to urge students to avoid militancy and "remain peaceful." At a thousands-strong rally and march to the World Trade Center from Borough of Manhattan Community College March 16, speakers told students that "we've shown we can be militant and still remain peaceful." Months before the budget cuts were announced, allocations were already made to deal with CUNY "civil disobedience," with a special cop force given the Orwellian name SAFE. Any serious social struggle will quickly come up against the whole state apparatus the capitalist class uses to suppress working-class struggles—the cops, the courts and the military. The bosses' government is not "our" state but an instrument of terror on behalf of the capitalist exploiters.

Smash the Ruling Class War on the Poor!

The message of the racist rulers of American capitalism is clear: educating Hispanic and black youth in particular is no longer worth the money since their labor is no longer wanted. Working-class Asians who are recent immigrants are also under attack. The bipartisan drive to deny millions of poor people a semblance of a chance has little to do with a "budget crisis." The racist rulers have plenty of wealth for *their* priorities. Schools are falling apart—they build more prisons. AIDS and tuberculosis are spreading in the inner city—they slash health care programs and gut Harlem Hospital. There are no jobs for black youth, so they build boot camps to incarcerate them. With their system in shambles, the ruling class doesn't even give the pretense of worrying about the rest of us anymore. In so many ways, the "democratic" veneer is being ripped away, revealing this system as the dictatorship for the capitalist owners it is. The system can't be tinkered with or reformed to get what we want, we need to junk it and fight for a society *where those who labor rule*. We in the SYCs fight for a socialist society with a rational planned economy, which will produce goods for social use instead of private profit, eliminate scarcity and racist inequality.

Young Spartacus

The Pataki/Giuliani cutbacks are in large part to pay for a mammoth increase in debt-service payments to Wall Street banks. It's the latest blast of the racist crusade to "end welfare as we know it" and shrink "big government," including through union-busting. From anti-immigrant Proposition 187 to attacks on the right to abortion, everyone's on the government hit list formulated in Newt Gingrich's "Contract With America," which is simply a campaign against blacks and working people.

With nothing to offer the masses of black, poor and working people but ever-deeper degradation and immiseration, the capitalist class is intent on extinguishing any sign of protest with brute force. Investing in state repression is a viable "growth industry" in this sick capitalist economy, while cuts in education, social services and Medicaid are escalating. Complementing it all is the massive speedup on death row, as Pataki has brought back "legal" lynching in New York State. Notably, marchers against the death penalty were part of a January 27 rally of more than 5,000 students in the state capital against cutbacks in education. The Spartacus Youth Club has made the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, a political prisoner on death row in Pennsylvania, a key focus of opposition to the barbaric death penalty. The international fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal can be a catalyst to struggles against the whole system of racist repression.

Budget cuts, attacks on unions, soaring numbers of people behind bars: that's what they've got for us. Under capitalism, there's no solution to the boom and bust cycles of employment, rampant homelessness and hunger. Young people who know they may have no future (and it's no great shakes at present either) are outraged at the right-wing onslaught sweeping the country and desperately want to fight back. How do we organize for victory, to get what we want?

Even the basic democratic right to an education requires a revolutionary fight for socialism. Campus marches by the thousands may snarl traffic, but won't stop New York City from running because students alone in society don't have a lot of social power. It's not true that "the students united will never be defeated." Our strength lies in links to the labor movement, which has the numbers, social weight and organization to take on the assaults by the capitalist class. The same people attacking our education are ripping up union contracts, slashing social services and trying to take back every gain workers have made.

What workers and youth need is *militant class struggle* against our common enemy. A union like Local 1199, for example, with 117,000 workers in New York State, has a multiracial membership with deep roots in the community because of the services it delivers. The union can play a pivotal role in sparking a fight by all city workers and championing the poor and homeless. Transit workers, who actually transport the labor that makes Wall Street run, have real social power if they use it. That means playing hardball, ripping up the strikebreaking Taylor Law with the militant class-struggle tactics that built the unions. Militant labor action in transit can smash this "budget of doom" and bring Giuliani to his knees with strikes, backed by the rest of city labor. The unions represent the unity of the multiethnic working class (as well as many CUNY parents and students). The multiracial working class has the power to expropriate the bosses, seize the wealth and take power and run society in our own interests!

The labor movement has the power if it does not remain shackled by loyal "labor lieutenants of capital" who let the ranks blow off steam before herding people into the voting booth for the Democrats. At a March 1 rally of hospital workers and CUNY students, the organizers of the protest strictly confined it to a pep rally for voting for the Democratic Party to fight the cuts. Local 1199 president Dennis Rivera is vice chairman of the state Democratic Party and closely allied to the Catholic church hierarchy of anti-abortion bigot John Cardinal O'Connor. While he led chants of "Pataki must go!" from the rally platform, he's pushing dangerous illusions. Relying on Democrats in the state assembly who overwhelmingly backed the death penalty is asking to be told to drop dead. The Spartacist League banner at the March 1 rally said what's necessary: "Unchain Labor-Black Power! Fight for a Workers Party!"

Everything we want and need—jobs for all, decent housing, free quality health care and the right to an education—can only be won with hard-fought *class struggle*, in the streets and in the factories, that not only tackles the budget "crisis" but the system of exploitation and profit itself. To win, students must be drawn into an alliance with the labor movement, which can bust up this rotting capitalist system and forge a new, egalitarian socialist society. It takes communist leadership, linking the struggles of thousands of workers, students and minorities, to win the war against the capitalists. We need a workers party to take back what's ours from the fat-cat bosses on Wall Street and their agents, the bourgeois politicians who say we've got to vote to win anything. We in the SYC fight to sweep away the profit system of the racist rulers for good. Join us! ■

Jobs, Free Quality Education for All!

Young Spartacus

Plans for $1,000 tuition hike amount to *racist purge* of CUNY students, sparking wave of protests. With NYC labor also facing vicious cuts, students should unite with workers to spark citywide strike action.

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

ATLANTA
Alternate Wednesdays, 6 p.m. April 5: *Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution*, Georgia State University, University Center, Room 204
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CHAMPAIGN-URBANA
Alternate Thursdays, 5 p.m. April 6
The Russian Revolution—How the Working Class Took Power, La Casa Cultural Latina, 510 E. Chalmers St.
For more information: (217) 352-3359

BOSTON
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. April 6
The Russian Revolution of 1917, CLA Room 212, 725 Commonwealth Ave., Boston University
For more information: (617) 492-3928

CHICAGO
Alternate Thursdays, 6:30 p.m.
April 6: *How the Soviet Workers State Was Strangled*; Spartacist Public Office, 161 W. Harrison (at Wells), 10th floor
For more information: (312) 663-0715

NEW YORK CITY
Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m.
March 25: *The State and Revolution*, April 1: *The Russian Revolution of 1917*; Borough of Manhattan Community College, 199 Chambers St., Room S-114
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Marion Barry, Gingrich Gang Up On Workers and Poor

Congress Knifes Black D.C.

Perkins/Washington Post

Washington, D.C. Democratic mayor Barry and Republican Gingrich team up to cancel city union contracts, slash social programs.

As the nation's capital city teeters on the brink of financial ruin, you can almost hear Newt Gingrich and his Congressional cronies smacking their lips over the demise of "home rule" in Washington, D.C. Facing a $722 million budget deficit and a credit rating lowered to junk-bond status, on February 22 Mayor Marion Barry made a hat-in-hand plea to the Congressional subcommittees that control the city, and was roundly rebuffed by both Democrats and Republicans. "You made your bed; now you have to lie in it," snarled Rep. James Walsh, who heads the subcommittee on appropriations for the District of Columbia.

Last fall, Marion Barry was re-elected mayor in a stunning rebuke by the city's black voters to the racist rulers who see this city as "their" plantation. In 1990, the feds mounted an FBI sting operation that sent Barry to prison on a *misdemeanor* drug charge. We denounced this at the time as "blatant entrapment," noting the "imperialist arrogance of the Bush gang which figures it can get away with doing anything to anybody...all in the name of the phony 'war on drugs'." But at the time of his re-election we warned, "As mayor, the 'reborn' Marion Barry, no less than the 'rogue,' will be pushing through vicious cutbacks and ordering cop assaults on black youth on behalf of the White House and Congress" (*WV* No. 607, 30 September 1994). And now right-wing kingpin Gingrich congratulates the mayor "for trying to surface all of the problems" of the District.

D.C., Barry blustered, can't survive "half-slave, half-free." Cynically harking back to Lincoln, he was referring to the fact that D.C. has to fund public services while under the direct control of Congress. And he opts for...complete enslavement. Previously a vigorous advocate of "home rule," Barry is now urging the federal government to take over municipal welfare, medical, court and corrections operations. Gingrich, in league with Reagan's former Housing secretary, Jack Kemp, wants to make this overwhelmingly black city the laboratory for slashing services and busting unions, with Barry as its black overseer.

Upon taking office in January, Barry began his "100-day Agenda"—a round of vicious cutbacks which hit hardest at the poorest wards that have been his electoral base. These cuts have reduced D.C. General, the main public hospital serving the poor, to only 250 beds (it once had 1,000), with hundreds of health care workers laid off and over one-third of staff doctors threatened with firing by April 1. The same week that Barry announced these layoffs, Howard University Hospital dismissed 185 workers and announced ten-day unpaid "furloughs" for the rest, while Georgetown University Hospital laid off 230.

Cuts are planned in everything from garbage collection (two-man crews instead of three) to education (making students pay for GED classes) to drug treatment (addicts will have to pay for methadone). Barry is hammering at city unions to take a 12 percent pay cut in April; they have already conceded ten unpaid days off. This is on top of massive cutbacks ordered by the city council in December 1994, gutting benefits in 25 programs for the poor and disabled, from Medicaid to assistance for homeless families, and eliminating cost-of-living welfare increases. Barry has also announced plans to lay off 4,000 more city employees this year and to slash 25 percent from workers' pensions.

Even these brutal austerity measures aren't enough for Congress, which is drafting legislation to put the city into receivership to a financial oversight board modeled on New York's infamous union-busting Municipal Assistance Corporation of the 1970s. New York mayor Giuliani and Philadelphia mayor Rendell have been called to testify at Congressional hearings on D.C. about their own war plans against city unions and services. Meanwhile, Kemp has dreams of turning D.C. into a "radical enterprise zone," or as the *Washington Post* put it, "Hong Kong on the Potomac."

A city where gleaming monuments and government offices meet the impoverished black ghetto, Washington has long been a stark symbol of American racist inequality. Outside the Senate "millionaires' club" live hundreds of thousands of poor and working people who are treated like colonial subjects, with no representation in either house of Congress. Washington is a 70 percent black city—with a growing Hispanic immigrant population—and the racist U.S. ruling class is determined to keep them disenfranchised. At a meeting last month between Gingrich, Kemp and Barry, an idea was floated to make D.C. an outright colonial "territory," like Guam or Puerto Rico!

While the Washington area has the highest income levels of blacks in the country, the city itself is growing poorer every year. D.C. has no tax base to speak of. Government doesn't tax itself, and many private companies are also tax-exempt. D.C. is home to the largest financial institution in the U.S., the Federal National Mortgage Association, known as "Fannie Mae," which rakes in more than $2 billion in profits every year without paying the city a dime of income tax.

The city's high cost of living is aggravated by low wages for workers in an economy that revolves around servicing the government and the tourist attractions. After the city exploded following the assassination of Martin Luther King in 1968, whites left in droves, more recently, increasing numbers of black middle-income families have been moving out to the Maryland suburbs, leaving the poorest behind.

Over the last 25 years, Washington's population has dropped by almost 25 percent, to 570,000. One-third of its residents is on some form of government assistance; one in five D.C. families is on Medicaid, and one in six receives child welfare. To keep all the "have-nots" in line there are several overlapping police forces, giving Washington by far the highest proportion of police to residents of any U.S. city. City and federal police saturate the area from the Capitol to the State Department so the wheels of the capitalist government keep spinning. Last Christmas, the Park Police and Secret Service surrounded a homeless disabled man in front of the White House and shot him to death.

Congress has long lorded it over black D.C., which it ruled directly for decades through its two subcommittees. During the days of Jim Crow segregation, the District was presided over by a succession of Dixiecrats like Mississippi Senator Bilbo. Only since 1961 have D.C. residents been able to vote for president. Ten years later, Washington got one, non-voting "delegate" in Congress. The current delegate was allowed to vote on the House floor when the Democrats were in control, but only if her vote would not change the outcome. Even this measly favor was taken back when the Republicans took charge last fall.

In 1973, the phony "Home Rule Act" was passed, allowing an elected mayor and city council, but making their every act, from legislation to the budget and taxation, subject to Congressional veto. In 1988, "right to life" bigots in Congress threatened to cut off the District's federal funding if it helped pay for abortions for poor women. In 1992, Congress forced a local referendum on the death penalty. The measure was voted down by a two-to-one margin—not surprising in a city where over 40 percent of black youth are trapped in the infernal machinery of racist "justice," either in jail, on parole or facing trial.

Marion Barry long ago put his credentials as a civil rights activist at the service of the racist ruling class. After his re-election, Barry leaned over backward to reassure his bourgeois masters, declaring, "I know best how to protect their investments, their homes, their businesses. I know best how to balance this budget. I know best how to save our city from financial collapse."

In contrast to his predecessor, Sharon Pratt Kelly, Barry has always been backed by the city unions. The labor leadership is still in his pocket, even as he targets city workers for massive "riffs" (reductions in force). Barry is using the federal government's threats as a club to scare the unions into compliance with his draconian cuts. Meanwhile, the media has been hollering about "highly paid" and "indolent" city workers. A 2 January *Washington Post* article, headlined "New York and Philadelphia Offer Labor Lessons for Barry," declared:

> "Reforming city labor practices and restructuring municipal contracts has never been easier. Determined and forceful mayors are having their way with unions, and big city labor leaders—handicapped by a weak economy and ebbing public support—are today making concessions that a few years ago would have been unthinkable."

In early February, Barry told city workers that they had the "option" of massive firings or a drastic wage cut, and warned, "I expect everyone to make a sacrifice." At a time when the city unions face a fight for their very survival, their leadership is throwing in the towel. Janice Vailes, president of AFSCME Local 1033, said of the cuts: "To be quite frank about it, we might have to live with it" (*Washington Post*, 25 January). Although the government

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- The "Bell Curve" and Genocide U.S.A.
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Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

L.A. Janitors Fight for "One Union, One Industry, One Contract"

LOS ANGELES, March 8—Chanting "Que viva la mujer obrera!" (Long live working women) and "No contract, no peace!" over 1,500 unionists from "Justice for Janitors" were joined by hotel and other city workers on International Women's Day. Massing near West L.A.'s glitzy Century City office complex, they sat down at the busy intersection of Wilshire and Westwood Boulevards, blocking traffic for over an hour. Forty women custodial workers and supporters were arrested and hauled away by the LAPD.

"Justice for Janitors" gained nationwide attention during the 1990 strike of 500 janitors at Century City, when striking workers faced brutal attacks by the LAPD in their fight to win a union. At the March 8 rally, there was a heavy police presence including over 70 cops in riot gear and dozens of mounted police. The hatred on the faces of the LAPD was hardly disguised as they escorted the women janitors chanting "La unión está presente!" (The union is here) to waiting buses.

Levine/Santa Monica Outlook

LAPD menaces 1,500-strong Justice for Janitors demonstration, March 8. Chanting "Long live working women" and "No contract, no peace," 40 women unionists were arrested.

The mostly Latino janitors, over half of whom are women, are fighting for a countywide contract under the slogan "One industry, one union, one contract." Their union, Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 399, is now negotiating with 13 janitorial service companies to extend a single contract for janitors throughout the greater L.A. metro area. Currently, building service workers downtown and in Century City earn a base wage of $6.80 an hour plus health benefits. Although this has been won through hard battles, it is still below even the *official* poverty line. And thousands of unionized janitors work in the wealthy enclaves of Beverly Hills and the San Fernando Valley for much less and with no health benefits. Representing over 8,000 workers across the city, Local 399 has set a negotiating deadline for April 1 (contracts run out March 31).

The banks and real estate interests are itching for a chance to smash the militant janitors and reverse victories like the 1990 strike. The huge police presence on March 8 was organized from the top: plenty of brass, and their labor squad was out in force. They have been emboldened by the passage of the anti-immigrant Proposition 187, which was in large part aimed at combative workers like the L.A. janitors, many of whom experienced sharp class struggle firsthand in Mexico and El Salvador. Local 399 organized a demonstration at the D.A.'s office last August that brought out black hospital workers together with Latino janitors to demand freedom for imprisoned former Black Panther Geronimo ji-Jaga (Pratt), and recently hosted a Partisan Defense Committee forum at their union hall to save death row prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Following the multiracial Los Angeles upheaval sparked by the Rodney King verdict, the bourgeoisie started whipping up the current racist anti-immigrant frenzy, attempting to blame the economic downturn on "illegal aliens." With their current drive to get an anti-affirmative action proposition on the California ballot in 1996, the rulers are aiming the second barrel of this same reactionary shotgun directly at blacks and women.

As part of "Justice for Janitors" Campaign '95 to extend the union into shopping malls and public buildings, Local 399 is attempting to organize building security guards. This is dead wrong! Security guards are private auxiliaries to the racist cops, and often the bosses' first line of defense in strikebreaking, union-busting and defending their sacred "private property." During and after the 1990 strike, janitors have confronted these "rent-a-cop" thugs at every turn. Cops, public and private, have no place in the labor movement!

The potential for integrated class struggle in L.A. is real, but the labor misleaders are working overtime to keep a lid on and divert labor militancy into the trap of the Democratic Party. Organizing drives like that of the janitors need the muscle of other powerful L.A. unions in action: Teamsters, longshoremen, aerospace workers and hotel workers. But when 400 union janitors staged a defiant march under martial law to protest the Rodney King verdict and the mass INS roundups that followed it, local AFL-CIO tops stifled attempts to mobilize other key unions.

And when mass protests involving tens of thousands of immigrant workers broke out against Prop. 187 last fall, union tops went all out to divert the protests into "get out the vote" campaigns for the Democrats. They even joined hands with L.A.'s Sheriff Block and right-wing Republican Ron Unz in opposing Prop. 187 as an "ineffective" way to persecute immigrants, while spending big bucks from union funds to support the "other" anti-immigrant candidate for governor, Democrat Kathleen Brown.

To organize the unorganized and smash the racist anti-immigrant frenzy, it's desperately necessary to replace the labor bureaucrats with militants who hold no illusions in the partner parties of racist American capitalism and to fight for a *workers party*. Victory to the L.A. janitors!

AFL-CIO Tops Stiff Decatur Strikers in Bal Harbour

CHICAGO—Seventy strikers and locked-out workers from labor's "war zone" in central Illinois traveled 27 hours by bus to crash the AFL-CIO's annual Florida retreat last month. The Caterpillar, Bridgestone Tire and Staley unionists plied the lobby and hallways of the luxurious Bal Harbour Sheraton, attempting to buttonhole members of the federation's executive board as the bureaucrats shuffled between closed-door meetings, poolside receptions for capitalist politicians and their own private suites—some going for as much as $325 a night. "They were not very happy to see a bunch of rank and filers there raining on their parade," one unionist told *Workers Vanguard*.

The core of the Illinois contingent came from Decatur, where workers locked out by the Staley corn processing company along with strikers at Caterpillar and Bridgestone-Firestone are seeing their jobs worked by scabs. Shamefully, members of the Teamsters and other unions have also been crossing the picket lines every day, doing transport, maintenance and construction work for the struck companies. The most pressing demand which should have been raised, but wasn't, is for the unions to *put an immediate stop to all scabbing*, and that labor *mobilize mass pickets to shut these plants down tight*.

But even the Illinois unionists' modest proposal for a "solidarity bank" to aid striking workers was too radical for AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland and his cronies. The Decatur workers are indeed in desperate financial straits: 21 months after they were forcibly removed from the Staley factory, members of United Paperworkers (UPIU) Local 7837 receive only $60 a week; Bridgestone Rubber strikers from United Rubber Workers (URW) Local 713 are getting zilch. Only after considerable lobbying did the executive board allow the presidents of the three struggling Decatur locals into a meeting, but as soon as Local 7837 head Dave Watts opened his mouth to speak, Kirkland slapped a gag on all three.

While Kirkland treated the Illinois unionists like embarrassing relatives cadging a handout, he laid out the red carpet for the numerous politicians who flew down to court labor's self-styled elite. Among these "friends of labor" were Illinois governor James Edgar and other Republicans, who now that they control the state legislature are ripping the guts out of education, welfare, health services and jobs. Meanwhile, they're strengthening the repressive apparatus used to control working people and minorities who fight back. Among the victims of this right-wing drive are hundreds of AFSCME workers (and their clients) in Decatur who will lose their jobs under a plan to convert the Adolf Meyer Mental Health Center into *a prison*.

Leading the Democratic delegation were Vice President Al Gore and Secretary of Labor Robert Reich. Their presence was part of a campaign to refurbish Clinton's tarnished "friend of labor" image. They used the occasion to announce a White House executive order that would supposedly deny federal contracts to companies that hire "permanent" replacement workers during strikes. But you could drive a trainload of scabs through the loopholes in Clinton's transparent fraud, which underscores the futility of the AFL-CIO's traitorous alliance with the Democratic Party. One Staley worker told *Workers Vanguard* that he asked Reich during a meeting with the Decatur labor delegation, "How long is 'temporary'? At least 21 months because that's how long I've been out." The worker said he didn't look forward to waiting for federal action while some "temporary" scab retired on his job!

Shocked by the Republicans' electoral victory in the last elections and increasing rank-and-file discontent, some members of the executive board in Bal Harbour even began muttering about forming a "labor party" and retiring "Lame" Kirkland before the usual graveside transfer of power. "Labor party" talk coming from these sellout artists is just a way of pressuring the Democratic Party, trying to revive the dead-and-buried New Deal alliance. And Decatur strikers in Bal Harbour only got lip service from capitalism's top labor lieutenants who have their eyes on Kirkland's swivel chair. Teamsters president Ron Carey, a darling of the reformist left and the Justice Department's hand-picked agent, won't lift a finger to stop the Teamster scabbing that's stabbing Decatur strikers in the back.

In Decatur, two unionists, Local 7837 president Dave Watts and IBEW business agent Mike Carrigan, recently won primary slots and are running for the city council in the upcoming April 4 election. Dave Watts and his supporters from the "Friends of Labor" coalition have called for an independent "labor party." However, while the elections are formally "non-partisan," in a statement the day after the primary, Friends of Labor chairman Dan Kashefska said that "when we unite with the more labor-friendly candidate" for mayor, a Democrat, "we will win this battle also!" One of the reasons for the interest in running labor candidates in Decatur was attacks by strikebreaking cops, particularly the brutal tear gassing of strike supporters at the gates of the Staley plant last summer. Yet Watt's handout, "Are You Satisfied with City Gov't?" *begins* with the call for "more police to deter crime"!

The working class badly needs its own party *to fight against the Democratic and Republican parties of capital*. But a phantom "labor party" which does not explicitly reject the Democratic Party and the bosses' racist guardians-in-blue cannot fight for the cause of labor and minorities. What kind of party do we need? In Decatur, where more than one-sixth of industrial workers are on strike or locked out, where the AFL-CIO misleaders' policies have turned strike city into "scab city," what's needed is a *class-struggle workers party*, to mobilize labor's muscle to win this key battle.

In central Illinois, where the racist terrorists of the Ku Klux Klan have organized provocations against blacks and labor, what's needed is a party that champions all the oppressed and brings out the forces to crush the fascists. We need an *internationalist* party, one that opposes NAFTA by fighting in solidarity with Mexican workers; a party that appeals to Japanese workers for support in the struggle against Bridgestone-Firestone, and rejects the rampant protectionist poison which paints Japanese workers as the enemy.

Clinton has made it perfectly clear that the Democrats are no "lesser evil." And the labor bureaucrats, represented by the gang that gathers each year in Bal Harbour, have bogged the unions and are presiding over their destruction. It's by fighting to oust these misleaders and save the unions, by linking up with the ghettos and barrios, that a workers party will be built in the hard struggles that are necessary to sweep away this system of production for profit and to ensure that those who labor shall rule. ■

Economic Crash...

(continued from page 1)

underlying this seismic shift in world currency markets:

> "Traditionally, the issuer of the main currency has been a net international creditor, giving it a keen interest in low inflation and financial stability. America was the world's biggest creditor until the 1980s. But it is now the world's biggest debtor and so likelier to succumb to the temptation to let inflation nibble away at the real value of its debt, or to devalue in order to narrow its trade deficit."

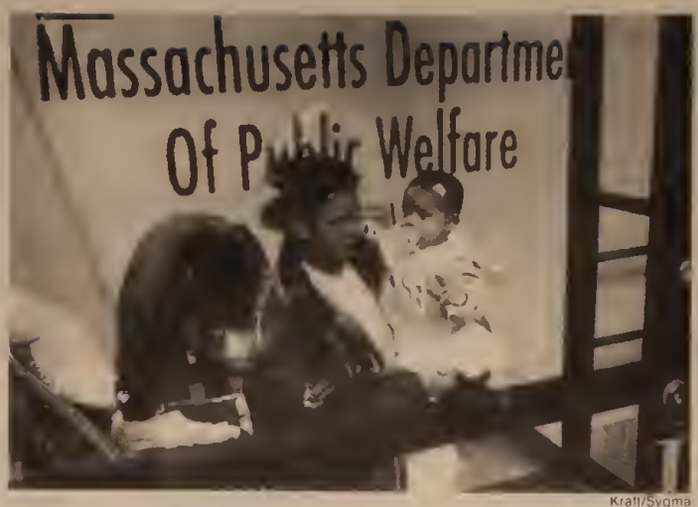
The *Economist* thus foresees a continuing movement out of the dollar and into the D-mark and yen, since even with its massive currency devaluation the U.S. is still running large balance of trade deficits.

Recognizing that "the dollar is a structurally weak currency," Wall Street financier Robert Hormats, formerly a trade official in the Reagan/Bush administrations, predicts it will "require higher and higher risk premiums" to get foreign moneymen to hold U.S. government and corporate securities, in other words maintaining higher real interest rates than in Japan and West Europe. And this means risking a financial crash and major depression, as the international financiers and capitalist governments are vividly aware.

The extreme volatility of international capital and currency markets is the financial manifestation of the "New World Disorder" following the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the destruction of the Soviet Union. From the U.S. to West Europe, from Latin America to East Asia, the "neoliberal" economic model of unbridled capitalism is the order of the day. With the onset of Cold War II against the Soviet Union in the early 1980s, Reagan's America and Thatcher's Britain launched a one-sided class war at home, aiming to gut the labor movement and slash social programs. The West European bourgeoisies are now following the same course, seeking to dismantle the social-democratic "welfare state."

Meanwhile, the Third World has been opened up to unrestricted exploitation by Western and Japanese imperialism. The Japanese are carving out a new version of the pre-World War II "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere" extending from South Korea to Indonesia. The entire region from Mexico to Argentina has become a captive market and subcontractor of corporate America. Thus the collapse of the Soviet Union has posed ever more starkly the basic postulates of Trotsky's theory and program of permanent revolution: that genuine national independence in backward countries is possible only through a proletarian revolution leading the peasant masses, *and* the extension of that revolution to the advanced capitalist, i.e., imperialist, countries.

As Trotsky wrote in *The Third International After Lenin* (1928), his fundamental critique of the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country": "The productive forces of *capitalist* countries have long since broken through the national boundaries. Socialist society, however, can be built only on the most advanced productive forces." This underlined, he stressed, the need for an international revolutionary party based on a program of *world* socialist revolution. "It is quite apparent that the sharp turns in the political situation in the course of one, two, or three years are not brought about by any changes in the basic economic factors, but by causes and impulses of a purely superstructural character, thereby indicating the extreme instability of the entire system.... Thence also flows the new significance of the party and the party leadership."



Kraft/Sygma

Gibson/AP

Worldwide capitalist assault on "welfare state"—in the U.S., Clinton vows to "end welfare as we know it," Gingrich and Republican-controlled Congress ax social programs.

Neoliberalism Comes to Neocolonial Latin America

The 1974-75 world slump marked a watershed in the postwar U.S. economy. American manufacturers suffered a sharp fall in profits indicating their weakened competitive position vis-à-vis their Japanese and German rivals. In response, American industrialists shifted operations to low-wage Third World countries while seeking to intensify the rate of exploitation at home through giveback union contracts, two-tier wage systems, runaway shops and outright union-busting. Real weekly earnings for production workers in this country *peaked in 1973*, and by 1993 had fallen to *81 percent* of their level two decades earlier. Hourly compensation (wages and benefits) in Germany last year was 70 percent above the level in U.S. manufacturing, while in Japan it was 20 percent higher.

At the same time, downsizing, retooling, longer working hours, speedup and the scrapping of union work rules has substantially increased output per worker. In order to translate their "leaner and meaner" manufacturing operations into higher profits, U.S. capitalists required expanded and stable access to world markets beginning with their Latin American "backyard."

The weak and dependent Latin American bourgeoisies, seeking to prevent their total domination at the hands of Yankee imperialism, have since the 1930s had recourse to nationalist-corporatist economic policies. Strategic sectors of the economy were state-owned. Domestic industry was protected by high tariffs and import licenses as part of an entire development strategy of import substitution. Foreign exchange transactions and short-term capital movements were subject to a wide array of controls, while various restrictions were placed on foreign-owned businesses. And this was true throughout the region, not just in countries with a tradition of national populism like Mexico, Argentina and Brazil.

El Norte

Zapatista peasant uprising in Chiapas against North American Free Trade Agreement shook U.S. imperialists. Washington and Wall Street demand suppression of revolt as part of Mexico bailout.

The Latin American debt crisis of the early and mid-1980s gave American imperialism the leverage to open up and then demolish these nationalist-corporatist structures. During this "lost decade" the entire region was deliberately depressed as Wall Street banks extracted tens of billions from Latin America's workers and peasants. At the same time, the retreat of Soviet power under Mikhail Gorbachev removed the one available counterweight to Yankee imperialism. Bourgeois-nationalist politicians in Mexico City or Lima, Peru were no longer able to strengthen their bargaining position vis-à-vis Washington and Wall Street by adopting a friendlier posture toward Moscow and Havana. The downfall of the radical nationalist Sandinista regime in Nicaragua in 1990 signaled the onset of the "New World Order" in Latin America.

At the economic level, a key role was played by the 1989 Brady plan, named after the then U.S. secretary of the treasury. Under this scheme, much of the region's short-term bank debt was restructured as long-term bonds guaranteed by the U.S. government. In this way Washington was able to impose neoliberal economics on the entire region from the Rio Grande to Cape Horn. Most of the state-owned sector was auctioned off and/or had their labor force cut to the bone. The workforce in Argentina's state railroads, for example, has been cut from 100,000 to 10,000 since 1991! Tariffs were slashed and import licenses no longer required for most products. Controls on foreign exchange dealings and capital movements were eliminated or greatly relaxed, as were restrictions on foreign-owned businesses.

Mexico and Argentina—formerly the two prime examples of nationalist corporatism in Latin America—now became the favored targets for takeovers by foreign multinationals. Between 1988 and 1992, direct foreign investment totaled $18 billion in Mexico (the third-largest amount in any Third World country) and $11 billion in Argentina. Such investment also created a captive market for American exports as U.S. multinationals in Latin America imported capital equipment, parts and goods-in-process from home. Capital goods and industrial materials and supplies account for over 60 percent of U.S. global exports.

Another factor contributing to the large and growing U.S. trade surplus with Latin America was the change in exchange-rate policy. Historically, the region has experienced a chronic cycle of inflation leading to currency devaluation, generating more inflation requiring further devaluations. With the declared aim of establishing strong monetary discipline, the neoliberal policymakers now tied the Mexican and Argentine peso, the Brazilian real, etc. to the dollar. Yet despite harsh austerity measures throughout the region, inflation rates remained far higher than in the U.S. Thus with their currencies fixed in terms of dollars, Mexican or Chilean goods became increasingly expensive in the North American market and U.S. goods ever cheaper in Latin America. And

AP

Economist

Cold statistics of peso's plummet translate into mass misery in Mexico. Since mid-December, Mexican currency has been devalued by 50 percent.

in Mexico, at least, this was a deliberate policy to win support for the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) by artificially fostering a U.S. export boom.

So it's scarcely surprising that last year Mexico and Argentina ran balance of trade deficits equal to almost 8 percent and 4 percent of their respective national outputs, while over 20 percent of all U.S. sales abroad went to Latin America. Just before the deluge last December, Clinton's commerce secretary, Ron Brown, exulted: "Latin America is booming, and we can't wait." But the U.S. export boom in Latin America was being *subsidized by short-term speculative capital* from New York and to a lesser extent London, Frankfurt and Tokyo. This kind of financial scam could not last forever or even for very long. It ended with a crash in late December.

While Washington officials and Wall Street bankers may prattle about the emergence of "democracy" and "free markets" in Latin America, they know that continuing to dominate and exploit this region is a harsh, dirty and hazardous business. In the working-class neighborhoods and slums of Mexico City, São Paulo and Buenos Aires, there exists a deep and abiding hatred for American imperialism. Even with the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, the men who run Wall Street remain nervous about popular unrest, militant anti-Yankee nationalism and social revolution in Latin America. That's why, at the slightest sign of trouble anywhere in the region, money is pulled back to the "safe havens" of New York, London, Frankfurt and Tokyo.

However, over the past half decade, U.S. capitalism has involved itself in the Mexican economy on a scale far too big to be written off. As *Business Week* (16 January) stated after the crash:

> "[T]here can be no turning away from the U.S. embrace of Mexico. The interests of U.S. government and business are at stake as never before. U.S. exports to Mexico are still an important part of American growth hopes. U.S. banks, retailers, manufacturers, investors, and oil companies all see Mexico as a crucial part of their international strategies....
> "Mexico's troubles are American troubles in a way that few could have foreseen a year ago."

And the troubles that Mexico can cause the American bourgeois order go far beyond the economic factors outlined by *Business Week*.

The long-ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) in Mexico, in power for more than six and a half decades, shows clear signs of being a decadent, tottering *ancien régime*. Witness the assassinations last year of the party's presidential candidate, Luis Donaldo Colosio, and its secretary general, José Francisco Ruiz Massieu, quite likely by rival factions and cliques. These are but the dramatic, surface manifestations of the PRI's disintegration under the crushing embrace of American imperialism.

The PRI's corporate state originated in the 1930s as the consolidation of the Mexican Revolution of 1910-17, which began as a bourgeois-democratic revolt and was embarking on the road of social revolution when its radical plebeian sectors were beheaded. Under the nationalist populist regime of General Lázaro Cárdenas, the economy was heavily statified and the working class and peasantry regimented by a huge, well-organized government bureaucracy. However, the massive inroads of American capital—at all levels—since the 1982 debt crisis have fatally undermined the nationalist-corporatist structure on which the PRI's political hegemony rests.

First NAFTA and now the conditions of Clinton's "rescue plan" strip away the last remnants of Mexican economic independence. The hard-currency revenues of the state-owned oil company, Pemex—which last year accounted for a quarter of Mexico's export income—will be placed in the Federal Reserve Bank of New York as collateral for the imperialist loans. This is a huge first step toward reversing Cárdenas' nationalization of the British and American oil companies in 1938. Newly elected PRI president Ernesto Zedillo stands more clearly exposed than his predecessors as nothing but the local political agent for Washington and Wall Street. Even right-wing *New York Times* columnist A. M. Rosenthal pointed out, "most Mexicans detest becoming wards of the U.S. or surrendering their oil as collateral. Maybe they will just go and have a revolution."

The Indian peasant rebels in the southern state of Chiapas look back to the heroes of the Mexican Revolution, taking as their banner the name Zapatista. Even in the days of Pancho Villa and Emiliano Zapata, the U.S. militarily intervened and was prepared to invade to crush the most radical elements of the revolution. A social revolution in Mexico today must necessarily base itself on the millions-strong proletariat. And even more than in Zapata's time, it would immediately face being crushed by Yankee imperialism through economic warfare and, if necessary, direct military intervention. In fact, the Clinton government is presently collaborating closely with the PRI regime in its attempts to suppress the Chiapas revolt.

At the same time, the prospects for extending revolutionary struggle in Mexico into the imperialist colossus to its north are greater than ever before. While all of Latin America was bled white by Wall Street banks during the 1980s, desperate, impoverished Mexican workers and peasants flooded into the U.S. looking for jobs. The Reagan/Bush administrations encouraged large-scale immigration—legal and illegal—to provide a pool of cheap labor. The Mexican proletariat has in a sense extended itself into the territorial boundaries of the United States, mainly in Texas and California.

These immigrant workers have brought with them the class-struggle traditions of Latin America. For the past several years, the Los Angeles area, with its large Mexican and Central American communities, has been the one consistent center of labor militancy in the U.S.

WV Photo

80,000 march in Los Angeles against anti-immigrant Prop. 187, October 1994. Latin American immigrants have brought militant traditions to workers' struggles in U.S., particularly Southern California.

Esparlaco

Mexico City demonstration against government repression in Chiapas, February 18. Dissident telephone workers' banner reads, "For Trade-Union Democracy Against the Bosses' Pact."

A popular upheaval in Mexico, toppling the neocolonial PRI regime, would have a powerfully radicalizing effect on the millions of Hispanic workers in the U.S., many of whom retain strong family ties to Mexico. To release this potential requires an *international revolutionary party* capable of liberating the Mexican working class from the shackles of nationalist corporatism and of breaking the stranglehold of the racist, pro-imperialist AFL-CIO bureaucracy over the American working class.

Wall Street's Contract On America

The Mexican crisis comes at a time when the American ruling class has launched a new, all-out offensive against the working class, the poor and the black and Hispanic communities. The declared aim of the Federal Reserve (the U.S. central bank) is to *prevent* the unemployment rate from falling in order to keep wages down. Deficit spending, which used to be held up as the accepted liberal Keynesian program to iron out the business cycle, is now viewed as the economic version of original sin. Literally so in the case of Christian fundamentalist powerbroker Pat Robertson. Social welfare programs are branded as morally degenerate in Washington's corridors of power.

The ballyhooed Republican "Contract With America" envisions a return to the unrestrained capitalism of the 1920s—trade unions decimated, no social safety nets, no regulatory agencies. Liberals and social democrats complain bitterly that since November's Congressional elections, Clinton has rolled over and played dead, allowing Republican demagogue Newt Gingrich to strut about like Washington's new führer. But the "Contract With America" is not just the Republican agenda. At its core it represents the current program of Wall Street financiers and Fortune 500 executives, whose interests Clinton serves no less than does Gingrich. It was Clinton, after all, who first called for "ending welfare as we know it." *Business Week* (23 January), which can usually tell the difference between political rhetoric and economic reality, clearly states what is happening in this country: "Much of the New Deal may be dismantled as both parties race to reshape Washington."

An old-fashioned, decent liberal like *New York Times* humorist Russell Baker sees the new GOP leaders motivated by naive ideological fervor, a kind of political madness. In an 11 March column entitled "Dreamers, Axes in Hand," he writes:

> "For the past 60 years Republicans have been saying the welfare state was destroying us, or would destroy us, and we'd better destroy it first, or else.
> "When their chances came, though, Republicans as formidable as Dwight Eisenhower, Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan always decided it was wiser to go on living with it.
> "Now the Newtites are at last doing their best to bring it down."

Derisively, Baker describes the Newtites as "sentimental romantics" who "seem to believe that once the welfare state is in ruins the good old days will resume."

Baker is posing a valid and important question but one for which he offers no rational and realistic answer. Why are the Republicans, who have been denouncing the "welfare state" ever since Roosevelt's New Deal in the 1930s, now actually intent on destroying it? And why are Democrats, though Baker doesn't mention this, moving in the same direction? The answer is to be found both at the level of international politics and at the level of international economics.

The "welfare state," such as it exists in the U.S., was established in the 1930s and augmented in the 1960s. These were the two periods of mass, militant struggles by workers and the oppressed against the existing American bourgeois order. When the Social Security Act was signed into law, tens of thousands of auto workers, electrical products workers, meatpackers, longshoremen, seamen, etc., looked to the Communist Party for leadership. When the 1960s "poverty programs" were launched, the Black Panther Party—which saw itself as the black American version of the Viet Cong—were running armed patrols in inner-city ghettos across the U.S.

With the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the destruction of the Soviet Union, the men who run Wall Street and the Fortune 500 corporations believe they can now do *anything* to the workers, the poor, the elderly, the black and Hispanic communities without the slightest danger of serious social turmoil, not to speak of revolution. Having witnessed its decades-long goal in the destruction of the Soviet Union, and having hattered the trade unions at home for more than a decade, the American

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Economic Crash...

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capitalist class believes the time has arrived to destroy Social Security and unemployment insurance, too. That is the political factor behind the *bipartisan* attack on the "welfare state."

The economic factor is that the U.S. government now has a $4.6 trillion debt. As Wall Street investment banker Peter G. Peterson, formerly secretary of commerce under Nixon, argues: "The borrowing that Washington must do to cover our huge deficits... threatens our future because it siphons off our already shallow pool of national savings into present government consumption instead of long-term private investment" (*Facing Up: How to Rescue the Economy from Crushing Debt and Restore the American Dream* [1993]). So the American capitalist class has a compelling economic reason to radically slash social programs, a reason it did not have prior to 1980.

That year Reagan was elected president promising to cut taxes by 30 percent, achieve strategic military superiority over the Soviet Union, not touch Social Security *and balance the budget*. This fantastical program was called "supply-side economics." Cutting taxes was supposed to stimulate an explosion of entrepreneurial energy and work effort, thereby vastly increasing national output. This, in turn, would restore total tax revenue to its former level.

Needless to say, things worked out rather differently. Reagan, as promised, did cut taxes, *but only for the rich*. He also kept his promise to the Pentagon, whose budget close to doubled between 1980 and 1985. The net result was that the federal budget deficit *tripled* in just five years, from $73 billion in 1980 to $221 billion in 1985. And the deficit would have been even greater except that the Social Security trust fund, which has always run a surplus, was *looted* to pay for everything from Star Wars to the burgeoning interest on the debt. Over the past decade and a half, by far the fastest growing component of the federal budget has been *interest on the debt*, which last year was 14 percent of all federal expenditures.

Wall Street financier Peterson expresses the concerns of the American imperialist bourgeoisie about the increasing financial and potential political leverage of the Japanese and Germans, who are now their creditors.

> "Great nations also do not remain great nations by putting their economic destinies into the hands of other countries whose own priorities may change—and in any case are different from theirs. Inevitably, the domestic economic policy of debtor nations comes to be dictated in the halls of foreign parliaments and the boardrooms of foreign central banks. Inevitably, the foreign policy of debtor nations... is also held hostage to the political agendas of creditor nations."

There is now a consensus among the U.S. ruling class that something radical must be done to cut government expenditure. American imperialism needs a strong military to police the world and, of course, interest on the debt is sacrosanct. So what's left? By West European standards, the so-called "welfare state" in the U.S. is a paltry affair. The only *economically significant* programs are Social Security pensions and Medicare benefits for the elderly, which together make up about a third of federal government expenditure.

In this sense racist demagogy about "promiscuous pregnancy" by black welfare mothers serves to disguise the budget cutters' main target. To begin with, almost 40 percent of families receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) are white. So white racists who call for doing away with welfare are also condemning millions of poor white women and their children to starve, freeze and live in the streets. At the level of government finance, even eliminating welfare entirely would scarcely make a dent in the budget deficit. Last year, benefits under the AFDC program amounted to $12 billion out of total federal government outlays of *$1.5 trillion*.

The attack on welfare is a prelude to slashing Social Security and Medicare. The balanced-budget amendment recently failed in the Senate when North Dakota Democrats voted against it expressly because the Republicans refused to exempt Social Security. Just as Clinton promised "to end welfare as we know it," so Gingrich states that the Republicans are going to "rethink Medicare from the ground up" (*New York Times*, 3 February). Whatever form this "rethinking" takes, it will mean cutting medical benefits for the elderly.

Tens of millions of people depend on these programs and have paid for them all their working lives. And slashing Social Security and Medicare affects not only the old. Who is going to let their parents and grandparents eat dog food, freeze in winter or be evicted from their homes if they can possibly help it? Taking an ax to Social Security and Medicare would cause many if not most working people to cut their own living standards to help elderly parents and other relatives survive.

For an Internationally Planned Socialist Economy

The U.S. ruling class wants to return to the "good old days" of the 1920s, with unregulated capital markets and low taxes. But the roaring '20s ended in October 1929 when the Wall Street stock market crash led to the worldwide Great Depression. This provoked political turmoil throughout the capitalist world. In Europe, the capitalists responded to the spectre of red revolution with the rise of fascism. In the wealthier and more stable United States, the leftward radicalization of the American working class was contained by Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal reforms. But it wasn't the New Deal that ended the Depression, it was the "War Deal"—beginning with massive armaments production and culminating in the imperialist slaughter of World War II.

Margaret Bourke-White

Boom-bust cycle of capitalism led to 1929 stock market crash, followed by the Great Depression. Above, bread line during the 1930s.

During 1928-29, capital from the U.S. and around the world flowed into New York's call-money market. These were funds that bankers lent to stockbrokers, who in turn lent them to their clients, thereby fueling the stock market boom. Soon the explosion of paper wealth lost all connection to the real economy. When the bubble burst, speculators could not repay the brokers, and the brokers could not repay their bankers. The liberal economist Charles Kindleberger describes the chain reaction leading from the stock market to the Great Depression:

> "The foreign capitalists and U.S. out-of-town banks and corporations who withdrew call money from the New York market caused large losses to individual investors, who in turn cut their spending. Firms that had counted on ready access to the New York stock and bond markets joined in the race for liquidity and cut their spending. Production fell sharply, and inventories were run off."
>
> —*The World in Depression, 1929-1939* (1986)

Similar mechanisms extended the depression worldwide. The volume of world trade collapsed, falling from $3 billion at the time of the Wall Street crash to $900 million in early 1933. The workings of the market were exacerbated by "beggar thy neighbor" trade policies such as the prohibitive 1931 Smoot-Hawley tariff in the U.S. and comparable measures in other capitalist countries. Such national protectionist trade barriers developed into full-scale trade wars, especially by the U.S. and Britain against Japan. As Japanese imperialism sought to carve out its own economic sphere, invading China and seeking to gain control of raw materials in Southeast Asia, the Western imperialists imposed an embargo on trade of scrap iron and later oil. Facing economic strangulation, Japan countered by attacking the U.S. fleet at Pearl Harbor in 1941, thereby precipitating U.S. entry into World War II.

Today, Clinton and the other imperialist leaders are promoting the virtues of "free trade" through extending the GATT tariff reductions. But underneath the rhetoric, Washington has allowed the dollar to be drastically devalued in comparison to the German D-mark and the Japanese yen. This competitive devaluation has a similar effect to outright protectionist measures. Moreover, Washington is still pushing "managed trade" with Japan—a polite term for quotas. The reality is one of growing *trade blocs*, with a U.S.-dominated Western Hemisphere and a German-dominated Europe, while in East Asia Japanese and American imperialism are vying for predominance.

The international financial chaos both reflects and intensifies these growing interimperialist rivalries. The present conditions of untrammeled global capital and currency markets, far from regulating themselves through what Ronald Reagan called the "magic of the marketplace" or Adam Smith referred to as the "hidden hand" of competition, in fact give free rein to financial speculators moving around $2 trillion in "hot money." Sooner or later, this will lead to a mammoth crash. Yet various governments' attempts to control these huge flows of money capital will necessarily express the conflicting imperialist interests. Witness the Europeans' clear displeasure at Clinton's strong-arming the International Monetary Fund to cough up $20 billion to "rescue" Mexico (in reality, U.S. banks and investors). Ultimately this points to a Fortress Europe, a Fortress North America and sharpening conflict over East Asia. It is a recipe for war.

Despite four years of economic "recovery" in the U.S. and in the midst of an upturn in West Europe, there are 40 million unemployed in the advanced capitalist countries. And from the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro to the slums of Bombay, hundreds of millions live in subhuman conditions. Imagine the impact of a worldwide financial crash, and/or all-out trade war among the major imperialist powers! For all the bourgeoisie's triumphalism about the supposed "death of communism," the situation cries out for an internationally planned socialist economy. But to achieve this requires workers revolutions, from industrialized Third World countries like South Africa, South Korea, Brazil and Mexico to the imperialist centers of Europe, North America and Japan.

The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, by expropriating the bourgeoisie and laying the basis for a planned economy, despite its subsequent bureaucratic degeneration under Stalin, enabled the Soviet Union to become a major industrial and military power. The Stalinist regimes of East Europe and the former Soviet Union, falsely labeled communist, collapsed precisely because their nationally limited program of building "socialism in one country" could not withstand the economic pressures of capitalist imperialism. What is needed is an authentically communist international party—a reforged Fourth International based on Lenin and Trotsky's program of world socialist revolution—that is capable of breaking the stranglehold of the reformists and bourgeois-nationalists who bind the exploited and oppressed to the bloodsuckers of Wall Street, Frankfurt and Tokyo. ■

Black D.C. ...

(continued from page 10)

bas historically treated D.C.'s working-class population with contempt, the reality is that black labor is needed to keep the capital running. And to help ensure "labor peace" there are plenty of laws forbidding public employee strikes... and a pliant labor bureaucracy beholden to the Democrats.

While union leaders are accepting the cuts with barely a whimper, raucous protests have been coming from city cops. On March 7, hundreds of cops waving signs and handcuffs disrupted a city council meeting, dispersing only when a Fraternal Order of Police official gave the signal. This ominous display of police bonapartism, with the cops demanding no cut in pay for their "work" of terrorizing the black masses and clamping down on unions, shows dramatically that the police have no business in the labor movement—they are the racist hired thugs of the capitalists.

Washington, D.C. was created by the Southern slavocracy to remove "their" capital from the influence of the urban masses. To the imperialist rulers, the fact that D.C. is today overwhelmingly black is a big problem. They get around this by denying the city's population the most elementary democratic rights, while appointing black front men to enforce their rule. Now the Southern yuppie racists running the White House and the Capitol want to "make an example" of black D.C. To sweep out the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties which arrogantly trample on the subjugated black population requires building a multiracial workers party. Such a revolutionary leadership would link the dispossessed and disenfranchised with the social power of the international working class, in the fight to *finish the Civil War*—through socialist revolution! ■

Hallinan...

(continued from page 3)

the Justice Department has just taken the case to the Supreme Court.

"Fort Reno"

Leslie Anthony White, the U.S. attorney who masterminded the conspiracy against Patrick Hallinan, is an ex-highway patrolman, an ex-FBI agent and ex-district attorney who likes to call his office "Fort Reno." He is living proof of what Vincent Hallinan wrote in his autobiography: "In dealing with many agents of the U.S. Government you must assume, until the contrary is completely established, that these representatives might commit felonies, suborn perjury, conceal evidence, bribe witnesses, intimidate jurors, convey information to judges, and otherwise engage in practices which would be the cause for disbarment or imprisonment for a private attorney."

In 1989, with the assistance of the Organized Drug Enforcement Task Force, White broke a West Coast marijuana smuggling ring headed by Hallinan client Ciro Mancuso. Mancuso had parlayed his drug wealth into considerable real estate holdings and social respectability in the Lake Tahoe area. After the feds indicted Mancuso's wife, Hallinan negotiated a plea bargain in which Mancuso pleaded guilty to charges of criminal enterprise and tax evasion in return for cooperation with the government (and the dropping of charges against his wife). Facing a mandatory sentence of ten years to life, Mancuso fired Hallinan. Then he and his co-smugglers agreed to testify that Hallinan essentially acted as their *consigliere*, supposedly integral to their money-laundering operations. "With the jail terms these guys faced, they'd have sold out their own mothers if necessary," said the only ring member who managed to flee the country.

But it was a sweet deal for Hallinan's accusers, amounting to blatant (and legal) witness bribing. After only 15 months in the county jail, Mancuso was released and allowed to consort freely with the other convicted members of his smuggling ring, refining their stories of Hallinan's complicity. Contrary to their usual practice of arbitrarily seizing all assets of *accused* (not even convicted) drug offenders, in part to prevent them from obtaining adequate legal counsel, the cops allowed Mancuso to keep $4 million of the $6.3 million in assets they originally seized, and even to keep a handgun for self-defense! Shortly before Hallinan's arrest, they rewarded Mancuso with a windsurfing vacation in Hawaii.

On the eve of the trial, the feds sent Mancuso to Mexico where he was allowed to meet with a former drug crony who miraculously produced a property transfer document allegedly implicating Hallinan in money laundering. Hallinan's lawyer, John Keker, who won his reputation cross-examining Oliver North during the Contragate hearings, strenuously objected when the prosecution tried to introduce the document, which by standard Mexican banking practices should have been destroyed after ten years—i.e., two years before the start of the trial. The document was disallowed.

It all came down to the believability of Mancuso and his buddies. Even the judge said he found Mancuso's testimony "incredible." So did the jury drawn from the rolls of registered voters in conservative Nevada's Washoe County.

That Reno jury did us all a service by throwing out the government's fabricated charges against Patrick Hallinan. But to a certain extent the feds achieved their broader purpose: intimidation. Any defense attorney with a major drug client now has to worry that the government will use the case to come after *him*. Fending off this frame-up took almost two years of Hallinan's life—during which his own legal practice came to a grinding halt. It was an enormous financial burden, to say nothing of the emotional strain on him and his family. And the real criminals here—the U.S. Justice Department, Drug Enforcement Agency and White's "Fort Reno"—are immune from charges of wrongful prosecution.

The seemingly demented social values that have caused the capitalist state to increase the money spent on drug control by *760 percent* since 1981, more than tripling the prison population, find their logic in the politics of class rule. The racist "war on drugs" goes along with the transformation of the inner-city black population from a reserve pool of unskilled labor into a permanently unemployed "surplus" population—those not wasted by poverty and disease have to be terrorized into accepting their fate. The vastly augmented apparatus of state repression is aimed at regimenting the entire population in the face of declining living standards.

It's going to take some hard-fought working-class struggle, like the general strikes which rocked San Francisco, Minneapolis and Toledo in 1934, to change the social climate in this country. When that class upsurge comes, it had better not be channeled back into the dead end of a popular-front coalition with the Democrats or some new bourgeois third party, as the Stalinists did in the 1930s and '40s. That would simply stabilize bourgeois rule, laying the basis for later assaults on what was won. Through a future working-class upsurge, a revolutionary workers party must be forged which can lead the fight for socialist revolution. Otherwise the capitalist class is going to drag human civilization into oblivion. ■

Jamal...

(continued from page 6)

suppress evidence. They don't lie. And the same presumption applies to the prosecution. My case, among others like Jamal's, has shown that this blind trust in law enforcement is not always warranted.

In my case, the federal courts ruled that the county prosecutors had resorted to deception and appeals to racism to get their convictions, and that that was the only way they got their convictions. But it didn't matter what the federal court said. These guys are immune from the consequences of their actions. In fact, they've all been promoted! Hmmm. Crime *does* pay.

If we are interested in fighting crime, let's not overlook the obvious. There's a certain class of criminal that's going undetected in our midst. I'm talking about those who are sworn to uphold the law, and who knowingly send innocent people to prison. What are they, if not criminal? Sending an innocent person to prison is what else if not kidnapping, forcible confinement and torture? And in capital cases such as Jamal's, conspiracy to commit murder.

In the past 20 years, according to a recent Congressional study, no less than 48 people have been released from prison after serving time on death row for crimes they did not commit. We don't know how many innocent people have been executed in North America. Because the United States, alone among Western industrialized nations, insists upon maintaining the anachronism of the death penalty. I mean, hell, they even kill children and retarded adults.

In 1966 I was at the peak of my career, a professional prizefighter about to fight for the middleweight crown, for the championship of the world. And the next thing I knew, I was fighting for my very life, on trial in criminal court. I was accused of murdering three people in a New Jersey bar.

The state sought the death penalty. The odds of my being alive today were not exactly in my favor. There were three murder victims; all of them were white. The jury was all white. The judge, the police, the state's witnesses and the prosecutors were all white. I heard the jury foreman pronounce me guilty. I thought to myself, "My god, the electric chair." But here I am, free and alive. Able to lend my voice to yours and demand justice for another.

So don't tell me that we can't do it. Don't tell me that juggernauts can't be stopped. Don't tell me Jamal won't be walking out that prison door, rather than being carried out. Don't tell me the truth can't set you free. I know better, I know better, and you better know better too. ■

Stand By for Emergency Demos!

THE CAMPAIGN IS AT A CRITICAL POINT—YOU CAN HELP! At any moment, Pennsylvania's pro-death penalty governor, Tom Ridge, could sign Mumia Abu-Jamal's death warrant. Ridge has already signed warrants dooming three prisoners to death, and the state's first execution in 30 years is set to take place next month. Jamal is in imminent danger—if a warrant is signed, emergency demonstrations will be held the next day in New York City and elsewhere. Get on the Partisan Defense Committee phone tree and help organize to make these urgent demonstrations the loudest possible outcry against the racist death penalty!

Worldwide rallies for Jamal in Europe, the United States, Canada, Mexico, Japan and Australia have brought out numerous death penalty opponents, including trade unionists, anti-racist activists and students. In Britain, 44 Members of Parliament have endorsed a motion, introduced on March 1, denouncing the death penalty as "barbaric" and calling on Ridge not to sign a warrant for Jamal's execution out of "concern that a serious miscarriage of justice took place in his conviction." But these are only the first steps to mobilizing the mass campaign of protest needed to save Jamal's life and abolish the death penalty.

Join the campaign: take petitions, ask your friends, neighbors and co-workers to sign and get involved. Organize a showing in your union, community group, church or school of the PDC video, *From Death Row: This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*. Send letters and get Jamal's powerful columns into your local newspapers, school or union newsletters; raise motions in your union or at your school to send a letter to Governor Ridge demanding "Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!" For information on how you can join the campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 406-4252.

SEND $$$ FOR JAMAL LEGAL DEFENSE NOW! Funds are urgently needed to wage the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal's life. All money being raised through these rallies and forums organized by the Partisan Defense Committee goes directly to Jamal's legal defense. Since February 9, over $14,000 has been collected or pledged. More is needed now! Jamal's legal team initiated the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, co-chaired by actors Ossie Davis and Mike Farrell, to help raise funds. Make out your tax-deductible contribution for the defense to: Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and send it to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. ■

No Room for Racism

The following letter from the Partisan Defense Committee was sent on March 20

National People's Democratic
Uhuru Movement
Chicago, IL 60609

Dear NPDUM:

The Partisan Defense Committee stands firmly for the principle that there is no room for racism in a rally against the racist death penalty. For this reason, the PDC refused to provide space for the NPDUM to set up a literature table at the March 4 Chicago rally to "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" held inside the United Electrical Workers union hall. NPDUM literature for Fred Hampton Jr. defense activities is littered with anti-Asian bigotry and slurs about the "oppressive presence" of "parasitic Korean merchants." Fred Hampton Jr. was charged with firebombing two Korean-owned shops, the NPDUM "defends" Fred Hampton Jr. by fulminating that "He didn't do it but he should'a." The NPDUM unfurled a banner with this vile slogan at an airing of Jamal audiotapes at the Northeastern Illinois University campus last September 16. Buying into the racism of the ruling class and their "divide and conquer" pitting of one oppressed minority against another has no place in any genuine freedom struggle. To do so would stain the banners of the *international* campaign on behalf of Mumia Abu-Jamal—which includes supporters in Asia and a recent rally in Tokyo. The PDC will not legitimize a program of *racism*.

NPDUM supporters passed out literature before and after the March 4 Chicago rally, attended the event, and spoke without any interference during the open mike period of the rally. Your speaker falsely charged that the NPDUM was "denied the privilege... to distribute literature on Fred Hampton Jr. here at this event," saying this was "an attack identical to that of the oppressor." In fact it is the oppressor—the U.S. capitalist state—that is leading the charge today against Asian, African and Latino immigrants as part of its racist offensive against blacks and all working people. Asians have been on the brutal receiving end of some of the most heinous crimes of U.S. imperialism, from the atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, *to the devastation of the Korean War*, to the bloody war against the heroic Vietnamese people. When rally chairman Mark Kelly stated that "we do not stand for any racial slurs against *any* group," NPDUM supporters stood up and began to shout, preventing the next speaker from being heard. As the disrupters were escorted out of the building, one NPDUM supporter denounced Mumia's supporters with the disgusting anti-Asian slur, "rice eaters."

The Partisan Defense Committee believes in and carries out non-sectarian *united-front* defense work. We reject the school of "coalition politics" in which all dissenting views are suppressed—indeed our actions unite the broadest possible spectrum of people together for a common cause while encouraging full, open and spirited political debate. Thus this March 4 rally was co-sponsored by the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, and groups as diverse as the Friends of Irish Freedom, the Black Panther newspaper, Operation PUSH, and Refuse and Resist—to name but a few—actively participated. There was no place for the anti-Asian bigotry pushed by the NPDUM. Indeed, there is no place for it in any struggle for human progress, and it is deadly poison to the cause of black liberation. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

New York: CUNY, SUNY Under the Gun

Students and Labor: Unite to Stop the Budget Ax!

Young Spartacus

Thousands-strong demonstration stepping off from Borough of Manhattan Community College, March 15. Spartacus Youth Club banner calls for class-struggle fight against cutbacks and layoffs.

Break with the Democrats! Build a Workers Party!

New York governor George Pataki and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani—agents of Wall Street rule—plan tuition hikes and cutbacks to consign a layer of working-class students and minorities to the scrap heap. Thousands of youth throughout New York are taking to the streets to tell the budget ax-wielders that *the bosses and politicians are the trash that needs taking out.*

On March 23, high-school and college students, faculty and workers will march through lower Manhattan with thousands of others opposed to these attacks as part of a citywide student strike. The New York Spartacus Youth Club is mobilizing a contingent of youth against the cuts and fighting for students to ally with labor to win. Even *a one-day citywide strike of students united with labor* would do more than any mass student demonstration on its own. Labor has the power to take on the bosses behind the budget ax by shutting down New York, the center of international finance capital. As one popular chant put it: "Turn up the heat! Shut down Wall Street!"

It's the Wall Street financiers and greedy corporate bosses who are steamrolling the working class, minorities and students with cuts that threaten their very survival. The budget massacre in New York City will slash a staggering $2.7 billion in vital social services, on top of a massive $2 billion in cuts against welfare and Medicaid by the state government. Up to 80,000 health care workers face layoffs. The Pataki plan calls for chopping 25.7 percent of state revenues to CUNY, 31.5 percent cut in revenues to SUNY and major cuts in the tuition assistance program. As many as eight campuses statewide would be merged or closed and hundreds of programs eliminated. A quarter of the full-time faculty would be laid off and students would be asked to ante up an additional $1,000! Tuition at CUNY, which used to be free, would rise by more than 41 percent from $2,450, the single largest jump in the university's history.

These attacks are a deliberate *racist purge* of CUNY (the City University of New York) and SUNY (the state university system). The majority of the CUNY system are black and Hispanic students. CUNY has historically been the place where working-class and immigrant youth got an education to get a leg up on the job market. The cuts would knife a score of programs meant to assist minority students horribly disadvantaged by the cruel miseducation in public schools. The dream of a college diploma is already out of reach for thousands of inner-city youth locked in crumbling, prison-like public schools. With more than 40 percent of CUNY students already working full-time to attend school, the right to an education would clearly become a privilege for an elite few.

Across the country, amid a racist backlash against affirmative action, black people are fast becoming missing persons on college campuses. To open up education to working-class and minority youth, the Spartacus Youth Clubs fight for open admissions, no tuition, and a living stipend for all students. The private bastions of race and class privilege, like Columbia and New York University, should be nationalized! Against illusions in the university administration, the SYCs say students, workers and faculty should control the universities. Abolish the board of trustees!

Young Spartacus

Don't Beg the Democrats! Build a Workers Party!

Right-wing Republicans Giuliani and Pataki are the main targets of this latest round of student militancy. But activists should bitterly remember the 1990-91 struggles against tuition hikes at CUNY, when liberal Democratic mayor David Dinkins and Governor Mario Cuomo laid off city workers, closed clinics, schools and libraries and put thousands more cops on the streets. Under Dinkins, students at over a dozen campuses occupied buildings and marched by the thousands for three weeks, pushing it to the limit within the confines of student militancy. But they were isolated as the labor leaders made empty speeches about "solidarity" yet failed to back up the students with any concrete strike action in defense of jobs, social services or education. In the face of cop attacks, threats of expulsion and suspension, the students were forced to retreat. Yet yesterday's budget ax-wielder, Dinkins, was welcomed as a close ally of students at a City College rally on March 15. This is obscene! Lobbying bourgeois officials in or out of office is a strategy for defeat.

The Dinkins/Cuomo cutbacks paved the way for today's more vicious assault. Like Clinton's yuppie racist "New" Democrats, who went out of their way to spit on the party's traditional black and labor constituencies, Dinkins and Cuomo opened up the field for a rout by New York's more openly racist Republican right. There's a lesson missing from schoolbooks: *the Democrats, as well as the Republicans, are enemies of poor and working-class people.* From the Clinton White House on down, both capitalist parties share the program of gutting social services, busting up unions and rolling back any gains made for black rights. We need a new type of leadership, a class-struggle workers party that champions all the oppressed!

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 620

7 April 1995

Attack on Blacks, Immigrants, Women

Defeat Racist Assault on Affirmative Action!

Riding high after the right-wing victory in the November elections, reactionary forces are mounting an offensive against affirmative action programs for minorities and women in jobs and education. A bill outlawing "racial preferences" in business has been introduced in Congress. In June, the U.S. Supreme Court is expected to rule against policies favoring companies owned by women and minorities in government contracts.

The focal point of the drive against affirmative action is California, which last fall served as a springboard for an escalating racist crusade against immigrants with the passage of Proposition 187 denying education and health care to "illegal aliens." We warned at the time that "immigrant-bashing and anti-black racism go hand in hand," denouncing sinister nativist appeals aimed at lining up the impoverished black masses, desperate for scarce jobs and social services, behind the assault on Latinos and immigrants (see "Down with Prop 187! Mobilize California Labor to Smash Anti-Immigrant Racism!" *WV* No. 608, 14 October 1994).

Today, the same racist forces which pushed through Prop. 187 are spearheading the drive to put women, blacks and other minorities "back in their place." After being re-elected on the wave of support for Prop. 187, California governor Pete Wilson now seeks to catapult himself into the 1996 Republican presidential nomination by becoming the standard-bearer for the attack on affirmative action. Wilson is pushing a measure, cynically called the California Civil Rights Initiative, to end preferential guidelines in education and state jobs. Competing with Wilson, fellow Republican presidential hopeful and Senate majority leader Bob Dole rants that "the race-counting game has gone too far" and that white men should not continue "paying a price" for black slavery. And the Clinton White House, seeking to shore up the Democrats' racist flank, is calling for a "review" of federal affirmative action programs.

The California initiative was drawn up by two obscure, supposedly apolitical academics, Glynn Custred and Tom Wood, who wanted, in Wood's words, to "end affirmative action as we know it." In fact, the two have a record of activism in reactionary causes. Wood heads the California branch of the National Association of Scholars, which was co-founded by Custred and is tied to right-wing groups like the Heritage Foundation. This "scholars" outfit has made a name for itself by fighting to eliminate racial and sexual harassment codes. Custred has also been active in the chauvinist campaign against bilingual education and calls for limiting remedial programs.

Racist organizations that earlier campaigned for Prop. 187 are now rallying behind the new racist initiative, which has been dubbed "Son of 187." In addition to Ross Perot's "United We Stand America" and the Christian Coalition led by the sinister anti-Semitic bigot Pat Robertson, these include the San Fernando Valley "Voice of Citizens Together," whose president rails, "People are abusing our civil-rights laws to support an agenda of redomination and conquest by Mexican irredentists. This will help put a stop to the invasion from Mexico" (*LA Weekly*, 3-9 March).

A particular target of right-wing forces is "preferential admissions" programs which have allowed relatively small numbers of black and Hispanic students to overcome discriminatory barriers which have kept them out of colleges and universities. The attack on affirmative action also complements the reactionary "family values" drive against women's rights. While "right to life" terrorists murder abortion providers and bomb clinics, the right wing is also going after women's advances in the workplace and managerial/professional positions. But targeting women could prove to be a two-edged sword. Clinton won the 1992 election largely on the strength of women's votes, while Bush desperately sought to distance his candidacy from the anti-abortion fanatics on the Republican right wing.

Nationwide, opposition to affirmative action is becoming the new rallying cry for the racist drive to roll back the minimal gains that grew out of the fight for black equality in the civil rights movement. School integration through busing has long been a dead letter. Now, bandying about absurd charges of "reverse discrimination," the racist reactionaries are cynically using the language of "civil rights" to tear up even the most token measures addressing real, historic and continuing discrimination against women, blacks and Hispanics. This is part and parcel of the bipartisan war on minorities and the poor, which ranges from decimation of social welfare programs to the speedup on death row.

"Reverse discrimination" against white males is a myth, fabricated out of the whole cloth: between 1990 and 1994, only 100 of more than 3,000 discrimination cases before the courts claimed white men as victims of preferential treatment of minorities and women, and only six of those complaints were found to be valid. What is really going on here is a racist ideological offensive against minorities. Blacks in the inner cities are portrayed as indolent "welfare queens" who are costing "the hard-working middle class" a lot of tax dollars. Blacks who have made it out of the ghetto are now portrayed as unfairly getting jobs or college admissions at the expense of whites. The purpose of all this is the further impoverishment and oppression of the entire working class—no jobs, no social programs, no nothing for no one. When they're lambasting "welfare" in the name of "balancing the budget," they're also going after Social Security. And these attacks are a *bipartisan* policy.

The liberal-led civil rights movement of the 1950s and '60s shattered Jim Crow segregation in the South, gaining formal legal equality for blacks. But in refusing to challenge the capitalist profit system itself, it could do nothing to tackle the economic bedrock of racial oppression in jobs, education and housing. Affirmative action programs were set up as a sop to defuse social struggle and in order to create and co-opt a layer of black middle-class professionals. But these paltry, tokenistic efforts never made a dent in the deep-seated oppression of the black ghetto masses, whose condition has continued to deteriorate over the past few decades. And today the liberals cannot defend these measures which they instituted in the first place, because they have nothing to offer the working class, white or black, and besides, they can't square them with their ideology of meritocracy and abstract "democracy." The stark fact is that there is no way to overcome entrenched racial and sexual

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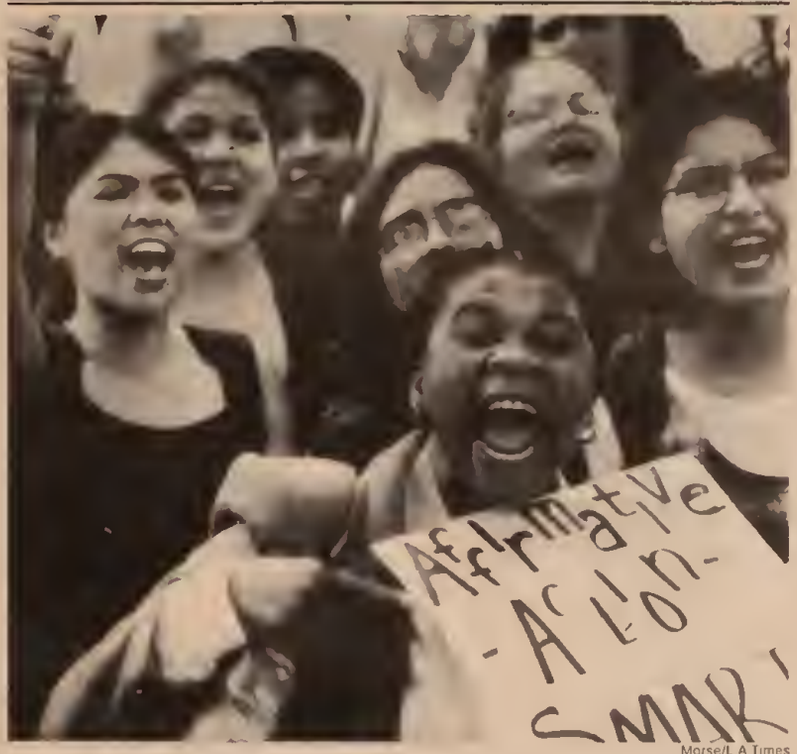
Jobs, Free Quality Education for All!



Morse/L.A. Times

UCLA students demonstrate March 16 in defense of affirmative action against right-wing assault on women, minorities.

Protest Outrageous Slanders Against Trotskyists in Moscow!

SEE PAGE 3

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Italy: Militant Protest Wins Release of Immigrant Workers

Milano: 250 anti-racist militants mass outside police station February 25, demanding freedom for three arrested immigrants.

S. Magalli

The following is excerpted from a leaflet by our comrades of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I) recounting a mobilization they initiated that rescued immigrant demonstrators from the clutches of the police.

We salute the 250 determined immigrants, trade-union members and young anti-racist demonstrators who militantly and defiantly protested in front of a police station in Milano on the night of February 24-25 and won the release of three immigrant comrades who were provocatively stopped and detained by the police.

Around midnight, five buses of anti-racist demonstrators organized by the Camera del Lavoro (local labor council) were set to leave for the national anti-racist demonstration in Rome the following day when police at Stazione Garibaldi arrested three immigrant comrades among the demonstrators with the usual excuse that they "didn't have the proper documents." As soon as members of the LTd'I heard that the police had detained these comrades, we went to the organizers of the buses from the Camera del Lavoro to insist that we must organize a protest and the buses absolutely must not leave until these comrades were set free by the police. We ran up against the indifference and sabotage of various organizers who claimed that they were "too busy preparing the departure for Rome" or that this was "a police matter."

Only the intervention of our comrades, who went into all five of the buses to motivate an action, prevented this sabotage from happening. We told everybody that we were organizing a protest and insisted that "the buses must not move until these comrades are liberated." Within ten minutes all 250 people gathered in front of the police station in Stazione Garibaldi to demand the release of the three comrades. Our chants of "Set them free!" "Let them go!" and "Out!" were immediately taken up by much of the crowd.

At this point—feeling the pressure of 250 angry, integrated demonstrators and faced with the fact that the buses weren't going to leave—Franco Grisolia, leader of the International Trotskyist Opposition (ITO) and a leader of Rifondazione Comunista (RC), who hadn't taken the initiative to organize or fight for the protest, went inside the police station to bargain with the police along with other trade-union bureaucrats.

One of the organizers came out of the police station and announced that the three would be released in ten minutes, and so "everybody should stop making such a racket and go back to the buses." A political struggle again broke out between some of the organizers and us, along with several others, who defiantly insisted that we must stay. At the end, very few people left and some who had left returned to the protest. Sympathetic railroad workers came over to see what was going on and voiced their disapproval of the arrests.

After an hour of militant protest the police finally let the three comrades go. They were hugged by the crowd and greeted with general applause for this anti-racist victory. The crowd then marched intact to the buses yelling anti-racist slogans and left for Rome together.

The bourgeoisie is mounting a racist campaign to scapegoat immigrants for the rising unemployment and evident decay of capitalism. This campaign is a part of the bourgeoisie's overall offensive against the working class as a whole. The fight against racial oppression is a *class* question and an inseparable part of the class-struggle fight against capitalism. Karl Marx noted that "labor can not emancipate itself in the white skin when in the black it is branded."

Part of the fight against racial oppression must be all-out class struggle to *organize the unorganized*, including those who are forced to work under the watchful eye of overseers with their rifles in the fields, and those who are forced to work without contracts and "illegally." It also means a fight for *full*

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Permanent Revolution in Mexico and U.S. Imperialism

TROTSKY

LENIN

The imposition of the North American Free Trade Agreement and the recent financial crash and savage austerity program imposed by Wall Street and Washington have stripped away the last remnants of Mexico's economic independence. Whole sections of Mexican industry, particularly in the foreign-owned maquiladora *("free trade") plants along the border, produce exclusively for the U.S. market. At the same time, immigrants from Mexico and Central America have become an increasingly important component of the working class within the United States. Writing from his Mexican exile, Leon Trotsky emphasized that the countries of Latin America can liberate themselves from foreign subjugation and economic backwardness only through proletarian revolution and its extension to the imperialist colossus to the north.*

The theses of the Fourth International state:

> "South and Central America will be able to tear themselves out of backwardness and enslavement only by uniting all their states into one powerful federation. But it is not the belated South American bourgeoisie, a thoroughly venal agency of foreign imperialism, who will be called upon to solve this task, but the young South American proletariat, the chosen leader of the oppressed masses. The slogan in the struggle against violence and intrigues of world imperialism and against the bloody work of native comprador cliques is therefore: the *Soviet United States of South and Central America*."

Written six years ago, these lines have now acquired a particularly burning actuality. Only under its own revolutionary direction is the proletariat of the colonies and the semicolonies capable of achieving invincible collaboration with the proletariat of the metropolitan centers, and with the world working class as a whole. Only this collaboration can lead the oppressed peoples to complete and final emancipation, through the overthrow of imperialism the world over. A victory of the international proletariat will deliver the colonial countries from the long-drawn-out travail of capitalist development, by opening up the possibility of arriving at socialism hand in hand with the proletariat of the advanced countries.

The perspective of the permanent revolution in no case signifies that the backward countries must await the signal from the advanced ones, or that the colonial peoples should patiently wait for the proletariat of the metropolitan centers to free them. Help comes to him who helps himself. Workers must develop the revolutionary struggle in every country, colonial or imperialist, where favorable conditions have been established, and through this set an example for the workers of other countries. Only initiative and activity, resoluteness and boldness can really materialize the slogan "Workers of the world, unite!"

—Leon Trotsky, "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution" (May 1940)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

The closing date for news in this issue is April 4.

No. 620 **7 April 1995**

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club Regional Educationals

Class Against Class: Communist Defense Work in America

Also including:

Video Showing: *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*

Workshops, Report on International Protests and Campaign for Jamal

Black and Red

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Reviving Stalin's Smears in the Service of Impoverishing the Working People

Protest Outrageous Slanders Against Trotskyists in Moscow!

In response to the ominous slanders by Ukrainian authorities against our Trotskyist organization aired on Russian TV, the Internatinnal Communist League is holding protests outside Ukrainian government offices, in New York on Wednesday, April 5; in Chicago, Berlin, London and Toronto nn April 6; and in Melbourne on April 7. A protest will also be held in Paris.

The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) in Moscow vigorously protests the outrageous slanders against our Trotskyist organization. On Saturday evening, April 1, a broadcast was aired on the *Vremya* news program with the lurid opening, "The overthrow of the government in the Ukraine was planned by four ideological Trotskyists representing the International Communist League." The broadcast claimed that supporters of the ICL had been banned from visiting the Ukraine. A two-year-nld photograph of some of our supporters, taken at a birthday party in Moscow, was shown on the air. This photograph was somehow secured by the authorities, surreptitiously and unlawfully. Also shown was an array of our literature, openly published and distributed to working people throughout the former Soviet Union for several years now. This, then, is supposed to be the evidence of a secretive conspiracy for the overthrow of the Ukrainian government, by *four people*, no less, none of whom even resides in the Ukraine!

We are not surprised by the recourse to such revolting techniques. To get an idea of these crude methods, we urge those who have doubts to read the 1925 book by Victor Serge (Viktor Lvovich Kibalchich), *What Every Revolutionist Should Know About State Repression*. Marxists, who rely on the open and conscious mobilization of the workers and oppressed, are again accused of "conspiratorial terrorism" and "violence" by the very regimes which practice real conspiracies, terrorism and violence in the service of the gangs of new exploiters in power. In the guise of even-handed combat against all "extremism," *the current authorities are in fact preparing to crack down on all working-class militancy and leftist dissent*. That is the meaning of the current vile campaign against the International Communist League.

We have for some time clearly been subjected to the most invasive surveillance and police attention. Those Russian and Ukrainian youth who have expressed interest in our literature and political views have been subjected to harassment, interrogation and threats. Three years ago, on 9 February 1992 our beloved comrade Martha Phillips was murdered in Moscow in the prime of her life in sinister and mysterious circumstances. Despite repeated and vigorous appeals and demands by ourselves and others on various police agencies in Moscow to pursue an investigation into this heinous crime, the authorities responded with indifferent sloth and crude arrogance. We demand the reopening of the investigation into the murder of Martha Phillips, *with particular emphasis on the role of the security agencies*. In this regard, we recall the recent assassination of a journalist who was investigating charges of corruption within the Russian military.

What is behind the *Vremya* broadcast? And what is behind the intricate, time-consuming and unlawful attention which the security services both in Russia and in the Ukraine, undoubtedly in collusion, devote to tiny handfuls of internationalist fighters for the cause of the working class? What is behind such spurious and outlandish smears, even as thousands of innocent people are killed and sent to their deaths in an unwanted and criminal war in Chechnya? And even as disease, hunger and poverty claim the lives of uncounted numbers of children and elderly throughout the land? Apparently, the capitalist authorities are haunted by the spectre of our Trotskyist program, which corresponds to the real interests of the overwhelming masses of dispossessed and impoverished working people. Our aim is the reconstitution of the working class as a class capable of taking power through struggle and organization throughout the former Soviet regions.

The urgent social and political discontents of the peoples of the former Soviet Union are being falsely converted into a monumentally microscopic conspiracy. This smells of security organs that have decomposed to the point of dementia. Let us all recall that the people, unnamed and unknown, who manufacture and publicize such slanders were trained in the Stalin school of falsification. Let us all recall that a hallmark of the notorious purge "trials" of the 1930s—which led to the deaths of millions—was outlandish and utterly unfounded accusations against the closest comrades in arms of V.I. Lenin. To the day of his death, L.D. Trotsky stood for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against all imperialist powers and all the internal "fifth columns" seeking to foment counterrevolution. Yet in those dark years Trotsky, founder of the Soviet Army and a cofounder of the Soviet state, a man who was a lifelong revolutionist of international renown and proven integrity, was vilely slandered as an agent of the Japanese Mikado, the Nazi Gestapo and the French Deuxième Bureau. Let us all recall that the smears against Trotsky were a prelude to his murder at the hands of Stalin's assassins.

We have also been told that, in a similar fashion, the authorities of the capitalist Ukrainian state are today circulating allegations that ICL supporters are "CIA agents." We view these lying charges with complete contempt. If the Kiev authorities entertained the slightest belief that our comrades were CIA agents, they would have given us the keys to the city and bestowed on us all the favors at their command, in the hope of reciprocal largesse from those they look to in Washington and Wall Street. Those who only recently were Stalin's political and bureaucratic heirs presided over the collapse of the Soviet Union, and many of them now hope to be greedy capitalist exploiters in the new capitalist order. We Trotskyists, in contrast, openly called on the working class to resist Yeltsin's pro-imperialist coup in August 1991, which led to the restoration of capitalism.

We are compelled, but also eager, to reply to the slanderous and ludicrous notion that four Marxists were plotting the overthrow of the government of the Ukraine; only a fool or a madman could entertain such ridiculous fantasies. The sense of reality revealed in this report is about on a par with the UFO spotters who see a flash of light in the sky and posit a Martian invasion which will destroy the earth. It is our opinion that, unfortunately, before the downtrodden and embittered Ukrainian working masses come to power, the present Ukrainian government and likely several of its successors will have been long gone. They will disappear as a consequence of their own weaknesses and incapacities and through repercussions

continued on page 10

We Marxists openly proclaim our revolutionary views. Russian-language Spartacist Bulletins (left), "Leninist Party—Tribune of the People" and "What Is Trotskyism?" Last year we published for the first time in Russian Trotsky's *The Communist International After Lenin*.

WV Photo

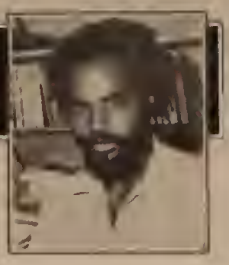
Spartacists Protest Against Yeltsin at Wall Street, 31 January 1992

Spartacist

Martha Phillips, Murdered in Moscow, 9 February 1992

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

Beyond the Bell



There is a tendency to treat the recent controversy over *The Bell Curve* as an isolated incident, one that can be quickly forgotten in the day-to-day struggles that people wage for survival.

Students of psychology, however, can attest to the unfortunate and ugly fact that the motivating spirit behind the publication of the book has an astonishingly long pedigree in American and, indeed, European history.

Nowhere is that clearer than in the excellent book, *The Mismeasure of Man*, by acclaimed paleontologist Stephen Jay Gould (1981). Gould points out how centuries of science were tainted by the toxin of racism, in addition to sheer idiocy, if not outright chicanery.

Consider the words and thoughts of some of America's so-called "Founding Fathers":

Abe Lincoln: "There is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race." (Lincoln-Douglas Debates, 1858)

Ben Franklin: "I could wish their [White immigrants to America] numbers were increased. And while we are, as I may call it, scouring our planet, by clearing America of woods, and so making this side of our globe reflect a brighter light to the eyes of inhabitants in Mars or Venus, why should we...darken its people? Why increase the Sons of Africa, by planting them in America, where we have so fair an opportunity, by excluding all blacks and tawneys, of increasing the lovely white and red?" (1751)

If they, of the so-called Enlightenment, were of those opinions, what of men of science?

Gould demonstrates convincingly how prejudices of race and/or class deeply biased, tainted and colored conclusions.

Scientists advanced theories of skull size (craniology), of bumps on the head (phrenology), all fully measured, but also, all fully wrong.

As Gould states in *Mismeasure*, "What craniology was for the nineteenth century, intelligence testing has become for the twentieth, when it assumes that intelligence...is a single, innate, heritable, and measurable thing."

That was so true, and the theme of biological determinism colored life and damned life for millions of men and women, the so-called "lower classes" in Britain, and blacks in the U.S.

"Science" in the service of the Ruling Class is what *The Bell Curve* is all about.

The Mismeasure of Man shows how insidious, and how silly, the *Bell* is.

24 February 1995

©1995 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Greene state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370

London Rally for Jamal

Over 120 death-penalty abolitionists rallied at the Euston Friends Meeting House in London March 29, as part of the international campaign of protest for Mumia Abu-Jamal, who has been on Pennsylvania's death row since 1982. A former Black Panther leader, supporter of the MOVE organization, and award-winning black journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless," Jamal was framed for the killing of a Philadelphia cop and sentenced to death for his political views. Newly elected Pennsylvania governor Ridge began carrying out his campaign promise to speed up executions by signing three death warrants in February, adding particular urgency to the campaign.

Workers Hammer

March 29 London rally drew over 120 trade unionists, students, leftists in fight to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

In Britain, 51 Members of Parliament have now called on Governor Ridge not to sign a death warrant in the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal. Protest letters have been sent by Tony Benn and other Labour Party MPs. Recently, statements against the execution of Jamal have been received from Trades Union Council general secretary John Monks, and from Transport and General Workers Union leader Bill Morris on behalf of the General Executive Council of the 1,000,000-strong union.

Addressing the rally were representatives of trade unions and student and leftist groups. George Silcott linked Mumia's case with that of his brother Winston, one of the Tottenham Three, two black men and an immigrant framed for the murder of a cop at the time of a multiracial upheaval in London. Jacob Ecclestone, Deputy General Secretary of the National Union of Journalists, recalled his parents' involvement in the 1950s in the fight to save the Rosenbergs, the last political prisoners executed in the U.S. He pointed to what would have happened to the Guilford Four and Birmingham Six, who were jailed for years on trumped-up charges of "IRA terrorism," had there been a death penalty in Britain.

Speaking for the Partisan Defence Committee, which organized the rally, Kate Klein denounced the racist death penalty as "legal lynching...the extension of the lynch rope of the Ku Klux Klan." The PDC emphasized that the groundswell of support in Britain is an important step in mobilizing the immense power of the international labor movement on behalf of Mumia Abu-Jamal and against the racist death penalty. ■

Prepare for Emergency Demos!

THE CAMPAIGN IS AT A CRITICAL POINT—YOU CAN HELP! At any moment, Pennsylvania's pro-death penalty governor, Tom Ridge, could sign Mumia Abu-Jamal's death warrant. Ridge has already signed warrants for five death row inmates, and the state's first execution in 30 years is set to take place this month. Jamal is in imminent danger—if a warrant is signed, emergency demonstrations will be held the next day in New York City and elsewhere. Get on the Partisan Defense Committee phone tree and help organize to make these urgent demonstrations the loudest possible outcry against the racist death penalty!

JOIN THE CAMPAIGN: take petitions; ask your friends, neighbors and co-workers to sign and get involved. Organize a showing in your union, community group, church or school of the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*. Send letters and get Jamal's powerful columns into your local newspapers, school or union newsletters; raise motions in your union or at your school to send a letter to Governor Ridge demanding "Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!" Contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 406-4252.

SEND PROTEST LETTERS TO: Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120.

WRITE TO JAMAL to express your solidarity: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090.

SEND $$$ FOR JAMAL LEGAL DEFENSE NOW! Funds are urgently needed to wage the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal's life. All money being raised through these rallies and forums organized by the Partisan Defense Committee goes directly to Jamal's legal defense. Since February 9, nearly $15,000 has been collected or pledged. More is needed now! Jamal's legal team initiated the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, co-chaired by actors Ossie Davis and Mike Farrell, to help raise funds. Make out your tax-deductible contribution for the defense to: Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and send it to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

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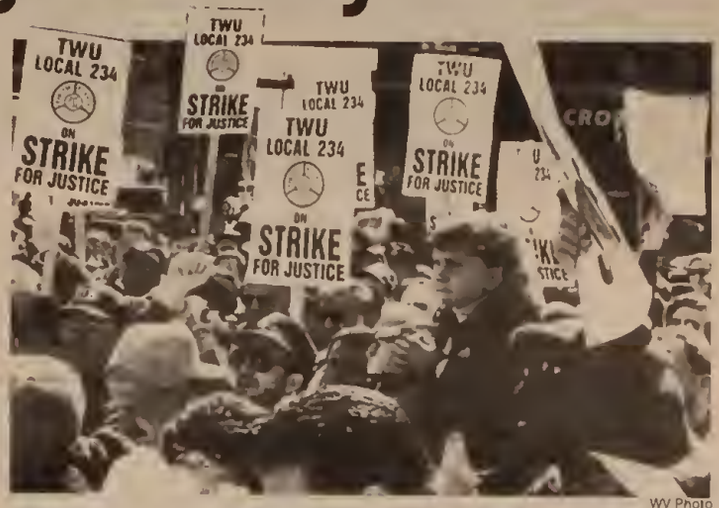
Beware of Police "Support"— Cops Are Enemies of Workers, Minorities

Victory to Philly Transit Strike!

PHILADELPHIA, April 3—Some 5,200 Philly transit workers shut down subways, trolleys and buses March 28. The strike by Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 234 against the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA) began after the union rejected a last-minute management offer, two weeks after the last contract expired. In this city blighted by economic decay and notorious racism, Democratic mayor Ed Rendell has been waging war on municipal unions. A victorious fight by this powerful, integrated union could strike a real blow against the capitalist rulers' war on unions and the ghetto poor. But a dangerous "alliance" forged between Local 234 president Harry Lombardo and the racist cops is chaining the union to the bosses' hired strikebreakers, who are especially hated by Philadelphia's besieged black population.

SEPTA workers are in a fighting mood, and for good reason. A TWU study last year showed that Philly bus drivers' wages ranked next to the bottom of the nation's 23 largest transit systems. Their last three-year contract contained medical insurance givebacks that saved transit bosses $50 million, but this just whetted SEPTA's appetite. While management dropped demands for layoffs and the hiring of part-timers before the current strike deadline, their wage "offer" of 7 percent over three years would be paid out of funds stolen from pensions and through limits on workers' compensation. Even these "increases" would not start until next December. Far from holding the line against benefit cuts, Local 234 bureaucrats "were willing to accept the belt-tightening measures" in exchange for a slightly larger wage hike (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 30 March).

Picketers have shut down every corner of SEPTA's City Transit Division. SEPTA and government officials, however, had long been planning for a strike, setting aside 4,000 free parking spaces at the South Philadelphia sports complex and adding extra trains and buses to the suburban lines which feed into the city. On April 2, TWUers at the Red Arrow bus line hit the bricks when their contract expired. But regional rail workers, whose contract expired last July, are running trains packed with commuters from the wealthy suburbs. On the second day of the strike, SEPTA tentatively settled with the conductors' union, UTU Local 61, whose members will vote on the proposed contract in mid-April. Meanwhile the Frontier Division bus workers' contract expires April 7.



WV Photo

Spread the strike! **A thousand transit strikers rallied at Frankford depot in Philadelphia March 29.**

From the first, *everyone* should have walked out. But the transit union bureaucrats bowed to federal anti-strike law covering the suburban railways. *Shut down all Philly area transit!*

Poisonous Liaison: Union Tops and Racist Cops

The union today is in a powerful position to beat back Mayor Rendell and Governor Tom Ridge's attacks on unions and the poor. Philadelphia has a history of combative city workers strikes, and many TWUers are veterans of several transit strikes. But Philly is also infamous for its history of racist repression. What is needed is a leadership that mobilizes labor's power together with oppressed minorities against the bosses and their state. But Lombardo and the Local 234 brass have engaged in a deadly embrace of the racist, strikebreaking Philly cops—an "alliance" that can only lead to defeat.

On the strike's first day, SEPTA got a court injunction limiting pickets after TWUers blocked white-collar workers and management from entering the downtown SEPTA headquarters and offices at a mechanical facility at 3rd and Wyoming. Lombardo called a rally for March 29 to supposedly challenge the injunction. But the Philadelphia *Daily News* reported that the night before he spoke to a packed crowd at Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) headquarters, seeking "support" for the TWU.

Plainclothes cops and TWU members alike leafletted the rally of 1,000 transit strikers and supporters with an FOP statement, which Lombardo read aloud from the podium, urging cops to "show every consideration within the frame-work of the law to members of the Transport Workers Union." A host of "progressive" local labor leaders mouthed empty solidarity with the TWU, but not one opposed the cops' prison-pill "support."

Philly strikers must call an immediate halt to Lombardo's grotesque "solidarity" with the police. From hauling off arrested air traffic controllers in their 1981 strike, to the 1985 bombing of Philadelphia MOVE and the destruction of the Osage Avenue neighborhood, to running scabs through Teamster picket lines during the 1994 trucking strike, the cops are the sworn enemies of labor and the oppressed. Mobilizations by the cops, in whatever guise, reflect their own agenda and are sinister attempts at police bonapartism, to slip the leash of civilian control. Cops out of the labor movement!

This lesson is especially important to understand given the FOP's frenzied campaign to silence forever the voice of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. An award-winning journalist, a supporter of MOVE and a former Black Panther leader, Jamal was framed up in 1982 for the killing of a Philly cop and sentenced to death for his political views—under then-D.A. Ed Rendell, FOP president Richard Costello, who penned the statement of "solidarity" with the TWU, branded Jamal's supporters in 1990 as a "misfit terrorist group" and called for Jamal's immediate execution, adding, "We'll take out the electric chair, we'll make it an electric couch."

Last year, the FOP waged a successful campaign to censor Jamal's commentaries from death row from being aired on National Public Radio. Now the FOP is leading a nationwide effort to stop the publication of a book of Jamal's prison writings. With the election of Pennsylvania governor Ridge last November on a pro-death penalty platform, the cops are on a mission to put Jamal at the front of the line for execution. They don't want anyone to read or hear what this powerful spokesman for the oppressed has to say because they know this would expose their racist *injustice* system.

Philly cops on the beat carry out extra-legal killings and beatings with notorious regularity. After a brutal attack by over a dozen cops last summer, a 30-year-old Hispanic man, Moises DeJesus, fell into a coma and died several days later. A whitewash investigation by Rendell's D.A., Lynne Abraham, cleared the cops without ever interviewing a single one of them.

Any move by striking transit workers to win this strike, for example by picketing out regional transit lines, is going to confront the bosses' government and their hired henchmen straight on. Furthermore, any attempt to gain support from Philly's black workers and ghetto poor is *doomed* as long as Local 234 is "united" with the bloody enforcers of the bosses' racist law and order.

The capitalists' frame-up system targets militant strikers and fighters for black rights alike with one aim: to terrorize workers and minorities into submitting to their system of exploitation and oppression. The FOP's threat to kill Philly's "voice of the voiceless," Mumia Abu-Jamal, is also a threat against labor. What working people need is a class-struggle leadership that mobilizes labor's power, not only to defend the unions but to champion the cause of blacks, immigrants, the poor—all the oppressed—against their common capitalist enemy. ■

UPI

Racist Philly cops terrorize MOVE home in Powelton Village, August 1978, prelude to murderous 1985 firebombing which killed eleven.

Italy...

(continued from page 2)

citizenship rights for all immigrants and their families, mass worker/immigrant mobilizations to smash racist terror, and *workers actions against deportations*. The trade-union misleaders and RC bureaucrats have no intention of doing any of this because they instead seek to ally themselves with bourgeois parties, police, magistrates, etc. In fact, in spite of meaningless words of empty solidarity, the anti-racist march of well over 50,000 in Rome was effectively boycotted by RC. Over half of the demonstrators were immigrants, but there was only one RC contingent of about 150 people.

The fact that the organizers of the national anti-racist demonstration and RC openly welcomed the presence of the racist SIULP police "union" dramatically shows the dead end of their politics. It also explains why they were ready to abandon immigrant comrades in police custody. *Police out of the unions!* These hired racist terrorist thugs aren't part of the workers movement, they are class enemies.

Tens of thousands made long bus rides from all over Italy to Rome for the anti-racist demonstration and want to fight racism. But symbolic marches in Rome together with racist cops and priests as speakers cannot stop racist terror. This politics of class collaboration only subordinates the working class and oppressed to the bourgeois oppressors.

As revolutionaries we put all of our faith in the mobilization of the working class and oppressed in *class struggle* and no faith in the bourgeois state, police, magistrates, government, etc. Our Marxist *class* understanding of these fundamental truths enabled us to initiate this successful anti-racist action.

Racial oppression is an integral and inseparable part of capitalist society, which is based on the privileged few exploiting and oppressing the many, with immigrants concentrated at the bottom. Only successful class struggle for proletarian revolution can end brutal racist capitalist society once and for all. We of the LTd'I/International Communist League fight to forge a Bolshevik party to lead this struggle. Join us! ■

Labor Organizing in the Maquiladoras

Ruben R. Ramirez

Militant Mexican workers strike against RCA Thomson plant in Ciudad Juárez at beginning of February. Walkout quickly shut down RCA plants in the U.S., pointing to potential for united workers action across the borders.

PART ONE OF TWO

When Mexico devalued the "new peso" last December, sending it into a free fall from 3.4 to the dollar to 6.4 in the space of a few weeks, this not only shook foreign investors, it also touched off an inflationary spiral at home which is drastically cutting into living standards. And while Wall Street got a $50 billion bailout from Washington to cover its losses, the workers and poor people of Mexico are on their own. Nowhere is the effect of the 50 percent drop in the dollar value of the peso more dramatic than in the *frontera*, the region along the 2,000-mile border with the United States. Base wage rates in the *maquiladora* "free trade" plants are often as low as 114 new pesos for a six-day, 54-hour workweek. Devaluation meant the dollar value of workers' wages fell from $35 to $19 *per week*—impossible to survive on. These are quite literally starvation wages.

On January 31, the 5,600 workers at four RCA Thomson electronics plants in Ciudad Juárez, across the river from El Paso, Texas, took action to defend themselves. Demanding a 30 percent pay increase, they struck the factories, surrounding the main plant with mass pickets of hundreds of workers and blockading the main street of the Bermúdez Industrial Park. For a week the strikers, mostly young women, faced off local police and groups of thugs organized by the pro-company, pro-government bureaucrats of the corporatist "union" of the Mexican Labor Federation (CTM). With production of TV chassis stopped in Ciudad Juárez, because of the company's "just in time" production system (which keeps stocks low, relying on tight delivery schedules), by February 3, the RCA final assembly plant in Indiana also had to shut down (see "*Maquiladora* Workers Strike RCA Thomson," *Workers Vanguard* No. 616, 10 February).

Ruben R. Ramirez

Young women workers at RCA Thomson fight to break shackles of Mexican government-controlled corporate unions. Sign above strikers reads: "Sellout Union Doesn't Support Us."

When the strikers finally went back on February 7, they entered the plant together and staged a "*huelga de brazos caídos*" (standing at their posts but refusing to work). Later that day, RCA Thomson agreed to a 13 percent wage hike, added to the 7 percent raise already negotiated by the CTM. While this does not fully restore their losses due to devaluation-induced inflation, the strikers also won recognition of their Coalition of Workers, removal of the local CTM boss and new union elections, full pay for the week on strike and no victimizations. In the police-state conditions of the *maquiladora* plants, the RCA workers strike was truly heroic, and the outcome was rightly seen as a victory, although limited, for the workers. As we wrote in *WV* No. 617 (24 February), "This will certainly encourage further strike movements elsewhere in the *maquiladora* belt."

And indeed the RCA Thomson walkout set off a strike wave in Ciudad Juárez. While in all of 1994 only one work stoppage took place, in January and February, 14 strikes broke out, winning wage increases of 13-20 percent. Last month, 3,000 workers at AAMSA (Autopartes y Arneses de México), which manufactures electrical "harnesses" for Nissan and Toyota, struck on March 8-10. After seizing a key plant and extending the walkout to three others, they won a 20 percent raise in wages and benefits. And according to the Despacho Obrero, a workers legal aid office in the city, the movement is continuing. On March 13-15, 1,000 workers at the Coclisa plant, which makes car seats for Ford, struck and got a 22 percent raise. Workers at the Vestamex and Camisas de Juárez clothing plants won 19 percent, and recently 800 workers at Controles de Temperatura struck. As we go to press, workers at the Dickies clothing plant in Piedras Negras have struck for a 60 percent raise, and to restore the dollar value of wages to what it was before the peso devaluation.

Significantly, these workers actions are shaking the mechanisms of corporatist control that have long kept the workers bound hand and foot to the bourgeoisie. The CTM labor federation is a formal part of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), which has governed Mexico uninterruptedly for the last 65 years. And through the Federal Labor Law under Article 123 of the Mexican Constitution, an elaborate system of state controls has made it difficult to carry out the right to strike or to establish independent unions. Now the Mexico City daily *El Día* (12 March) reports of the latest Ciudad Juárez strikes, "In all cases the union leaders were bypassed by those they represent, who also obtained their removal," as at RCA. And the local Conciliation and Arbitration Board complained of "a new type of conflicts, going outside the legal framework,

Archambault/U.S. News & World Report

Dunleavy/Maryknoll

Superexploited workers at GM auto plant in Matamoros live in shantytowns.

such as seizing facilities even without strike notification."

The burgeoning workers unrest is spreading through the northern *frontera* region. In the formerly state-owned Cananea copper mine in northern Sonora, which the Mexican government has privatized, miners struck over contract violations. Cananea was the site of a historic 1906 strike, led by American revolutionary syndicalists of the IWW and Mexican anarchists of the PLM, that was a precursor to the Mexican Revolution of 1910-17. The strike was put down by the Arizona Rangers on behalf of Mexican dictator Porfirio Díaz. Today, with workers anger running high decrepit (94-year-old) CTM oligarch Fidel Velázquez is so nervous about a possible labor revolt that he canceled the official May Day march in front of the presidential palace. "The ranks could bypass us, and that would lead to a grave situation," he declared, saying that the cancellation was a "favor" to President Ernesto Zedillo. No wonder the CTM kingpin is worried: his last foray was a grotesque proposal for workers to "donate" a day's wages to help pay off the foreign debt, in his words, as a way of showing "solidarity with the rich"!

With the Zedillo government imposing a brutal austerity program, inflation soaring, families unable to buy basic necessities and more than 400,000 workers thrown off their jobs in January alone, the capitalists, bourgeois politicians and their labor lieutenants on both sides of the border are worried that Mexico may "blow." The Indian peasant insurgency in the southern state of Chiapas has stirred popular discontent around the country, with hundreds of thousands of protesters repeatedly converging on the Zócalo (Plaza of the Revolution) in Mexico City in February to denounce Zedillo's dispatching of troops to hunt down the leader of the EZLN (Zapatista Army of National Liberation). Add to this the murderous infighting within the PRI—first presidential candidate Luis Donaldo Colosio assassinated in April 1994, then party president José Francisco Ruiz Massieu gunned down six months later, with suspicions in both cases falling on rival sectors in the PRI, and now ex-president Carlos Salinas de Gortari forced into exile. There is a distinct odor of *fin de régime* in the air in Mexico.

The semi-bonapartist, single-party regime summed up in the term "PRI-government" has run into the ground. The apparatus is coming apart, its "neoliberal" economic policy of selling off the country to imperialist investors has proven disastrous. Today it sits atop a smoking volcano of mass discontent. The question is, which direction will Mexico go? The right-wing PAN (National Action Party) is in a de facto coalition with the PRI (supplying the secretary of justice). A middle-class populist movement, El Barzón, has appeared demanding debt relief for farmers and credit card holders. Leftist opposition has been diverted into the bourgeois Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) of former PRI leaders Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas and Porfirio Muñoz Ledo, which despite its vaguely nationalist airs has defused militant protests at every juncture. The EZLN, under tremendous pressure from the army, is betting on negotiations. Clearly, a reformist/populist "democratic" opposition has no answer to the economic crisis, nothing to offer the hard-hit population.

In a recent interview, Mexican liberal luminary Jorge Castañeda commented that the Zapatistas "have no future as an armed group." He added:

> "In my opinion, there is in Mexico—both in the southern areas of the country and also in the north—a very important future for an intransigent, radical left. But I don't know of what kind."
>
> —*Junge Welt* [Berlin], 27 January

What is needed is a revolutionary proletarian vanguard, seeking to forge an internationalist workers party that can draw in behind it the desperate peasant masses and urban poor and ally with U.S. workers north of the Rio Grande (known as Río Bravo in Mexico).

The Grupo Espartaquista de México together with the Spartacist League/U.S. and the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste of Canada, sections of the International Communist League, oppose the NAFTA "free trade" rape of Mexico with a program of workers unity *in struggle*. While the reformist/nationalist left, beholden to Cárdenas' PRD, is paralyzed in the face of the imperialist takeover of the Mexican economy, we Trotskyists are the only ones with a program addressing the growing interpenetration and common interests of Mexican and U.S. workers. United labor struggle on both sides of the border, particularly including strike action by U.S. unionists in solidarity with their Mexican class brothers and sisters, is both necessary and possible. This must point to a fight for socialist revolution "from the Yukon to the Yucatán."

Modern Sweatshops

Last summer, during the final phase of the Mexican election campaign, a joint reporting team from *Espartaco* and *Workers Vanguard* visited the *maquiladora* belt along the Texas-Mexico border, from the two Laredos downriver to Matamoros on the Gulf of Mexico. In touring the region and speaking with maquiladora workers from several plants, the tremendous contradictions and explosive potential of this dramatic case of uneven and combined development were sharply highlighted.

This area has doubled in population from about 1.5 million in 1985 to nearly 3 million in 1993. The overwhelmingly young (mostly 16- to 22-year-old), predominantly women workers labor in ultramodern plants. A casual observer might mistake these young workers gathered outside the plants for junior college students. But the contrast could not be more brutal between these surroundings and the utter misery in which they live at home, in dirt-floor shacks, mostly without running water and electricity, much less the impossible luxury of a telephone. The reason for this striking disparity is the poverty-level wages paid by the giant (mostly U.S.) corporations.

Since the northern border industrialization program was begun in 1965, more than 2,100 manufacturing plants have been set up under provisions that allow them to import capital and materials duty free and export to the U.S. paying tax only on the value added. In effect, these *maquiladoras* have been directly annexed to the U.S. economy. Until the debt crisis of 1982, the *maquila* plants were quite separate from the rest of Mexican industry, which was built up through "import substitution" behind high tariff walls which protected fledgling domestic manufacturers. But as a price for rescheduling the debt owed to the imperialist banks, Washington and Wall Street forced Mexico to cut its tariffs and switch to an "export-led" economy. This allowed U.S.-owned multinationals to buy up privatized state companies while American corporations set up subsidiaries in the *maquiladora* belt to engage in labor-intensive assembly operations for the U.S. market while paying one-tenth (or even less) of U.S. wages. The North American "Free Trade" Agreement was only the final act, which effectively turned all of Mexico into one giant *maquiladora*.

Jose Luis Cerrato/El Paso Times

Militant El Paso, Texas garment workers strike in 1991-92 won victory, inspiring strikes against U.S.-owned *maquiladoras* in Matamoros.

The result is a huge industrial belt in the northern states of Mexico. Beginning first with textiles and clothing manufacturers, it expanded to electronic components and is now home to more than two dozen auto/truck assembly, engine/transmission and parts plants, so that today the area is nicknamed "Detroit South." With almost 400,000 employed in motor vehicle manufacturing, by 1991 *Mexico had as many auto workers as work for the Big Three auto companies in the U.S.* In 1993, the *maquiladora* industry (including many auto parts plants) employed 540,000 workers. Partly reflecting the shifting industrial pattern, the percentage of women workers in these "free trade" plants has fallen from almost 80 percent in 1975 to around 60 percent today. While apologists for this sweatshop system claim that for the Mexican workers these poverty wages are an improvement, in fact wages in the *maquiladoras* are *below* those in the

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Protest Migra Raid at Newark Airport

The following protest was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on April 2.

District Director
Immigration and Naturalization Service
Newark, NJ

Dear Sir:

The Partisan Defense Committee protests the arrest of 112 cleaning workers at Newark International Airport on March 30 in a raid by the INS, Customs Service and Federal Aviation Administration. We understand that 59 workers remain under arrest at this time. We demand that they be released immediately and all deportation proceedings be stopped.

The INS' targeting of these mostly Central and South American workers is part of a racist nationwide crusade against all immigrants, typified by the passage of Prop. 187 in California last year. The government's assault on immigrants feeds the attack on all working people and minorities, from slashing welfare and subsidies for school lunches to closing hospitals.

Anyone in this country has the right to stay. We demand full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers!

Yours truly,
Paul Cooperstein

Affirmative Action...

(continued from page 1)

oppression within the framework of capitalism.

Today, fully 53 percent of black men nationwide are either unemployed or earn less than the poverty level for a family of four. The relentless drive by racist politicians to push blacks back to the back of the bus, combined with massive cuts in funding for education and other social services, has led to a sharp decline as well in the prospects of the "talented tenth." Overall, black enrollment in the University of California system has gone up by all of 0.2 percent since 1980. And at UC Berkeley black enrollment has fallen by nearly a third in the past five years. Meanwhile, the racist rulers have plenty of preferential treatment for their own. *Newsweek* (13 February) refers to "affirmative action for the academically disadvantaged children of alumni (about 12 percent of all admissions at elite colleges)." How else could Dan Quayle, who can't spell "potato," have gotten into law school?

Demagogic appeals by racist politicians to "angry white men" capitalize on the false *perception* that minorities and women have been given preferential advantage. From the outset, liberal affirmative action schemes were designed in such a way as to set whites against blacks and men against women in competition for a diminishing share of jobs, classroom seats and professional openings. After all, within the framework of the capitalist status quo, advancement for one sector of the population can only come at the expense of another. Yet the minimal affirmative action measures don't even come close to overcoming the racial and sexual discrimination that is built into the capitalist system. And now women and minorities are being made the scapegoats for 20 years of declining living standards for white workers and the middle class.

WV Photo

Construction worker contingent at 80,000-strong march in Los Angeles last October against racist anti-immigrant Prop. 187. Now the racists are pushing "Son of 187" referendum against affirmative action.

As part of our fight for full equality for minorities and women, the Spartacist League opposes the reactionary assault against affirmative action. However, unlike liberals and reformists who uncritically hailed these programs, we emphasized from the beginning that those who look to the American capitalist state to eliminate racial and sexual discrimination were living in a fool's paradise. Today, with the Democrats and Republicans waging full-scale war on minorities and the poor, it should be apparent that the halls of Congress are not the venue for redressing discrimination. We seek to mobilize the working class in a fight for jobs and free, quality education for all, particularly reaching out to the masses of unemployed minority youth and women with special union recruitment and training programs. It will take a socialist revolution, sweeping away the entire capitalist system, to lay the basis for wiping out the centuries-old legacy of racial and sexual oppression.

Racist Purge on Campus

At a time when minority students are under fire from budget-cutting college administrators and skinhead thugs alike, abolishing racial quotas in education has joined the bipartisan war on welfare mothers and the "anti-crime" crusade as rallying cries for white reaction. The ideological driving force behind this is the lie of blacks' supposed genetic "inferiority," codified in the pseudoscientific tract *The Bell Curve*. Last month, over 200 protesters rallied at the University of California's Boalt Hall law school in defense of black and Latino students who had received hate mail raving, "Your failures are hereditary and can't be corrected by these liberals.... You belong at Coolie High Law don't you forget!" In New Jersey, Rutgers students mounted two weeks of protests against racist comments by "liberal" president Francis Lawrence about "disadvantaged" black people who lack the "genetic, hereditary background" to pass university admissions tests.

Black and Hispanic students are under siege because the capitalist rulers have decided not to spend resources educating people they will likely never employ. Attacking affirmative action is just one weapon in their arsenal. Across the country, galloping tuition increases at state schools are driving minority youth out in droves. The threatened hikes of up to *75 percent* in New York's state and city university system amount to nothing less than a *racist purge*.

For the vast majority of ghetto youth, college is an unattainable dream, as they remain trapped in crumbling, prison-like primary and secondary schools and constantly beset by police terror. As one 14-year-old black student described, "We have a school in East St. Louis named for Dr. King. The school is full of sewer water and the doors are locked with chains. Every student in the school is black. It's like a terrible joke on history" (Jonathan Kozol, *Savage Inequalities: Children in America's Schools*, [1991]). Affirmative action is the slender thread that gives some minority youth their only shot at higher education.

NMU

NMU hiring hall in New York City in the 1960s. Government "affirmative action" schemes initially attacked hard-won union gains like seniority and the hiring hall, which defend all workers against victimization. Labor movement must fight for jobs for all, with programs for minority recruitment.

Many of today's crusaders against affirmative action were inspired by the 1978 U.S. Supreme Court ruling upholding the "Bakke decision." A white engineer, Alan Bakke successfully challenged the University of California at Davis medical school's preferential admissions program, which reserved 16 out of 100 openings for minorities. The stage for the Bakke decision was set by the defeat of school busing, which was abandoned by Democratic Party liberals in 1973-74 when racist mobs attacked black schoolchildren in the streets of Boston and Louisville.

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs defend affirmative action in university admissions because this has brought gains, although terribly inadequate, against the race and class bias that permeates education under capitalism. But such gains are at best tokenistic and easily reversible, as the recent cutbacks in higher education show, because they accept the limits imposed by the bourgeoisie, which views education as a privilege, not a right.

Moreover, *quotas* are ultimately reactionary, far more likely to be used to *restrict* rather than advance minority admissions. The so-called *numerus clausus*, restricting Jewish access to universities and the professions, was a hallmark of the anti-Semitic capitalist regimes of East Europe before World War II and of the tsarist autocracy in Russia. Today, even as Asian Americans are being cynically mobilized to oppose black "quotas," they find themselves facing quotas restricting their place in education which are *pushed by the same racist forces that are attacking affirmative action for blacks and Latinos*. In San Francisco, Asian American parents filed a lawsuit against quotas which limit Asian students to 40 percent of enrollment at the city's premier high school.

We fight for *free, quality integrated education for all*. To provide real access to higher education, we call for nationalizing the private universities, and for open admissions and free tuition with a state-paid living stipend for students. We demand full remedial programs at the universities and an end to "tracking" in the high schools, which pushes working-class and minority youth away from courses that would prepare them for college. Meanwhile, technical secondary education to train young skilled workers has already been devastated.

While preferential admissions are a step against the racist status quo in education, government-sponsored affirmative action programs in jobs are often a very different matter. During the Nixon administration, schemes like the so-called "Philadelphia Plan," which set minority hiring quotas on federal construction projects, were explicitly used for *union-busting*. Such plans attacked hard-won union gains like the hiring hall and seniority. Similar schemes were pushed by elements of the reformist left. At the Fremont, California General Motors plant in the early 1970s, Maoist-supported union members launched a lawsuit which demanded "preferential seniority" for women, in effect calling on the courts to order the layoff of male workers (including many blacks) first. Unlike liberals and reformists, as Marxists we oppose on principle state intervention into the unions, which always weakens labor's ability to fight the exploiters.

To be sure, racist job-trusting practices particularly by the "labor aristocracy" in the skilled trades were aimed at keeping blacks and women out. But these despicable practices should not obscure the fundamental fact that seniority helps protect workers, black and white alike, against arbitrary victimization and firings, while union control over hiring makes possible genuinely nondiscriminatory access to jobs on a "first come, first served" basis.

In their service to the capitalist ruling class, the conservative AFL-CIO bureaucracy has not only spurned the fight for equal rights for minority and women workers, but has presided over the decimation of the union movement. The wholesale closing of Detroit auto plants since the 1970s has thrown hundreds of thousands of black workers in particular

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NYPD Guns Down Asian Youth

On March 24, the day after hundreds of Mayor Giuliani's thugs in blue attacked student demonstrators protesting the vicious education cuts, 16-year-old Yong Xin Huang was executed by cops on a driveway in Brooklyn. The youngest child of immigrant garment workers, Yong was a talented ninth-grader who hoped to attend a good high school like Stuyvesant or the Bronx High School of Science. Instead he became yet another victim of the trigger-happy NYPD, joining a growing number of minority youth cut down in cold blood in recent months.

A rare morning of playing hooky, plinking trees with a pellet gun with two friends, ended in horror after a neighbor called the cops to report "four male Asians...armed with a gun." Within minutes, five laughing cops were tearing through the neighborhood with guns drawn, looking for prey. After lining up the three terrified boys against a wall, Officer Steven Mizrahi smashed Yong—who was 5'6" weighing only 100 pounds, and looked like a nine-year-old—into a glass door, shattering it, then killed him with a shot to the back of the head.

First the cops claimed Huang was "engaged in a struggle" to get Mizrahi's gun when it went off "accidentally." Then they reverted to the tried-and-true "toy guns look realistic" line: this was used to justify the execution of black 13-year-old Nicholas Heyward and the near-fatal shooting of 16-year-old Jamiel Johnson last September. But Huang's friends who witnessed the atrocity decried the police story, saying that Yong had dropped the air gun right away, before the killer cop pinned him. This wanton killing has the unmistakable stench of anti-immigrant racism, particularly in the xenophobic climate whipped up around the passage of California's Prop. 187. On March 30, Immigration cops arrested 112 workers at Newark Airport claiming they were "illegal aliens."

In the past three years, scores of Hispanic, and many black, youth have been executed by the police and not one cop has been convicted for his crimes. Throughout New York's working-class neighborhoods, ghettos and barrios, minority youth know the NYPD is out to get them. On March 30, some 450 demonstrators organized by the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights rallied at Police Plaza to protest racist police brutality. Among the youthful, mostly black and Hispanic crowd were families and friends of some of the NYPD's recent victims: Anthony Baez, choked to death in December after his football hit a police cruiser; Aníbal Carrasquilo, shot in the back in January; Hilton Vega and Anthony Rosario, gunned down on February 12; and others.

A member of the Baez family sang a moving Spanish version of the anti-slavery *Battle Hymn of the Republic*. The mother of Hilton Vega, killed alongside his cousin Anthony Rosario, told the crowd, "I don't want to die before I see justice.... I will not rest until I see the two cops in jail." Vega and Rosario were shot a total of 22 times by a cop who reportedly was on Giuliani's bodyguard squad. The NYPD has been on a killing spree with their man Giuliani in office, but under Republican and Democratic mayors alike, they terrorize the poor, minorities and workers. The power of labor must be mobilized, along with the masses of blacks, Hispanics and Asians and all opponents of police terror, in defense against the cop outlaws before they leave any more bloodstained chalk outlines on the mean streets of New York.

Mohin/NY Times

Yong Xin Huang

out of relatively well-paying union jobs. The union tops have rightly earned the scorn of much of their membership, to say nothing of the dispossessed ghetto youth. What is required is a struggle within the unions to oust the bureaucratic misleaders and replace them with a class-struggle leadership committed to mobilizing labor's social power on behalf of all the oppressed. As we wrote in 1978, as part of a fight for jobs for all:

> "A class-struggle leadership in the unions would not only institute training programs for minority workers paid for at the expense of the corporations and the government, but would undertake massive recruitment drives to insure that blacks can compete with white job seekers on an equal basis."
>
> —*Young Spartacus* No. 63 (April 1978)

Particularly given the sharp decline in union organization and membership over recent years, such demands today would necessarily be linked to the fight to *organize the unorganized* through a massive union recruitment drive.

WV Photo

Spartacist contingent marches in 1978 Washington, D.C. protest against the racist Bakke decision, which rolled back minority access to higher education.

For a Class-Struggle Fight Against Racial Oppression

The racist campaign against affirmative action has been joined by conservative black academics like Shelby Steele and Thomas Sowell, long a darling of the Republican right. In January, black UC regent Ward Connerly called for scrapping racial and sexual preferences at the university. Steele slams affirmative action because "white women have benefited from it far more than any other group." White women have, in fact, fared better than black men or women in breaking into professions and corporate boardrooms in the last 30 years, but the changes have been minimal and are quite reversible. The recent report of the federal government's "Glass Ceiling Commission" shows that while white males constitute only 43 percent of the workforce, they hold 95 percent of senior management positions. By pitting women against blacks, Steele helps fan the flames of the reactionary assault on *all* of the oppressed.

In a 5 March commentary, black *New York Times* editorial writer Brent Staples got the measure of these apologists for the racist backlash, writing that in the "Reaganaut 80's, many African-Americans...became converts to the gospel of Horatio Alger." They represent the right wing of the black middle class that benefited materially from the struggle for black equality in the 1950s and '60s, while the masses of blacks slipped deeper into poverty. Expanding government programs and tokenistic corporate hiring policies generated a narrow layer of petty-bourgeois blacks increasingly separated from the ghettos. Between 1967 and 1991, the proportion of black households earning at least $50,000 a year rose from 5.2 to 12.1 percent, while the proportion earning over $100,000 more than doubled.

But this tenuous hold on middle-class status is slipping every day, from the withering of preferential programs in business to the massive cutbacks and layoffs in government. In fact, the wage gap between white and black college graduates *more than quadrupled* between 1973 and 1989. Overall, earnings of blacks compared to whites continue to be around 62 percent, while black unemployment is more than double that of whites. Among teenagers, black unemployment was 36.2 percent in 1991 compared to 14.9 percent among white youth. And that is according to official statistics, which significantly understate the reality. This massive racial disparity applies across the board, from college admissions to infant mortality.

It has always taken massive social struggle to gain any improvement in the lives of workers and oppressed minorities in this society, from minimal special admissions programs to the open admissions program at the City University of New York, which was won in the late 1960s. Today, with the capitalist economy in decline, the profit-hungry ruling class wants to dispense with the overhead of these reforms and inflame racial and sexual divisions in the working class.

The liberals and reformists have no answer to deal with this racist offensive, tied as they are by a thousand strings to the racist yuppie in the White House. Clinton's recent announcement of a "review" of federal affirmative action guidelines was immediately supported by key black Democrats like Kweisi Mfume, the former head of the Congressional Black Caucus. Liberals like Jesse Jackson say the attack on affirmative action should be "resisted" through registering to vote Democrat, while the bourgeois-feminist National Organization for Women says capitalist politicians should be held "accountable" if they fail to defend quotas.

Tailing behind the liberals is the reformist "left." Thus, at UC Berkeley, an "Affirmative Action Coalition," which is dominated by the ex-Stalinist Committees of Correspondence and includes the Revolutionary Workers League, the International Socialist Organization and Labor Militant, offers militant students nothing more than limp appeals to the UC regents, president and administration. These reformists do not even pay lip service to militant *action* based on mobilizing the social power of labor to fight the attacks on minorities, immigrants and women.

At a March 27 speakout at Cal State Hayward, a Spartacus Youth Club speaker indicted the capitalist ruling class for the current assault on minority rights:

> "The attacks against affirmative action are part of the whole racist rallying cry of the rulers of this country. They are cut of the same cloth as the attacks on desperate welfare mothers, on immigrants and their families. Small wonder that California state governor Pete Wilson, the architect of Proposition 187 (and, by the way, the president of the UC Board of Regents) is now leading the charge against affirmative action. For it is all cut of the same cloth, that of a system of the exploitation of the many by the few.
>
> "Jesse Jackson tells us to 'resist' by registering to vote for the very Democratic Party that spat on him during the last elections. They spat on him as a way of spitting on their entire black constituency, because they were appealing to the white racist vote.
>
> "Don't let them condemn you to no education, no jobs, no future! Fight to have free college education, decent housing, medical care. To fight racist reaction, we need a revolution, a socialist America that will put the wealth of this country into the hands of those who produced it."

The drive against minorities, immigrants, women and labor can only be defeated by militant *class* struggle in defense of all the oppressed against both parties of American capitalism and its state. What is needed is a multiracial revolutionary workers party, to give communist leadership to the struggles of labor and the oppressed. We fight for workers rule, where everyone's labor and talents will be needed to build a world of abundance and equality, and where education for all will be a natural part of this collective labor. ■

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Strikes Sweep France...

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social reforms. Instead, the Socialist-dominated governments of the 1980s presided over the highest levels of unemployment in postwar France, while seeking to divert working-class anger by racist demagogy against the North African and black African communities.

Like the strike last fall at the GEC heavy machinery factory in Alsthom, the Flins strike exploded spontaneously, and the trade-union leaders quickly jumped on board in order to maintain control. The strike wave has swept aside the unwritten rule of the Gaullist Fifth Republic that mandates class "peace" in pre-electinn periods. However, the critical lack of a leadership capable of leading the wave nf strikes—to say nothing of the necessary struggle fnr workers power—has been cruelly nbvious, despite the workers' militancy.

Auto workers occupied the Choisy plant and stormed a delivery barge, dumping the cargo in the Seine. At Chausson, 700 angry auto workers ripped apart the local tax office and dumped the computers out the window. As in the Air France strike in the fall of 1993, striking airline workers nn March 30 stormed onto the runways and fought a running battle with CRS riot police. At the same time, the trade-union hureaucrats have generally kept the strikes isolated from each other, often calling them on different days or keeping the workers in the dark about other strikes.

Throughout Europe, under the whip of interimperialist economic rivalries sharpened by the victory of capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the former Soviet Union, the bourgeoisie is determined to drive down labor costs. They have thrown up racist barriers around "fortress Europe" while attacking workers' salaries and what remains of the "welfare state"—unemployment benefits, retirement funds, puhlic health insurance, etc.—which was put in place to counter the "communist threat" after World War II.

While the West European bourgeoisie trumpets the supposed "death of communism," from Italy to Germany and France workers and youth have been standing up to the capitalist offensive and have won some defensive victories on the economic plane. French Renault strikers pointed to the example of the German metal workers, whose militant strike last month won a wage increase and reduction in the workweek (see "German Metal Workers Stand Off Bosses' Offensive," *WV* No. 618, 10 March).

However, to hreak the all-sided international capitalist offensive, "ordinary" trade-union struggle—however militant—is not enough. The hourgeoisie will necessarily seek to take back with the right hand any concessions which it is forced to grant with the left. The working class must consciously carry out its class battles under the hanner of the struggle for *power*.

When he capitulated before the Air France strike in 1993, Prime Minister Balladur raised the spectre of May '68. And last week, a hanner in front of the auto plant at Choisy proclaimed: "1968-1995. Renault on Strike!" The general strike, plant occupations and mass student revolt nf May-June 1968 brought France to the hrink of revolution. But only to the brink. The Stalinist Cominunist Party, then the dominant force in the workers movement, succeeded in keeping this explosion of working-class power within the confines nf economic demands. The strikers eventually went hack to work in exchange for a hefty wage increase, which, moreover, was quickly eaten up hy inflation.

The real lesson of May '68 is not that it can happen again but that this time it must go all the way to socialist revolution and a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie. To lead such a fight, it is necessary to forge a multiethnic and international revolutionary workers party like the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky. The Ligue trotskyste de France (LTF), section of the International Communist League, is fighting to forge the nucleus of such a party.

Integrated Class Struggle Against Racist Bosses

Immigrant workers have repeatedly been in the forefront of class struggle against the Mitterrand popular front, notably in a nimher of auto strikes hetween 1982 and 1984. At that time, the Socialist government gave the green light for a nationwide campaign of racist terror when it branded the Flins strikers as "manipulated hy the ayatnllahs." But this time the hosses failed miserably in their attempt to divide the workers with racism, such as laheling Flins as "a strike hy Arabs and Africans." Along with a large number of youth, many foreign-born workers came to the fore in last month's auto strikes as local strike leaders, including a significant number who have been in France long enough to have participated in the May '68 general strike.

The strike at Flins started on March 8 after management offered the unions a measly pay increase of 1 percent, pleading poverty. This was shown to be a gross provocation when a few weeks later management revealed that Renault had *tripled* its profits last year. The trade-union bureaucrats wanted to keep the lid on until a national "day of action" on March 14. But the workers saw things differently and walked off the job, shutting down the plant. The central demand of the strikers was for a 1500 Franc ($300) monthly raise for everyone.

The union misleaders worked overtime to defuse the fight. They actually *encouraged* temporary workers (who cnnstitute 10 percent of the workforce) to go to work, rather than organizing strike pickets to rally these undecided and young workers, who were only waiting for such a call in order to join the strike. No attempt was made to spread the strike by sending militant delegations to other plants, even though the vital need to do so was widely understood by the strikers and strikes were flaring up throughout the auto industry. The PCF tried to divert the militant strike action into electoralism, specifically the presidential campaign of party leader Robert Hue, who is seeking to pressure the Socialists to the left.

The March 14 "day of action" was a powerful demonstration of proletarian power with 25,000 Renault workers on strike, but the trade-union bureaucrats carefully broke down the mobilization into isolated local actions. It is a graphic indication of the Flins workers' combativity that despite such a no-win leadership, the strike retained overwhelming support and virtually no cars left the plant. By granting a pay increase of 2.5 percent, the bosses were finally able last week to restart the assembly lines at Flins. However, walkouts continue to flare up throughout the industry.

The powerful integrated class struggle in auto underscores the need to mobilize the power of the working class to fight the campaign of racist terror. As the LTF has repeatedly pointed out, immigrant workers are a key component of the French proletariat where they have enormous snrial power. But the PCF and the CGT union federation have further fueled the racist climate with their protectionist slogan "Produce French," which blames foreign workers for unemployment in France. They did not lift a finger to protest the racist deportations of "illegal immigrants," the Bayrou circular expelling girls who wear the Islamic headscarf from public schools, or the murder in February of a dark-skinned African in Marseille by fascist thugs of Le Pen's National Front.

Not surprisingly, strikers at Flins were quite receptive to the idea of an elected strike committee to consolidate and extend the strike. But the real key to victory is a revolutionary party, based on a program of transitional demands which, starting from the workers' immediate needs, leads to socialist revolution. Strikers were often familiar with the demand for a sliding scale of wages and hours to distrihute the available work with no loss in pay. But they questioned how an equitable sharing of work is possible in this society. In fact, capitalism can no more satisfy this demand than it can do away with any of the injustice and oppression which is inherent in it. The defense of the workers' interests ultimately requires the liquidation of this system of exploitation and the setting up of a revolutionary workers government.

As our comrades of the LTF declared in a leaflet distrihuted to striking workers at Flins and elsewhere:

> "Whether capitalism is managed by the right or the 'left,' it cannot satisfy the most elementary needs of the workers. That is why its regime of exploitation must be overthrown. And this fight is international. *For a May '68 which goes all the way! For a Workers Government! For a Socialist United States of Europe!*" ■

Moscow...

(continued from page 3)

of their disastrous capitalist policies and demented nationalist arrogance in numerous vital fields. In fact, the historical probability is that in a revolutionary situation there may well be little government to "overthrow"—we recall the way the Kerensky government fell to pieces. The assumption that the current government of the Ukraine will still be in existence at that future time seems to us to be the flimsiest speculation. We are Marxists, not putschists; we rely on the forces of the working class and we will fight against these malicious and provocative attempts to distort and defame our politics.

This harassment and intimidation is intended to prevent workers and others from joining with our presently small number of supporters in the lands of the former Soviet Union. But the agents of the Ukrainian and Russian governments have no need to spy on us or people interested in our ideas in order to find out what we really stand for politically. We are exactly what we say we are and all of it can be found in the published and publicly disseminated issues of our *Biulleten Spartakovtsev*. Four issues of the *Biulleten* and eleven supplements have been published and widely distributed in the former Soviet Union since autumn 1990. In November 1993, we also published for the first time in Russian the book, *The Communist International After Lenin*, Trotsky's critique of the 1928 draft Prngram at the Sixth Congress of the Communist Internatinnal, which presents further information on the political views and aims which we openly espouse.

The broadcast made much of the "approximately 50 kilograms of propagandistic literature" allegedly seized by the authorities. A set of the Collected Works of Marx and Engels weighs some 47 kilos depending on language and binding. A set of the Collected Works of V.I. Lenin weighs 32 kilos. One does not usually think this way but it gives some insight into the minds of the security organs.

Far from hiding our views, we have sought to disseminate them widely. Thus, in July 1992, our comrade Victor Grainovsky was interviewed on the half-hour television program *Mister/Comrade*. This program was bnadcast repeatedly to a mass audience throughnut the former Soviet Union. Our comrade stated clearly what we stand for: "We're for full workers democracy, for a multi-party system within the framework of the dictatorship of the proletariat." That is in the tradition of Lenin's Bolsheviks, who fought to forge a hard vanguard party united on a programmatic basis, in counterposition to the conception of a "party of the whole class" advanced by the Mensheviks, who ultimately ended up supporting counterrevolution. Our comrade explained: "All genuine communists, that is, Trotskyists, around the world have always felt a sense of duty toward the Soviet working class, toward the heroes of the October Revolution, of the Civil War and the war against German fascism."

Throughout our propagandistic work in the former Soviet Union, we have openly proclaimed the need for the working people of Russia and the near abroad to return to the path of Lenin and Trotsky. We have emphasized the need for all the working people to join together in struggle against capitalist exploitation and all manifestations of oppression and tyranny, against national subjugation and anti-Semitism and against the oppression of women and homosexuals. In shnrt, we have sought to act, in Lenin's words, as a "tribune of the people." Today, in our quest for the democratic rights of the working people and all nationalities to be asserted and defended, we believe that a plebiscite on national affiliation is in order in the Crimea and Chechnya.

We demand full access to the television news programs to respond to the absurd and sinister accusations whicli have been made against us.

—Internatinnal Cnmmunist League
(Fourth Internationalist)
Moscow, 3 April 1995

Transcript of Vremya News Program, 1 April 1995

"...Dealing with the Crimea, [the Ukrainian government] was obliged at the same time to defend their own supreme power.

"The overthrow of the government in the Ukraine was planned by four ideological Trotskyists representing the International Communist League.

"They passed themselves off as scholars wishing to study archives. At one of the apartments of the visitors in Kiev, the Struggle Against Terrorism Division of the Ukrainian Security Service seized approximately 50 kilograms of propagandistic literature of the revolutionary Trotskyists.

"According to operatives' information, four foreign citizens—two from Germany, one from France and one from America, attempted to organize in Ukraine a section of the International Communist League whose headquarters are located in New York, and whose closest affiliate is in Moscow.

"Furthermore, they openly called for the overthrow of the constitutional order in the Ukraine and the seizure of power, as was confirmed by our fellow countrymen, who the Trotskyists tried to recruit.

"As a result, travel into the Ukraine for the four revolutinnary leaders from abroad is officially closed." ■

Pakistan: Workers Protest Murder of Labor Leader

Workers around Pakistan took to the streets to protest the January 19 murder by bosses' thugs of Syed Arif Hussain Shah, president of the Punjab Labour Federation. Only a week before, two steel union leaders were attacked and beaten by hired thugs after organizing an independent union at Lahore's Ittefaq Foundry, which is owned by former right-wing prime minister Nawaz Sharif. *Socialist Appeal* (February 1995), newspaper of the left-Labourite British group led by Ted Grant, has published an appeal for worldwide protest against the murder of Arif Shah, who was a leader of the leftist "Struggle" grouping (supported by Grant) inside the ruling Pakistan People's Party (PPP).

A statement by the Pakistan Trade Union Defence Campaign, initiated by the Punjab Labour Federation in the wake of Shah's murder, reported: "After taking action to block the main Lahore-Karachi highway, the next day 20,000 workers attended Arif Shah's funeral." On February 15, some 8,000 workers from dozens of trade unions converged on Lahore for another demonstration, blocking a main road to the parliament building for three hours. When police tried to break up the protest and manhandle the demonstrators, women workers pushed the police back.

The outpouring of workers protest shows the capacity for serious class struggle that could cut through the murderous communalism which plagues the country and ignite the social tinder on which the bourgeoisie's shaky edifice rests. A staggering 10 million people are unemployed, child labor and indentured servitude are widespread, and poverty and malnutrition are endemic. Armed gangs of Islamic fundamentalist cutthroats, sponsored by the Pakistani secret service as part of the CIA-financed "holy war" against the Soviet army in Afghanistan in the 1980s, have helped turn the country into a world center of the heroin trade. Karachi, the commercial capital, is all but paralyzed by warfare between the locally politically dominant Urdu-speaking Mohajirs and the Sindi-dominated provincial authorities, which has also involved bloody feuding between the majority Sunni and minority Shiite Muslims.

What is needed is the independent mobilization of the proletariat under the leadership of a multinational Bolshevik party in struggle against its exploiters and oppressors. Yet the "Struggle" group, which claims to be Marxist, instead seeks to be a "left" pressure group on the ruling *capitalist* party of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, in which it is deeply buried. While complaining that Bhutto has "succumbed to the pressures of the IMF and World Bank," *Socialist Appeal* upholds instead "the ideas that Benazir's father stood for." Former prime minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was a wealthy landed aristocrat who imposed martial law in 1977 and paved the way for the current fundamentalist reign of terror with his "Islamic socialism."

Pakistan, created as a Muslim state out of the bloody 1947 partition of India, is a prisonhouse of myriad peoples that is coming apart at the seams. To sweep away the bloody rule of the landlord-capitalists, the military butchers and the religious oligarchy, Pakistan's proletariat must join with the powerful working class of India, at the head of the peasant masses and all the oppressed, in a struggle for socialist revolution throughout the subcontinent.

Militante

Syed Arif Hussain Shah

Mexico...

(continued from page 7)

same industry producing for the Mexican market, and well below those of industrial-exporting Asian countries.

In the debate over NAFTA, much was made in the U.S. about industrial pollution in the border zone. In fact, the whole area is a huge toxic dumping ground, with raw industrial waste being pumped in by the *maquiladoras*. Tests in irrigation ditches around industrial parks in Matamoros show contamination levels of harmful chemicals such as xylene running at 52,000 times U.S. safety standards. The GM Deltronics parts plant discharged 215,000 times the EPA standard for cancer-causing methylene chloride. In the electronics and plastics plants respiratory illness is rampant due to noxious fumes. Frequently, workers are given no face masks, or only one a week; gloves and eye protection are often not available. Workers at W.R. Grace's Erika plant in Reynosa say a coworker was killed and another suffered a stroke from contact with toxic chemicals, chiefly the solvent cyclohexanone. Such conditions are particularly harmful to women workers, and recently dozens of babies have been born in the Matamoros/Brownsville, Texas area with open skulls and no brain (*San Francisco Examiner*, 24 April 1992).

The woman question is in fact *central* to the *maquiladoras*. The initial overwhelmingly female workforce was recruited not only for "nimble fingers" to do stitching and minute assembly operations, but also because it was expected that young women were more pliable and could be easily intimidated. Sexual harassment is rampant. The Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras (CJM) *Newsletter* (Winter 1994) published a photo of a sign in an automobile steering wheel manufacturing plant in Monterrey proclaiming: "It's Company Policy. Either work hard or look good in a tight sweater." In another case at a Tijuana *maquiladora*, when the company president came down from the U.S. to visit, women workers were required to put on a bikini show so that he could videotape them.

But most intrusive are the pervasive pregnancy checks. Women applying for jobs have to provide urine samples, and if they test positive they are not hired. During the three-month probationary period, it is standard practice for companies to demand that women produce bloody sanitary napkins to prove they are menstruating. In some cases, a company nurse accompanies the woman into the bathroom to make sure the napkin she turns in is hers! We reported these barbaric practices in our article "Mexican Women Workers Arise: Class Struggle in the 'Global Sweatshop'" (*Women and Revolution* No. 34, Spring 1988). But they continue to this day. The CJM reports that in February 1994, all women workers in Zenith's Plant 12 in Reynosa were given pregnancy exams, and several were fired as a result.

Because Mexican law requires paid maternity leave for several weeks before and after giving birth, it is not uncommon for *maquiladaras* to simply fire pregnant women, or at most give time off without pay. In general, Mexico's labor legislation is simply ignored in the northern border region. Thus while the Federal Labor Law requires that employees be given a contract after 30 days employment, in these plants a *three-month* "probationary" period (during which workers have no rights) is not only standard but even written into "union" contracts. Workers are often fired just before the 90 days are up, and then "rehired" soon after. (Often this happens around Christmas time, to avoid paying the annual *aguinaldo* bonus.) The Arbitration and Conciliation Boards listen only to the employers, the government and CTM bosses—who usually present a solid front against the workers.

Espartaco

Mexico City: Situam university workers union contingent in January 12 march protesting government repression of peasant-based Zapatista rebels in Chiapas.

The one area in the *frontera* that wages have been moderately raised is in Matamoros, where *maquiladora* workers in 1993 were typically taking home between 150 and 240 new pesos ($50-80) for a 40-hour week, compared to half that for a six-day workweek in Reynosa. The reason is the action of the Day Laborers and Industrial Workers Union (SJOI) which has organized most of the *maquila* plants. Although part of the CTM, the SJOI was headed by a maverick leader, Agapito González Cavazos. In February 1992, just before a strike deadline, the Salinas government arrested 75-year-old González Cavazos on trumped-up charges of "tax evasion." The arrest was sanctioned by CTM boss Fidel Velázquez. The Matamoros union was plenty bureaucratic, but the CTM's claims to represent the workers are laughable. In Reynosa, *maquiladora* workers told us the only time in recent memory the union had called them to a meeting was to greet the PRI congressional candidate, Eliazar García, who is a professional clown known as "Chelelo"!

The CTM acts more like a labor contractor than a labor union, as it supplies a "disciplined" workforce to North American investors. Indeed, CTM bosses finger potential militants and run them out of the plants, as well as organizing goon squads to put down any protests. They are literally labor cops for the bosses. But as the RCA Thomson strike in Ciudad Juárez showed, their grip can be broken. In order to make lasting gains it is necessary to confront the whole edifice of state regimentation of labor in Mexico, through a conscious fight for workers organizations independent of the bourgeoisie. This can come about by forming workers committees or through a revolt within CTM "unions." But it must be part of a broader fight for a revolutionary workers party, which will seek to mobilize all the oppressed. Today, this focuses on cohering a nucleus of committed cadres, who by assimilating the lessons of past struggles will prepare for the struggles to come.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Espartaco

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WORKERS VANGUARD

On Eve of Elections

Strikes Sweep Across France

PARIS—Combative French workers have launched a major class-struggle offensive over the past month with industrial actions in over 20 different regions of the country. Strikes have repeatedly hit the auto industry, airlines, electrical service, public transportation and other sectors. Striking postal workers have halted mail service in several regions of the country, while a strike by public administration workers paralyzed the island of Corsica for more than a month.

Every day last week, central Paris was effectively taken over by demonstrators marching on the prime minister's office. And the entire country was virtually brought to a standstill on March 30 (the bourgeois press hysterically called it "Black Thursday") by a one-day strike of the nationalized railroad and domestic airline as well as the Paris subways and buses. The previous day, several hundred striking auto workers sent Prime Minister Edouard Balladur packing after they broke into the Paris stadium where he was having an electoral rally.

The backbone of the strike wave has been in the government-owned Renault auto factories, especially the largest plant of the group at Flins, just outside Paris, which workers shut down for almost three weeks. So fearful was the bourgeoisie of the Flins strike spreading that the capitalist media virtually blacked out all news coverage. In particular, the bosses were horrified by the fact that it was led by "immigrants," workers of African or North African origin. For this government of "cohabitation" between Socialist president François Mitterrand and Gaullist conservatives—the hallmark of which has been racist attacks, expulsions and segregation—the exemplary class solidarity in this strike wave between French and foreign-born workers represents a powerful threat.

Workers at government-owned Renault auto plants have spearheaded recent surge of militant labor struggle in France.

The reformist leaders of the working class have barely been able to maintain control of the rising strike wave, for these class traitors are deeply discredited by 14 years of savage austerity and racist attacks. In 1981, Socialist Party leader Mitterrand was elected president of France under the banner of the Union of the Left—a popular-front coalition between the Socialists, Communist Party (PCF) and bourgeois Left Radicals—promising prosperity and sweeping

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Drop the Charges Against Student Protesters!

New York City

On March 23, thousands of college and high school students demonstrated outside New York's City Hall to protest the vicious cuts proposed by Governor George Pataki and Mayor Rudolf Giuliani, which would gut the City University system and purge tens of thousands of working-class and minority youth from higher education. Giuliani's response was a massive police show of force and attacks on demonstrators aimed at intimidating opposition. The Partisan Defense Committee immediately issued the following protest against the police-state mobilization.

25 March 1995

District Attorney Robert Morgenthau
New York, NY

Mr. Morgenthau:

Thousands of New York City high school and college students rallied on Thursday to protest the draconian budget cuts which constitute a virtual death sentence for public education in this city. The First Amendment rights of the students to protest these cuts, which will relegate a whole generation of working-class and minority youth to second-class citizenship, were stanched by an ugly, massive and threatening police presence.

WV Photos

Mass arrests and ominous display of cop force against CUNY protesters at City Hall Park, March 23.

The ominous police mobilization, with riot gear and mounted squads, was reminiscent of cop mobilizations in the South when protesters took to the streets to demand basic civil rights. The 54 misdemeanor and six felony arrests of students demonstrating for their right to a decent education are a clear result of police provocation. The police, itching for action, attacked youth who were crossing a street to leave the demonstration in a calculated attempt to give themselves an excuse to go on a rampage. This is despicable.

The demonstration of high school and college students was totally orderly and within the bounds of the legitimate exercise of the students' First Amendment rights, until city cops attacked the protesters. Not even elementary school children were safe from this vicious police assault.

We demand you drop the charges against the 60 protesters.

Sincerely,
Paul Cooperstein

cc: Mayor Giuliani
New York Times

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 621 | 21 April 1995

13,000 Bus Drivers Fired

Mexico City: Union-Busting at Gunpoint

Victor Mendiola/La Jornada

APRIL 17—On April 8, the government of Mexico City declared the capital's publicly owned bus company, Ruta 100, "bankrupt." This left 3 million daily riders without transport, most of them from outlying working-class *colonias* (neighborhoods) of the Federal District (DF) and the state of México. Simultaneously, the government fired all of Ruta 100's nearly 13,000 workers, who are organized in the independent SUTAUR-100 union. To replace them, the DF brought in cops to operate rented buses and drastically slashed the number of routes.

To enforce this vicious attack, hundreds of heavily armed security police cordoned off Ruta 100 bus barns, maintenance depots and the union's headquarters. Warrants were issued for a dozen union leaders on trumped-up charges of corruption and "breach of trust." Ricardo Barco, one of the founders of SUTAUR and its legal adviser, was surrounded by 60 submachine-gun toting police as he came out of a Sanborn's restaurant and beaten into unconsciousness. Six of the union leaders are presently behind bars, and union funds have been frozen. Meanwhile, bail has been set at 10 million new pesos (*US$1.5 million*) per person! Mexican and U.S. labor must demand: Release the arrested SUTAUR leaders—Drop the charges! Stop the destruction of Ruta 100!

The firings and arrests have been met with defiance. When the government offered to "re-hire" fired drivers and maintenance mechanics, almost none accepted the offer. There have been huge outpourings of public protest. On April 10, a Mexico City demonstration

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Espartaco

Mexico City, April 10: Over 150,000 protest mass firing of bus drivers and jailing of union leaders, including Ricardo Barco (top).

Guatemala

CIA's Mass Murder Inc.

For nearly three years, with remarkable courage and determination, Jennifer Harbury struggled to discover the fate of her husband, Guatemalan guerrilla leader Efraín Bámaca Velásquez. Known as Commander Everardo in the ORPA (Revolutionary Organization of the People in Arms), Bámaca had disappeared in Guatemala on 12 March 1992 in an ambush by the notoriously brutal Guatemalan military. Later that year, another captured guerrilla escaped and told of seeing Bámaca in July—horribly tortured but alive—at a secret prison camp. The officer he saw bending over the torture table was one Colonel Julio Roberto Alpírez. Harbury badgered U.S. and Guatemalan officials, defying death threats and a stream of lies, camping out on a hunger strike outside government offices in Guatemala City last year, demanding the truth.

Harbury returned to Washington when offered a meeting with National Security Adviser Anthony Lake, only to be stonewalled by the Clinton administration. Then, on March 22, a week and a half into Harbury's second hunger strike, this time outside the White House, U.S. Democratic Congressman Robert Torricelli—a member of the House intelligence committee—revealed in a letter to Clinton that Bámaca had been tortured and murdered under the supervision of Guatemalan army Colonel Alpírez, who was a paid agent of the CIA.

Moreover, Torricelli said, the same Colonel Alpírez was also responsible for the June 1990 assassination of Michael DeVine, a U.S. citizen who ran an inn in the town of Poptún, in the northern rain forest region of El Petén. DeVine's body was found with hands bound and head nearly severed after he was abducted by a death squad operating from a nearby military base commanded by Alpírez. Torricelli charged that official State Department statements concerning the murders of Bámaca and DeVine "show a consistent and deliberate pattern of misinformation," and indeed, "Almost nothing the United States government has revealed

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Perkins/Washington Post

Jennifer Harbury holding photo of husband, Guatemalan guerrilla fighter Efraín Bámaca, tortured and murdered by CIA's paid assassins.

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Racist Travesty of Justice

James Frazier Sentenced

Lisa Terry

James Frazier

On April 6, in a tenth-floor courtroom of the Brooklyn Criminal Court, black transit worker James Frazier was sentenced to 90 days in jail and five years' probation for surviving a cop's bullet to his head. As court officers slapped handcuffs on him and led him out of the courtroom, more than 30 supporters, many of them fellow members of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, expressed shock and outrage that he received any jail time or probation. "This is a nightmare," Frazier's lawyer told his supporters. The nightmare began in October 1993, when Frazier's left was eye shot out by a New York cop. The cops reported Frazier "DOA" (dead on arrival) at the hospital, where they later brutally beat him while spewing racist slurs.

The police failed to kill Frazier on the streets of Brooklyn. But in a blatantly racist case of injustice, he was convicted in late February on the lesser of two counts of gun possession. Despite the incredible adversity he has faced—losing first his eye and then his job with the Transit Authority—Frazier is currently employed in a trade and supporting his family. He will serve his jail time on weekends. Frazier's lawyer has announced that the conviction will be appealed.

One measure of the grotesque injustice meted out to James Frazier is to try to remember the last time a cop was sent to jail—or even removed from the police force—for killing an unarmed civilian. Lately, at protests against cuthacks of social programs, youthful demonstrators have been on the receiving end of NYPD attacks. Meanwhile, police brutality complaints have skyrocketed—up nearly 50 percent during Mayor Giuliani and Police Commissioner Bratton's first six months. We won't forget their many victims, such as 16-year-old Asian honor student Yong Xin Huang, who was shot dead last month in Brooklyn for playing with an airgun, or Anthony Baez, choked to death in December in the Bronx after his football landed on a patrol car.

At Frazier's sentencing, his lawyer invited the judge to look around the courtroom at the family, friends and transit workers who turned out in support to see the "obvious devotion that James inspires among his co-workers and others." Several sections of Local 100, including Frazier's own Track Division, as well as the motormen's and conductors' units, called for the charges against him to be dropped and for him to be reinstated in his job. While Judge Goldberg acknowledged the support and the numerous letters he received for Frazier, which he said were "written from the heart," he still imposed a prison sentence. No douht, Frazier is being jailed in part as retribution for his pending police brutality civil suit and his defiance in the face of this racist cop frame-up.

In his brief remarks during the sentencing, Frazier told the judge that he needed his freedom to support his family, but he did not and would not apologize for a crime he didn't commit. When Frazier appeared in the Brooklyn Criminal Court lobby after being sentenced, he thanked his supporters, telling them that he "would have been locked up for a lot of time" without their dedicated support. If not for this support, Frazier might well have been slammed with the D.A.'s initial slew of frame-up charges, including attempted murder of a police officer. And the jury rejected the more serious charge of possession with intent to use, while the prosecution was unable to get the seven-year maximum sentence it sought.

The Committee for a Fighting TWU and other union militants, including some officials, as well as the Partisan Defense Committee and the Labor Black League for Social Defense, mobilized transit workers, students and anti-racist activists to support Frazier by regularly attending the trial proceedings. As Marxists, we understand that the working class can place no faith whatever in the "justice" of the capitalist courts. What happened to James Frazier is just more proof that the courts, prisons and police exist to maintain racist class rule through organized violence and terror. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Vietnam Was a Victory for All Working People

Twenty years ago, on 30 April 1975, the armed forces of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the National Liberation Front moved into Saigon, now Ho Chi Minh City. In contrast to almost the entire American left, which confined itself to social-pacifist calls to "end the war" and "bring our boys home," the Spartacist League forthrightly called for "Military Victory to the DRV/NLF!" To this day, the "Vietnam syndrome," the legacy of Washington's humiliating defeat on the battlefields of Indochina, continues to haunt America's rulers. However, as we warned at the time, the nationalist policies of the Stalinist bureaucracies in Moscow, Beijing and Hanoi posed a danger to the revolutionary gains secured by the Vietnamese masses at such great expense. Today, with the Soviet Union destroyed by counterrevolution and the fate of the Vietnamese and Cuban bureaucratically deformed workers states hanging in the balance, we again underscore the urgent need for world socialist revolution as the only road forward for humanity.

The military victory of the DRV/NLF marks the end of 30 years of civil war against colonialism and imperialism and their local allies. It means the overthrow of capitalist rule in South Vietnam, a historic conquest for the working people of the entire world and one which must be unconditionally defended by class-conscious workers against imperialist attack.

We hail this stunning defeat of U.S. imperialism, the first in a major war during this century, and greet the victory of our class brothers and sisters in Indochina with internationalist proletarian solidarity. The struggle against the imperialists' Vietnam war has also been a major task of socialists in the imperialist centers, dominating the political experience of a whole generation of young aspiring revolutionaries. And it is as fellow combatants in the international class struggle that we warn the Indochinese masses that they must place no confidence in their Stalinist leaders....

The recent events in Indochina fully confirm the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution, which holds that in the backward countries even the democratic tasks of national emancipation and agrarian revolution can only he solved by the dictatorship of the proletariat, supported by the peasantry. The weak bourgeoisies of these areas, closely linked to domestic feudal reaction and imperialism, are incapahle of carrying out a bourgeois revolution....

The task of Marxists in Vietnam and Cambodia today is to take forward the revolutionary struggle by fighting for a workers' political revolution to overthrow the hureaucracy, demanding the creation of democratic workers councils as the basis for the new state apparatus, and freedom for all parties which defend the revolution against counterrevolutionary attack. Ahove all, the struggle to go forward to final victory over capitalism requires the construction of Trotskyist parties, in Indochina and throughout the world, as part of a rehorn Fourth International....

For Political Revolution in Cambodia and Vietnam (North and South)! All Indochina Must Go Communist!

—"Capitalist Class Rule Smashed in Vietnam, Cambodia!"
WV No. 68, 9 May 1975

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The closing date for news in this issue is April 18

No. 621 **21 April 1995**

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Protests Against Ukraine Anti-Trotskyist Witchhunt

On April 1 the *Vremya* "news" broadcast on Russian television purveyed outlandish claims by the Ukrainian SBU secret police, purporting to have unearthed a plot to "overthrow" the Ukrainian government by four Moscow supporters of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). This was presented as justification by the SBU for confiscating Trotskyist literature and barring these comrades from further travel to the Ukraine. The *Vremya* broadcast, we have since learned, was preceded by a lengthy smear piece in the Russian-language Ukrainian tabloid *Kievskie Vedomosty* (30 March), whose front page screamed, "Overthrow Government in Ukraine, Intended Touring Trotskyists."

The Ukrainian capitalist authorities' attempt to criminalize Marxist ideas has been met with protests from around the world. The ICL immediately launched a campaign of protest and exposure against the sinister slanders. Our April 3 statement proclaimed, "Reviving Stalin's Smears in the Service of Impoverishing the Working People—Protest Outrageous Slanders Against Trotskyists in Moscow!" (*WV* No. 620, 7 April). On April 5, some 50 people picketed near the Ukrainian UN Mission in New York. The next day, demonstrations were held outside Ukrainian embassies and consulates in Chicago, London, Berlin and Toronto. Further protests were mounted on April 7 in Paris and Melbourne, Australia.

The protests also indicted the Russian authorities' willful failure to investigate the February 1992 murder—under sinister and mysterious circumstances—of our comrade Martha Phillips in Moscow. Protesters carried signs reading, "Reopen the Investigation of the Murder of Martha Phillips!" In Berlin, protesters stressed the connection to the Fourth Reich's vindictive persecution of former officials of the East German deformed workers state, with signs reading, "Against the Witchhunt—Defend the Former DDR Bureaucrats: Mielke, Wolf, Kessler" and "Against the Witchhunt—Defend the Real Communists of the ICL!"

Following press conferences in Moscow on April 3 and 4 attended by a range of Russian and international media, an ICL spokesman was interviewed on the BBC Russian-language radio program *Argument*. On April 4, the Russian Interfax news agency ran a dispatch headlined: "One of the Leaders of the Trotskyist International Communist League Accuses the Ukrainian Powers of Suppression of Dissent." An April 12 article by leftist journalist Renfrey Clarke, based in Moscow, linked the Ukrainian slander campaign to growing repression by the Yeltsin regime: "Russia: Slander Against Trotskyists a Danger to Whole Left" (reprinted below).

WV Photo

New York, April 5: One of seven demonstrations internationally protesting slanders by Ukrainian authorities against International Communist League.

This point was stressed as well in a moving protest from Mexico City by Esteban Volkov, grandson of Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky:

> "As the descendant of one of the families most slandered and which suffered most from Stalinist terror, and without belonging to any political organization, I energetically protest against the resurgence and use of methods from the Stalinist school of falsification in support of terror of a bonapartist or fascistic type, the objective of which is to prevent any defense of the exploited and oppressed classes."

From France, leftist writer Gilles Perrault wrote that the Ukrainian smear campaign's "grotesquery is surpassed only by its odiousness" and "inevitably conjures up the ways of the Stalinists, who repressed Trotskyist members and sympathizers for so many years." Perrault is the author of *The Red Orchestra*, an account of the heroic World War II anti-Nazi Soviet espionage network set up by Polish Jewish Communist Leopold Trepper.

Israeli civil libertarian and concentration camp survivor Israel Shahak added his voice to "condemn without reserve the dictatorial attitude of the Ukrainian government." Another former victim of racist repression, Baruch Hirson, editor of the journal *Searchlight South Africa*, wrote:

> "We are reminded of similar campaigns in South Africa, under its apartheid regime, which used the same methods to target all those who dared to criticise its arbitrary methods of rule and control. Some of us were victims of that government and I personally spent nine years in prison for my activities against the state....
>
> "Furthermore, although we are not connected with the International Communist League, we believe that they have the right to criticise your government and call for the restoration of the legacy bequeathed by Lenin and his comrades in 1917. The hope that Lenin inspired when his party took power is in urgent need of renewal ..."

The *Kievskie Vedomosty* article, while vilifying our comrades as "conspirators," in fact revealed a wide-ranging *conspiracy by the Kiev secret services* against our supporters and those interested in our Trotskyist views. A "dossier" on the ICL in the *Vedomosty* report included the full names and nationalities of several of our comrades, the name of the street of a Kiev apartment where they had stayed and a photograph, taken at a birthday party more than two years ago, "supplied by" the SBU.

This surveillance and harassment were clearly ordained at the highest levels of the state security apparatus. *Vedomosty* extensively quoted the director of the Kiev SBU, Lieutenant General Vladimir Likhouzov, and First Deputy Prosecutor Sergei Vinokurov. Likhouzov intoned, "In the instance of the Trotskyists, we are talking not of persecuting dissent for political motives—the SBU does not engage in that." Likhouzov's fatuous assurances to the contrary, *Vedomosty* itself reported SBU persecution of Ukrainian leftists who "had fed on the ideas of Trotskyism," noting they were subjected to inquisitional "preventative discussions" by "counterintelligence agents."

The SBU well knows, and even

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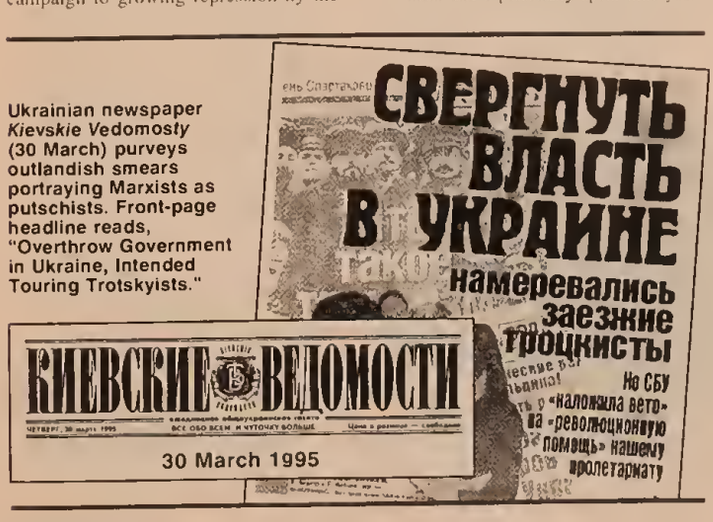

Ukrainian newspaper *Kievskie Vedomosty* (30 March) purveys outlandish smears portraying Marxists as putschists. Front-page headline reads, "Overthrow Government in Ukraine, Intended Touring Trotskyists."

Russia

Slander Against Trotskyists a Danger to Whole Left

By Renfrey Clarke

The author is the Moscow correspondent of the Green Left Weekly *of Sydney, Australia.*

MOSCOW—In Russia, April 1—the "Day of Laughter"—often comes as a shock to people used to its tame counterpart in the English-speaking world. On this particular day, journalists are allowed to subvert their own profession, presenting elaborate and outrageous hoaxes designed to trip up the credulous.

So when the television news program *Vremya*, which can be seen throughout most of Russia, Belarus and Ukraine, reported on the evening of April 1 that four foreign Trotskyists with 50 kilos of agitational literature had been banned from Ukraine for plotting the overthrow of the Ukrainian government, that was a joke, right?

Fooled again. For once, an improbable story put to air on April 1 was totally serious, and for left-wing opponents of the governments in Russia and Ukraine, thoroughly menacing.

"The overthrow of the government in Ukraine was planned by four ideological Trotskyists representing the International Communist League," *Vremya* stated in its 53-second clip.

"They passed themselves off as scholars wishing to study in archives. At one of the apartments of the visitors in Kiev, the Struggle Against Terrorism Division of the Ukrainian Security Service seized approximately 50 kilograms of propagandistic literature....

"According to information from operatives, four foreign citizens, two from Germany, one from France and one from America, attempted to organise in Ukraine a section of the International Communist League....

"Furthermore, they called openly for the overthrow of the constitutional order in Ukraine and for the seizure of power....

"As a result, travel into Ukraine for the four revolutionary leaders from abroad is officially closed."

Better known to Western leftists as the Spartacists, the International Communist League has made perhaps the most determined effort of any international left tendency to set up national sections and recruit members in the former Soviet Union. Although this effort has not been

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Labor Organizing in the Maquiladoras

WV Photo

El Mañana (Nuevo Laredo)

Sign over Sony plant in Nuevo Laredo reads, "Everything Under Control," even as militant workers defied brutal cop assault against April 1994 strike.

This article is the product of a trip to Mexico's northern border region last summer by a joint reporting team from Workers Vanguard *and* Espartaco, *the newspaper of our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México. The team spoke with workers from several* maquiladora *"free trade" plants in the area along the lower Rio Grande (Río Bravo in Mexico). Under the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), all of Mexico has become, in effect, a giant* maquiladora *zone, with sweatshops superexploiting Mexican workers at starvation wages, producing for the U.S. market. Part one of this article, dealing with recent strikes and the development of the growing industrial belt in northern Mexico, was published in* WV *No. 620, 7 April.*

Independent union organizing under the harsh conditions in the *maquiladoras* is extremely difficult, requiring great care. There are huge concentrations of young, low-paid, potentially militant workers: in Reynosa, for example, a city of some 300,000 inhabitants, there are more than 30,000 workers in 52 *maquiladora* plants; in Matamoros, in 1992 there were 93 *maquiladoras* employing 36,000 workers. Companies like TRW, Deltronics and Sony often have half a dozen plants or more in one city. The young workers are also literate for the most part, and a number of companies even find it profitable to sponsor primary and secondary school classes in the plants. On the other hand, there is extreme repression, with the huge industrial parks run like little police states. Militants must worry about pervasive surveillance, as well as goon squads organized by the bureaucrats of the corporatist CTM "unions."

And the very poverty which can generate explosive protest weighs heavily against militant organizing in a thousand ways. This not only produces anger, but also desperation and resignation; those who must constantly worry about how to pay for their next meals and those of their children are often worn down by daily cares and fearful of being run out of the plant. Moreover, when you earn 20-30 pesos a day, spending 1.5 pesos for transportation, 4-5 pesos for food, it's almost impossible to pay 2 pesos for a newspaper. And when there is no electricity, TVs have to run on batteries, which are extremely expensive. We found during our visit that many workers never read papers and knew little about the Zapatista revolt in Chiapas.

Part Two
Women Workers Revolt

There have been numerous small struggles. For example, at a TRW plant that makes seat belts there was a successful 15-minute work stoppage in 1993 demanding *chairs*. (The company demanded women sew standing up.) But one of the most effective ways that the bosses try to prevent class and union consciousness is to *cut off the memory of past struggles*. This is accomplished by periodically firing (laying off) every worker who has been in the plant for any length of time. Due to this kind of "age purge," there are few production workers over the age of 24 in the plants. Thus at Zenith in Reynosa workers knew little of the 1983 walkout there that was the first major strike in the *maquiladoras*. So we will briefly recount it here. The story of that strike is told in the book *Sangre joven* (Young Blood), a 1986 collection of accounts by *maquiladora* workers.

The walkout began after workers found out that in Matamoros Zenith was paying almost double the wages they were receiving. In October 1983, informal meetings after work began to grow from 20-30 people to 100. A commission was formed to speak with the company and the CTM. But in early November, the leader of the commission, Rufino, was kidnapped. The strike broke out spontaneously to demand that Rufino be returned alive. A makeshift red-and-black flag, the traditional strike symbol in Mexico, was stitched together from a slip and a blouse. Commissions were sent to other plants, and in less than two hours the whole industrial park, 14 plants with about 10,000 workers, was stopped:

> "Never before had the people ever met like this. We were all there... By the middle of the day the whole city had found out about the affair, and by 2 or 3 in the afternoon we had a lot of people from the other shifts ... Moreover, there were people there from the colonias [neighborhoods], and from many places;

Ramos/El Mañana (Nuevo Laredo)

Ruben R. Ramirez

Women workers are central to labor organizing in *maquiladora* belt. Left: Sony workers' sign reads, "Company Provokes Violence." Above: RCA Thomson workers in Ciudad Juárez ousted corporatist "union" leadership in week-long strike in February.

some brought us coffee and food, others money and what they call leaflets, giving us support, saying that our cause was just and so on.

"I had never seen such papers before, but by the next day we were distributing them..

"The press, forget about them; they spewed epithets about us, saying we were nothing but 'crazy girls who don't know what they want'; they also said that we were driven by 'mysterious forces'."

—*Sangre joven*

On the fourth day, the local CTM boss finally appeared, amid catcalls from the strikers, and later that day Rufino was released.

"By then, the whole city was in suspense, businesses were closed, saying that there were no sales because of the *maquiladora* movement.... We had made two demonstrations, and the press was hurling epithets at us like 'communist agitators.'

"Obviously we weren't agitators or communists, we didn't even know what that was."

The strike was settled with the appearance of CTM leader Fidel Velázquez in person. "Don Fidel" spoke paternalistically to the "*niñas*" (little girls) and then signed an agreement to hold new union elections. The elections were held, and the militants who had formed a Democratic Committee were elected. But the company refused to grant the increase, the CTM brought in *porros* (thugs) from the oil workers union in Tampico, and within a few months many of the strike leaders were gone.

That was a little over a decade ago, yet to Zenith workers today this experience is not ancient history—it is *non*-history, and its lessons are buried. However, a revolt by women workers last year in Nuevo Laredo has again starkly posed many of the same issues. This was a series of protests over the imposition of a *charro* (bureaucratic) leadership of the CTM *maquiladora* union at Magnéticos de México, owned by Sony, which is the largest manufacturer in the city. MDM has seven plants in Nuevo Laredo, which produce 2.5 *million* audio tape cassettes a day. At the beginning of 1994, the local CTM union chief, José María (Chema) Morales, had himself named head of the Maquiladoras Union and began to impose delegates (shop stewards), overruling the membership's choices. In January, some workers protested, went on hunger strike and were fired. Meanwhile, the company introduced Sunday work without extra pay. Then in mid-April, the CTM announced that snap elections would be held, within 24 hours, to prevent the opposition from organizing.

This provocation led to a demonstration by over 1,000 out of the 1,800 Sony workers in the city, along with a half-hour work stoppage in another *maquiladora*, Lamosa. CTM union leader and state deputy Maricela López warned that "we don't want strikes because they hurt the *maquiladoras* and the investors" (*El Mañana* [Nuevo Laredo], 16 April 1994). The next day, Saturday, several hundred workers, mostly women, stopped work on the first shift demanding democratic union elections, and blocked entrances to MDM's Plant 1 in downtown Nuevo Laredo. The company called in the mayor and police chief, who sent cops in through the plant and attacked the strikers without warning from behind. At least a dozen women were severely beaten, and several male workers were arrested as they sought to come to their aid. Ironically, on top of this plant is a big sign proclaiming: "SONY—Everything Under Control."

This assault only strengthened the strikers' resolve. On Sunday, some 200 women were sitting down, "guarding" the plant and blocking strikebreakers with human chains. A number of union leaders in Nuevo Laredo signed a manifesto denouncing the interference of "Chema" Morales. By Monday, the round-the-clock plant gate blockade had grown to 300 workers. The CTM unsuccessfully tried to run scabs in with "union" buses. The company announced it was suing 30 workers for lost production amounting to $250,000 a day. The local paper, *El Mañana* (18 April 1994), worried that "Women Workers of Magnéticos Could Turn to Violence." Finally, after five days on strike, a shock troop of state and city police dispersed the picket at 5:30 a.m., pursuing them through the streets and parks of the city.

Mexican workers must break straitjacket of state control. Company finks (behind fence) record workers' votes in "election" between state-run union and independent federation at Plásticos Bajacal factory in Tijuana, December 1993.

David Maung/Impact Visuals

In repudiation of these strong-arm tactics, the militants announced that they would abandon the ruling PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) and vote for Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas' PRD (Party of the Democratic Revolution, a bourgeois populist "opposition") in the August 1994 elections. They also refused to march in the CTM's May Day demonstration. Then, to make sure they didn't, the CTM lined the march route with squads armed with clubs. In mid-June, a "constituent congress" of the Maquiladora Union was held in the presence of "Don Fidel" Velázquez. Again, CTM *guaruras* (goons) kept dissidents out, even those with delegates' credentials, and "Chema" Morales' slate was duly "elected."

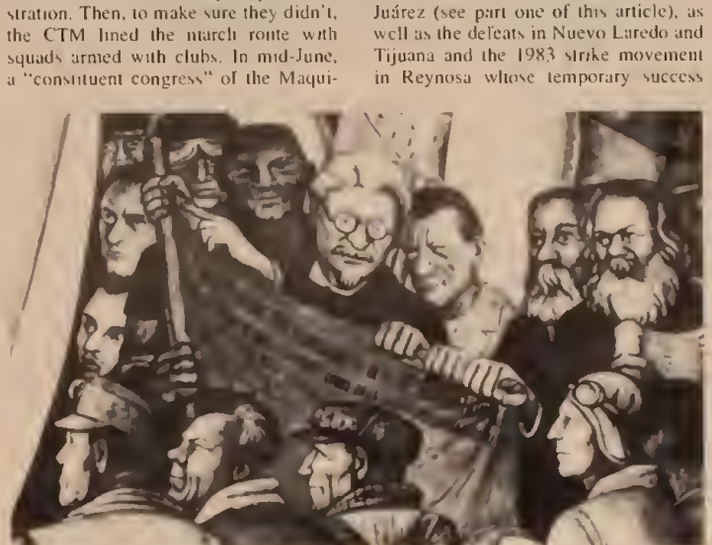
A few months earlier, in Tijuana, Baja California, workers at another *maquila* plant, Plásticos Bajacal (a subsidiary of the Boston-based Carlisle Plastics) sought to oust a similar company "union," affiliated with the CROM (Regional Confederation of Mexican Workers, which is similar to the CTM and also linked to the ruling PRI), and replace it with the Confederation of Revolutionary Workers (COR). The latter was backed by a number of U.S. unions. In December 1993, just three weeks after the U.S. Congress passed NAFTA, the 450 workers at this plant participated in an "election" supervised by the local Arbitration and Conciliation Board. But halfway through the vote, the COR asked to call it off, when it was clear that company intimidation would spell defeat. Workers were required to state their vote out loud, and right behind the vote counters stood company representatives writing down the names of those who voted for the independent union!

This bitter experience only underlines that reliance on the bourgeois state will not advance labor's cause. It is by mobilizing the workers' power, such as through organizing strikes extending beyond individual factories and directly challenging the capitalists' property "rights," that fighting unions will be won and fortified. This is what built the CIO industrial unions in the U.S. in the 1930s, and it will take no less today.

Revolutionary Leadership Is Key

The recent limited victories in Ciudad Juárez (see part one of this article), as well as the defeats in Nuevo Laredo and Tijuana and the 1983 strike movement in Reynosa whose temporary success was quickly dissipated, show the same fundamental elements which confront efforts to organize the cruelly exploited and oppressed *maquiladora* workers. As we wrote in *WV* No. 617, "Key is throwing off the stranglehold of the corporatist CTM 'unions' which are directly integrated into the capitalist ruling party and the elaborate 'conciliation and arbitration' mechanisms of state control." This is part of a broader international phenomenon, which Leon Trotsky, who together with V.I. Lenin led the Russian October Revolution of 1917, pointed to over half a century ago. In a 1940 essay (left unfinished when he was struck down by a Stalinist assassin in his Mexican exile) on "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay," Trotsky wrote:

"There is one common feature in the development, or more correctly the degeneration, of modern trade union organizations throughout the world: it is their drawing close to and growing together with the state power... By transforming the trade unions into organs of the state, fascism invents nothing new; it merely draws to their ultimate conclusion the tendencies inherent in imperialism."



Diego Rivera

Mural by Mexican artist Diego Rivera depicts Trotsky and his supporters holding up banner of Fourth International along with Engels and Marx (right). Revolutionary internationalist leadership is needed to organize workers on both sides of the border.

In Mexico, he noted, the unions were formally turned into semistate institutions, and even though this arrangement was presented as aiding the workers, it would be turned into a weapon against them. This was particularly true under bonapartist rule, and because imperialist capital dominates the Mexican state.

There is no lack of sympathy with or expressions of support for the Mexican *maquiladora* workers. Last June, a Japanese leftist activist staged a hunger strike to protest the repression of the Sony workers in Nuevo Laredo. In Mexico and from the U.S., a certain number of groups have sought to aid independent organizing of the *maquiladoras*. Among these is the Comité Fronterizo de Obreras (Border Committee of Women Workers), which works with the American Friends Service Committee, educating the workers as to their rights under Mexico's laws. But even with their "advanced" social clauses, Article 123 of the Mexican constitution and the Federal Labor Law which implements it are a straitjacket of state control of the unions. Moreover, as we have shown, these laws are routinely ignored, particularly in the border region. Marxists understand that laws are the product of the balance of class forces. And to organize the potential power of women workers in the *maquiladoras* as well as the rest of Mexico's millions-strong proletariat, what is needed is a leadership that carefully prepares a struggle that must inevitably take on the capitalist state.

In the past, particularly during the late 1970s, there were numerous "democratic" oppositions in Mexican unions. Yet these were absorbed by creating or reviving other federations parallel to the CTM (such as the CROC and CROM) and drawing them under the control of a new umbrella group, the Congress of Labor (CT). It will take a class-struggle opposition fighting consciously for the independence of the unions from the bourgeoisie to break the corporatist stranglehold of the PRI-government and its CTM/CT labor cops. The present period of decomposition of the regime is a key moment to fight for such a program. In a special election supplement last summer, the Grupo Espartaquista de México urged:

"Worker militants should *elect workers committees* independent of state controls and all of the bourgeois parties (including the PRD), to drive out the *charro* bureaucrats and lay the basis for genuine unions as organs of struggle of the workers. In *maquiladora* industrial 'parks' such committees cannot be limited to individual plants but must be spread through the area to mobilize the concentrated proletarian power. In border regions and against 'multinational' companies, there must be appeals for real international solidarity through industrial action by workers on the other side of the line."

—*WV* No. 604, 5 August 1994

In the course of the sharp battles needed

continued on page 6

Maquiladora...

(continued from page 5)

to build such organizations of labor struggle, tactics such as plant occupations backed up by workers defense committees and mass workers mobilizations against repression would be needed, the GEM emphasized.

Such a class confrontation cannot be won on the program of simple trade unionism, but must go beyond the limits of the capitalist system. In the face of the brutal attack on workers' living standards, labor militants must demand a *sliding scale of wages*, a wage "escalator" to fully compensate for the spiraling inflation. Against the mushrooming layoffs, workers must fight for a *sliding scale of hours*, to divide the available work among all those seeking it. And a class-struggle opposition cannot be limited to economic demands, but must respond to all forms of oppression, notably of women. Thus, particularly in the *maquiladoras*, demands must be raised for 24-hour day-care services, for workers safety committees empowered to stop production, and for an end to all pregnancy tests, which are used as grounds to refuse to hire and grant permanent status to women workers. A strike demanding reinstatement of a woman fired for being pregnant could have international impact.

Of particular importance in the *maquiladoras* and throughout Mexico in the wake of NAFTA is a fight for solidarity labor *action* in the U.S., and linking strike actions on both sides of the border. This is not "pie in the sky, by and by" but a very real possibility and *necessity*. In 1987, workers at Volkswagen's giant plant in Puebla got tremendous help during a hard-fought strike when the unions at VW's main plant in Germany refused to work overtime to make up for production lost in Mexico. In 1991-92, a militant eight-month strike by El Paso garment workers, who occupied the sweatshops, ended in a victory that was quickly followed by a strike against U.S.-owned *maquiladoras* in Matamoros. Workers must not allow themselves to be divided by the border.

Indeed, they must fight to forge an *internationalist* workers party. Lenin emphasized in his book, *What Is To Be Done?* that one function of the party of the revolutionary vanguard is to act as the *memory* of the proletariat. How crucial this is can be seen in the experiences of the Mexican *maquiladora* workers recounted above, who have repeatedly gone through the same brutal experiences without the lessons from them being passed on. What is needed is a *revolutionary* leadership of labor and the oppressed. In his 1940 essay, Trotsky noted:

> "In other words, the trade unions in the present epoch cannot simply be the organs of democracy as they were in the epoch of free capitalism and they cannot any longer remain politically neutral, that is, limit themselves to serving the daily needs of the working class. They can no longer be reformist, because the objective conditions leave no room for any serious and lasting reforms. The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

Workers' Hands Across the Border

This is all the more the case when we are talking of Mexican industries and workforces that are increasingly integrated into the U.S. economy. Faced with the passage of NAFTA and the increasing "globalization" of industrial production, liberal- and reformist-led U.S. unions have lately been making a show of "solidarity" with independent union organizing in Mexico. Often this "support" is a thin veil for outright protectionism. Thus, following the Zapatista Indian uprising on New Year's Day 1994, a resolution was passed by the San Francisco Labor Council protesting the Mexican government attack on Chiapas and calling for a "boycott of Mexican goods." This was so patently protectionist that it was later dropped. In the Northern California East Bay region, the Alameda County Central Labor Council passed a similar resolution calling for "the Clinton Administration to establish an independent commission to investigate the alleged human rights violations in Chiapas." Both of these have in common that they look *to the imperialists* to support "human rights," labor rights, or whatever.

While the Machinists and some other unions have sponsored trips to the *maquiladoras*, and United Auto Workers locals in St. Paul and Kansas City have taken steps like contributing to supporting organizers for a "democratic" union contesting the CTM tops in the Ford Cuautitlán plant near Mexico City, the only sustained effort at "cross-border" organizing by a national union has been by the United Electrical Workers (UE).

El Mañana (Nuevo Laredo)

Combative Sony strikers block plant gate in Nuevo Laredo, April 1994.

The UE has established a "strategic organizing alliance" with the small FAT (Authentic Workers Federation) in Mexico. It has even launched a fund drive to "Sponsor an organizer in Mexico." Their first target was the five General Electric plants in Ciudad Juárez. A UE delegation visited with GE workers in Juárez in a high-profile tour including reporters from the MacNeil/Lehrer news program. But a week after their photo appeared in the *UE News* (19 November 1993), General Electric fired three of the workers the delegation spoke with. That same week, Honeywell fired 21 women workers from their Chihuahua plant for union activities with the FAT, which had been supported by the UE and the Teamsters.

In response, the UE and Teamsters tops took the U.S. companies to the bogus "labor court" set up by NAFTA, the San Antonio-based "National Administrative Office" (NAO). This bureaucratic agency was set up to piece off the AFL-CIO in the labor "side deal" to the "free trade" agreement. The labor tops wanted some government body to appeal to, just as they crawl to the National Labor Relations Board in the U.S. So subordinated to the capitalist state are the reformist union leaders that when there is no existing agency of government labor control, they rush to create one!

The "NAO" was soon revealed as nothing but a front for the companies. In October, it threw out workers' complaints about the firings of FAT supporters at GE and Honeywell, even while admitting that "the timing of the dismissals appears to coincide with organizing drives by independent unions at both plants." Having sufficiently intimidated its workers with firings and a barrage of anti-union propaganda, GE allowed a representation election to be held last summer, which the FAT lost by a whopping six-to-one margin. In the aftermath, the UE tried to play up the "first-ever secret ballot election in the maquiladora zone." This is just a cover for the stinging defeat which their strategy of appealing to the imperialist state has produced.

Now the "National Administrative Office" is deciding on a complaint filed against Sony for the attack on and dismissals of the women workers in Nuevo Laredo last April. While the company boycotted a February 13 NAO hearing in San Antonio, Texas, this toothless board already dismissed the workers' protest against Sunday work and their demands for guarantees of the right to organize independent unions. Where the hidebound main-line AFL-CIO tops, who don't even know how to organize a strike, declare Mexican (or Japanese) workers the enemy, for the "progressive" labor bureaucrats, "solidarity" is sending a few hundred bucks, posting a notice on the Internet, and *appealing to an administrative agency of Yankee imperialism*! The legalistic cretinism of capitalism's labor lieutenants knows no bounds.

Thus a social-democratic "dissident" union grouping in the U.S., Labor Notes, has been among those calling for "creative strategies to build links of solidarity across our U.S.-Mexico-Canada borders." Hailing union leaders who were "quick to rise to the new challenges" posed by NAFTA, a December 1993 Labor Notes letter cites Morty Bahr, head of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), on the need to promote "human rights, and free union development...in all three countries." What a travesty! For decades the CWA bureaucracy has been at the forefront of CIA-sponsored union-busting in Latin America, from Guyana and Chile (where they helped engineer the bloody overthrow of leftist governments) to El Salvador, where they backed the junta against militant phone workers! The "free trade unions" sponsored by the "AFL-CIA" are vehicles for imperialist domination. *This* is what the reformists' "creative strategies" lead to.

Moreover, even the most liberal and "progressive" labor reformists necessarily appeal to the same kind of protectionist chauvinism as the more crass business unionists. Thus the *UE News* (16 September 1994) wrote: "Helping Mexican workers organize helps them while safeguarding our jobs and living standards. If Mexican workers do not have a chance to build strong democratic unions, they will not be able to demand better wages and benefits from the U.S. companies gaining superprofits from their labor." What the UE is arguing for here is to raise Mexican wages so U.S. companies won't "run away" to cheap-labor Mexico. With that kind of argument, it was easy for GE to appeal to Mexican workers' suspicions that labor "support" from U.S. unions was only designed to deprive them of jobs.

The paucity and repeated failures of "cross-border organizing" by U.S. unions are concrete proof of the bankruptcy of simple trade unionism in this epoch, and how it serves imperialist state control. In the face of a *ten-to-one* wage differential, there is no way that liberals and reformists—who accept the framework of capitalist rule—can lay the basis for trust and common struggle between Mexican, U.S. and Canadian workers. It is by linking the day-to-day issues to broader social and political questions in the fight against capitalist oppression and posing a transitional program for socialist revolution that national divisions among workers can be overcome, particularly between imperialist countries and their neocolonies. As Trotsky wrote in the May 1940 "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution": "Only under its own revolutionary direction is the proletariat of the colonies and the semicolonies capable of achieving invincible collaboration with the proletariat of the metropolitan centers, and with the world working class as a whole."

The growing interpenetration of the U.S. and Mexican economies; the presence in the U.S. of several million Mexican and Central American workers as a human bridge, bringing with them more militant traditions of labor struggle, such as in the case of Los Angeles janitors, truckers, drywall construction workers, hotel workers, etc.; the development of a huge industrial belt across northern Mexico, with auto plants and *maquiladora* factories producing for the U.S. market—all these factors provide a tremendous opportunity for labor organizing across the international borders. *But it will not be accomplished by simple (reformist) trade unionism*, and even less by legalistic philanthropic advisors. As with the 1906 Cananea copper miners strike, organized by the American syndicalists of the IWW and Mexican anarchists, the industrial organization of the *maquiladora* belt will be through stormy struggles which must be led by those who fight for a revolutionary overturn of the capitalist system on both sides of the border.

The anarcho-syndicalist prejudices of the IWW led them to ignore the decisive importance of the state and to fail to build a party like the Bolsheviks of Lenin and Trotsky. While many "Wobblies" went on to join the young Communist Party in the U.S., the absence of a revolutionary workers party in Mexico sealed the fate of the Mexican Revolution of 1910-17, as the peasants rose up but found no proletarian vanguard to lead them. As Trotsky wrote in 1940, "The independence of the trade unions in the class sense, in their relations to the bourgeois state, can, in the present conditions, be assured only by a completely revolutionary leadership, that is, the leadership of the Fourth International." It is to reforging a Trotskyist Fourth International that the Mexican and U.S. sections of the International Communist League dedicate their efforts. ■

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Young Spartacus

After NCAA Victory

Cops Riot Against UCLA Students

LOS ANGELES—On the night of April 3, UCLA students took to the streets to celebrate the Bruin victory in the NCAA basketball finals. Thousands of students poured into the streets of Westwood for a good time, only to be met by a line of baton-wielding cops, a barrage of rubber bullets, stinging pepper spray and tear gas. In one letter written to the UCLA *Daily Bruin*, some students described that night:

> "We barely escaped the human stampede and then saw the news coverage of the Westwood 'riots.' The news anchor informed us that the police had been acting for our safety.... Thanks to the 'protection' of the police, however, we were shot at with rubber bullets, nearly trampled and barred from returning to our apartments."

The Monday night cop riot in Westwood—the mostly white residential area surrounding UCLA—was a direct provocation by the LAPD against UCLA students. The LAPD is now outrageously seeking to press a lawsuit against UCLA fraternities, claiming that the frats were largely responsible for the cops' rampage and that some parties over the weekend point to "a continuing problem" which is a "nuisance to the community." The cops are threatening to shut down any frats or apartment buildings "causing the problems." The LAPD is also going over videotapes to "identify and locate people who assaulted officers" and says they are "pursuing these students with felony charges" (*Daily Bruin*, 11 April).

The attack was also part and parcel of the ongoing crackdown against the presence of *any* blacks and Latinos in yuppie Westwood. According to one report, more than 20 mostly black and Latino youth were arrested, and one black Los Angeles Community College student, Billy Ray Bolden, was beaten up in the County Jail and his legs and face were so swollen he had to be hospitalized after his release. The Spartacus Youth Clubs say: Hands off the students!

Won Woo/Daily Bruin photos

UCLA students brutalized by LAPD riot cops during celebration of NCAA basketball championship, April 3.

A more massive cop rampage took place only two days earlier in South-Central Los Angeles, flashpoint of the 1992 L.A. upheaval. Over 800 cops and FBI agents were mobilized in a massive predawn raid, arresting 60 people and trampling through over 130 homes in order to terrorize and subjugate the black and Latino ghettos under the guise of "stopping gang violence"—scapegoating "gangs" for the misery and poverty of capitalism. At one woman's home, the cops used a battering ram to smash through the front door, joking afterward that at least they hadn't demolished the entire house.

After the Bruin victory, UCLA students found out firsthand about the terror the ruling class regularly metes out to enforce its racist rule. The cops and courts are the armed fist of capitalism, a system whereby the wealthy few—like L.A.'s billionaire Republican mayor Richard Riordan and the millionaire UC Regents—live off the profits that are generated by the labor of working people. As V.I. Lenin wrote, "The state is an organ of class *domination*, an organ of *oppression* of one class by another."

Both acts of police terror last week were carried out with the intention of smashing heads and sending a bloody message, but the ruling class has ominous plans for inner-city youth. After the siege in South-Central, black LAPD chief Willie Williams made these intentions clear when he said, "This isn't a sweep. This is done to put people in jail" (*Los Angeles Times*, 2 April). We say: Drop all the charges!

The huge contradiction between the misery and poverty generated by capitalism and the enormous social power of the workers is the system's Achilles' heel. As the U.S. economy becomes less reliable, the bourgeoisie can no longer afford to use Band-Aids of reform in order to appease social unrest. Increasingly, the ruling class will rely more heavily on the repressive apparatus of the state to maintain its dominance over the toiling masses. Students and inner-city populations are particularly vulnerable to police repression because they don't hold much social power. The labor movement is key to stopping racist cop terror.

Impotent calls for civilian review boards, like those put forward by lawyer Michael Zinzun's Coalition Against Police Abuse, or demands for "community control" of the cops sow the illusion that through pressuring the bourgeoisie, the forces of state terror might somehow change their stripes. But the LAPD is one of the more graphic examples that the cops are the armed fist of the capitalist rulers. It's a particularly brutal, paramilitary police force because of the historic weakness of organized labor in this anti-union, "open shop" city.

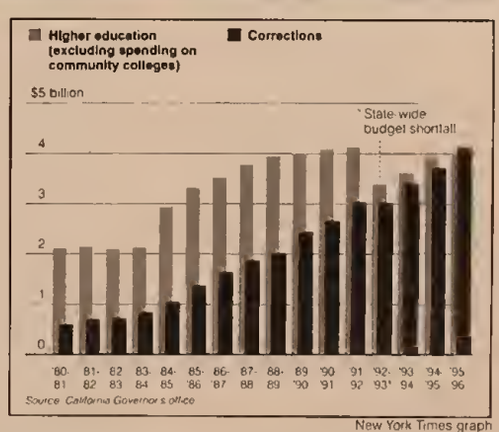
This legacy has been challenged by the militant struggles of the predominantly Latino unions like H.E.R.E. Local 11 and SEIU 399, Justice for Janitors. Linked in a class-struggle fight with historically powerful and combative unions like the Teamsters and Longshore—all of which have faced cop assaults as well—these forces could easily be a spark for struggle in the U.S. and Mexico. What is urgently posed is the need for a multiracial, revolutionary workers party that will ally students and the oppressed ghetto populations with the real social power of labor. We want to forge a workers party to organize students and labor with a revolutionary program for class struggle that fights against racism and police terror on the road to a socialist revolution! ■

Lockdown U.S.A.—Incarceration Over Education

We have previously noted that as American capitalism gets more desperate and vicious, an entire generation of black youth are consigned to poverty and prisons. Over *1.5 million* men and women are languishing in America's dungeons as inner-city youth face a future of no education and no jobs. Recently, even the *New York Times* (12 April) remarked on this trend. An article reported that for the first time, California this year will spend more money on prisons (over $4 billion) than on the state university system (see graph, right).

Billions will be spent to construct new prisons to house the expected hundreds of thousands more people that will be ensnared by the American "justice" system—particularly through California's draconian "three strikes" law, whereby ripping off a slice of pizza can get you a 25-years-to-life sentence. As a result, according to projections in a Rand Corporation study, by the year 2002, California's spending on higher education will get just one percent, while prisons will capture 18 percent of the state budget.

Just about the only growth industry in the U.S. is the construction of new high-tech prison hells to incarcerate what the racist bourgeoisie regards as a "surplus" population. The bipartisan assault on the oppressed that produces more prisons, more racist "legal" lynchings and more poverty can only be defeated through sharp class struggle against the whole system of capitalist repression. The fight for free quality education for all takes a socialist revolution to get rid of this system.



New York Times graph

CUNY...

(continued from page 16)

antagonizing even broader layers of the population. The latest target is the city's 6,000 public school bus drivers, mechanics and escorts, mostly organized in Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1181, who are threatening to strike when Easter break is over April 24. The city is threatening to bust the union by tearing up its contract guaranteeing jobs and wage levels. On April 13, union members and students gave Pataki a big Bronx cheer when he addressed a community meeting in the overwhelmingly white, conservative borough of Staten Island.

Giuliani can be defeated! What is required is to use the muscle of NYC's powerful, integrated labor movement, particularly transit workers, who could bring Wall Street to its knees. The New York Spartacus Youth Club has fought at teach-ins, meetings and rallies for *students to unite with labor in a one-day citywide strike to shut down NYC*, as part of the struggle for jobs and free, quality education for all. And we have pointed out the main obstacle to this: the labor bureaucrats and politicians who tie students and labor to the Democratic Party. The call to strike against the cuts has been featured prominently on SYC signs and banners at the demonstrations, striking a chord with many CUNY students, who in their vast majority come from working-class families and who themselves often work full-time.

On March 23, after hearing only empty rhetoric about taking the fight to Wall Street and then being subjected to the violent cop attack, hundreds of students marched to nearby Borough of Manhattan Community College to debate what happened and what to do next. Frustration and anger boiled over as students shouted, "We need a leadership!" But the International Socialist Organization (ISO), which earlier on played a prominent role in the CUNY coalition, made sure there would be no such debate. While students were clamoring to get a chance to speak, ISO spokesman Joan Parkin, who was on the "tactics" committee for the demonstration, grabbed the bullhorn to close the meeting, saying, "It's time to leave, it's time to go."

From the beginning of the protests, there has been a strong impulse to march on Wall Street, the center of American capitalist finance. So, at the coalition meeting following the March 23 protest, representatives of Local 1199 president Dennis Rivera and Democratic Party pol (and former FBI fink) Al Sharpton showed up to say they had the clout to pull it off. But any such march would necessarily be under their tight control. Billed as a "nonviolent" commemoration of the murder of Martin Luther King Jr., the April 4 demonstration was designed to *derail* the impulse toward class-struggle action against the bankers and brokers and their twin capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans.

On April 4, Local 1199 members and students alike cheered verbal attacks on Wall Street and even one leftist's call for an "independent party" representing workers' interests. But Rivera made *his* allegiance clear by threatening to walk the union out of the protest after speakers denounced the vicious cop attack the week before. Sharpton, who put on a left face to call for a "new system," saying, "I used to think we can reform it," cynically smeared radical speakers critical of the cops and the Democrats as "working for the other side." For all their talk of fighting Wall Street, Rivera & Co. won't fight to mobilize their ranks to *shut the city down*.

Rivera and the other union bureaucrats want the city's hard-pressed workers and youth *to beg for crumbs*, not *fight for power*. They won't and can't lead a real fight against the corporate bosses demanding cutbacks because they are beholden to the Democratic Party front men for Wall Street rule. While Rivera is a popular union leader with a "militant" image, his first loyalty is to his position as vice president of the state Democratic Party—and as protégé of arch-reactionary, anti-abortion bigot Cardinal O'Connor.

Many CUNY students were around to see how Rivera "supported" their 1991 struggle, when more than a dozen campuses were occupied by students protesting cutbacks and tuition hikes mandated by Democratic governor Mario Cuomo. When militants appealed for Rivera's help, all he offered was advice to end the building occupations and have "faith that we can get the governor to come back to traditional Democratic values." The fight for jobs, education and medical care for all requires a political fight against the pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats of all stripes, to *break* the Democratic Party stranglehold on independent working-class struggle.

Young Spartacus

Following police attack on March 23 demonstration, hundreds of protesters poured into Borough of Manhattan Community College for intense debate over how to wage struggle against assault on education, social services.

You Can't Fight Wall Street with the Democrats

Many student activists understand that to fight the attacks on higher education, they have to link up their struggles with the city's powerful unions. Various self-styled socialist groups have played up to this sentiment with radical-sounding rhetoric. While the reformist ISO hasn't even made a pretense of raising socialist politics, restricting itself to pushing its "connections" with Rivera and Sharpton, groups like the Revolutionary Socialist Group (RSG) and the League for a Revolutionary Party (LRP) have raised calls for strikes against the cuts, and even for a labor party independent of the Democrats.

At the April 4 rally, CUNY Coalition speaker Shaista Husain, who reflected the views of the RSG, drew cheers when she said that "the Democratic and Republican party system will not work for us. We must build an independent party that will represent our interests and interests of working people, of women." Walter Daum, a teacher at City College and LRP supporter, raised the need to build a revolutionary party. In its leaflet for the April 4 march, the RSG (a self-described Trotskyist group based on Staten Island) called for "militant mass actions, up to and including *a general strike by all city workers*." The LRP has chimed in by calling for a student strike to spark the labor movement into a general strike.

Nice words, but what stands in the way of real labor *action* against the cutbacks are the very same labor misleaders like Dennis Rivera who led the April 4 demonstration. Rivera was right up on the podium that day, but the "revolutionaries" who stood beside him did not so much as mention the role of the union bureaucrats. And for all the anti-Wall Street, anti-Pataki rhetoric, not one speaker dared to utter the name of Bill Clinton for fear of alienating their Democratic "allies." Because the RSG and LRP, like the ISO, have as a key part of their strategy a de facto bloc with the labor fakers, like Rivera—and his Democratic Party masters.

The SYC has consistently pointed out the need to break from the Democrats and forge a revolutionary workers party which can unite the oppressed behind the working class in a fight for socialist revolution. The RSG's call for a labor party is something else entirely, reflected in its support for "Labor Party Advocates" (LPA). But while the LPA wants to talk about a labor party, it does not even call for forming one, but simply seeks to pressure Clinton's Democrats to become more labor-friendly. At its recent conference in California, the podium was graced by assorted labor bureaucrats and one Jerry Brown, former Democratic governor and presidential candidate. The LPA refuses to run its own candidates so as to remain free to work for the Democrats.

While the RSG is capable of mouthing anti-capitalist verbiage, its leaflet for the April 4 march calls on this rich man's government to..."tax the rich, cut the military budget." Their demand to "make the bosses take the losses" was reflected in the March 1995 issue of *The College Voice*, the student newspaper at the College of Staten Island, which featured a two-page spread on "a proposal for a fair and progressive New York City tax policy" alongside the demand to "shut the city down" to protest the cuts. In the same issue, there's a protest against the administration for not funding "independent student action"!

The RSG's calls to tax the rich and cut Pentagon spending rehash the liberal notion that this racist capitalist state can be pressured into serving the interests of workers and the oppressed. The call for *cutting* military spending means accepting the existence of the *imperialist* armed forces, although a bit "streamlined." Whatever happened to the communist position of *not one man, not one penny* for the imperialist war machine? And who do they expect will tax the rich—the bourgeois politicians who are bought and paid for by Wall Street?

Echoing the stale reformist slogan of taxing the rich is the RSG's way of giving "leftist" window-dressing to Democratic Party hustlers like Sharpton, who toss off empty denunciations of "corporate welfare" to shore up their "populist" credentials. Like the reformist Communist Party, whose banner on April 4 read, "No Cutbacks! Jobs for All! Tax the Rich!" the centrists of the RSG sow the illusion that the decay of U.S. society—from the blighted urban centers to the destruction of industry—can be solved short of the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. The essence of their politics is to put pressure on the bourgeois state.

Rivera's role in the anti-cutbacks protests shows the crying need to oust the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy and replace it with a class-struggle leadership. Despairing of this perspective, the RSG looks instead to a wing of the bureaucracy, for example, the New Directions (ND) outfit, which controls the subway division and nearly half the executive board of NYC's Transport Workers Union (TWU). But nowhere in its leaflet building an April 18 protest against cuts in transit does ND give even lip service to strike action, just as it refused to call for a strike when the TWU contract with the Transit Authority expired last June. To use the strike weapon would mean challenging New York State's Taylor Law forbidding public workers' strikes. But these aspiring labor statesmen had no problem hailing *Rikers Island prison guards* for their 1990 "job action." ND has also dragged the TWU into the bosses' courts to settle union affairs. As Leon Trotsky said, labor's independence from the capitalist state is a *precondition* for union democracy and militancy.

The nature of the cops and courts, which are not neutral arbiters but are instruments of racist capitalist rule, comes up in every struggle against the exploiters, and the CUNY protests are no exception. At an April 15 meeting of the CUNY Coalition, SYC supporters successfully fought for the meeting to expel a cop who tried to speak. Our comrades reminded students of the cops' headbusting on March 23. We call for cops off campus and out of the workers movement!

The LRP has also sounded a leftist note in the protests, repeatedly calling for a "general strike." Yet they, too, refused to speak against the labor misleaders and Democratic Party hacks from the podium on April 4, rendering their "general strike" rhetoric hollow indeed. This is not surprising given the LRP's history of capitulation to racist American imperialism. In the 1970s, they *opposed* school busing for integration in Boston, at the very time the buses were being attacked by violent racist mobs. The LRP also bowed to imperialist Cold War hysteria, refusing to defend the Soviet Union, Poland and other bureaucratically deformed workers states, where, by the way, free education was the rule until such gains were destroyed by capitalist counterrevolution.

While posturing to the left of the ISO reformists, the RSG and LRP fundamentally share their appetite to cozy up to the pro-Democratic Party labor fakers. But from the attacks *on* welfare and affirmative action to the killer cuts in city services, there is a *bipartisan* war on workers and the poor. As the SYC wrote in a leaflet at the height of the 1991 student protests:

> "What we need is a class-struggle workers party, one that doesn't 'respect' the property values of the bourgeoisie, a party that says to the exploited and oppressed: we want all of it, it ought to be ours, so don't beg, *take it*."

* * *

The New York Spartacus Youth Club urges all students, teachers and trade unionists to fill the courtroom at 346 Broadway, the morning of May 8 in solidarity with the protesters arrested on March 23. We also urge everyone to come out for court hearings for other demonstrators, some facing serious felony charges, beginning Thursday morning, April 20 at 100 Centre Street. ■

Fact vs. Fiction at Berkeley

How Hitler-Lover David Irving Was Routed

Last October 14, a hundreds-strong mobilization stopped Hitler-lover David Irving from appearing at the University of California at Berkeley and then broke up his meeting when it was moved off campus to the Berkeley YWCA. In the weeks and months following, the Spartacus Youth Club, which initiated this united-front protest, has been at the center of a continuing controversy. On the one hand, David Irving, the *Daily Cal*, misguided liberal "free speechers" and the sinister anti-Semitic "Berkeley Free Speech Coalition" all condemn us, and the hundreds of other anti-fascist protesters, for denying Irving—a "scholar" who praises Nazis and says the Holocaust never occurred—a supposed "right" to organize for racist terror. A member of the International Socialist Organization even got in on the act, obscenely arguing that the demonstration was the work of a "few bad apples."

On the other hand, hundreds of black, Latino, Asian and white students, gays, unionists and leftists from across the Bay Area all say it was a damn good thing that Irving and his Nazi rat pack were so dramatically stopped. From as far away as London, this victory was saluted in the pages of *Searchlight*—a journal that has well documented Irving's activities in inciting fascist terror gangs around the globe.

Although coming from counterposed vantage points, both sides of this controversy share a similar perception of what happened: Irving's meeting was broken up; swastikas and other Nazi paraphernalia on display in the room were scattered and destroyed; several aging but quite real Nazis, including Irving himself, found out that a new generation of anti-fascists is determined to stop them. The Islamic fundamentalists of the "Free Speech Coalition" were so burned by this victory that they tried to bring Irving back on campus in January, with the assistance of the UC Berkeley administration. Although they weren't run out, Irving and his Nazis were shut down again by anti-fascist protesters.

Now the self-described Revolutionary Trotskyist League (RTL), a tiny group in the Bay Area which had three or four members at the October anti-Irving protest, has entered the fray with a completely contrary and mythical rendition of events. In the Winter-Spring 1995 issue of their journal *International Trotskyist*, an article purporting to be an "eyewitness account" argues that the widely acknowledged events of the October anti-fascist protest *never happened*. Under the heading "Antifascist Showdown in Berkeley" comes the kicker: "Spartacist League Prevents Victory by Left Against Neo-Nazi Meeting." From there the fabrications simply gallop along.

Young Spartacus

Spartacist-led demonstration disperses nest of Nazis at David Irving meeting in Berkeley, October 14. RTL "anti-fascists" claim it never happened.

A Real "Eyewitness" Account

From beginning to end, it is difficult to find one accurate fact in the RTL's "eyewitness" account. The article opens by saying that it was "a large mobilization consisting of hundreds of leftists"; then later, we read that the anti-Irving demonstration was organized by the SL and "consisted of large numbers of their own members, *supplemented* by other individual leftists and organizations." Then, when it suits a different aim, it's "hundreds of students, leftists and anarchists were greeted with the spectacle of an anti-Irving demonstration under the full control of *one* organization—the SL!" The story twists and turns depending on the lie.

For starters, the RTL asserts that the SL/SYC uniquely knew of Irving's intended meeting a week before, claiming that we used this information to our "own sectarian advantage" and "failed even to *inform* most other Left organizations." In fact, the SYC spent a week distributing thousands of copies of its united-front call to "Stop Hitler-Lover David Irving!" We also sent letters to the Revolutionary Workers League and the International Socialist Organization underlining the need for a "broad-based, militant and united protest by all opponents of fascist terror" and urging them to mobilize their own supporters, bring their own placards, select a speaker, etc. The RWL and ISO issued their own leaflets. If the RTL was out of the loop, this simply speaks to their own isolation and their whining reflects their seemingly accurately perceived irrelevance.

At the initial demo site in front of Alumni House we actively *solicited* speakers from other organizations, including the RTL. Now they claim that "the SL leadership changed their minds and prevented one of our members from articulating our position." What actually happened is that we had confirmed that Irving's meeting had been moved to the YWCA and the rally took off. A demonstration in front of a building where he wasn't became an opportunity to stop the Nazi meeting where it was, requiring a leadership that could quickly make a decision to change tactics. That leadership was there, the cops were caught off guard and what was a rare window of opportunity to stop the fascists was seized. Perhaps this sudden turn of events was unsettling to the RTLers, who might have preferred the crowd to stay behind and listen to their leader, Dov, hold forth on a "dialectical" approach to stopping the fascists.

The RTL's current account allows that: "After learning of a last-minute change of location, the crowd of about 300 anti-fascists converged on the new off-campus forum site (the YWCA) and angrily confronted Irving and a small ratpack of his supporters in a meeting room on the ground floor." But a couple of paragraphs later, they claim that "over a dozen SL members in the front stopped at the door to the meeting room and (behaving as if they were 'parade marshals') prevented other leftists from entering." So now it's anti-fascists confronting Irving and his Nazis in a room that they were supposedly prevented from entering by the SL!

Anti-fascist militants *did* rush into the room, with SL supporters in the lead, making short work of Irving and the tables of Nazi paraphernalia. While most of the Nazis were cowering in the corner, a fierce fight broke out after some of Irving's goons attacked protesters. Meanwhile, Spartacist supporters were helping others in trying to wrench open the second of the double doors into the meeting room, which Irving's goons were trying to prevent. But how would the RTL know any of this? A videotape of the protest shows two of their members much farther back in the YWCA lobby, far from the action.

It's the State, Stupid!

The first two cops then entered the room from the rear and began driving protesters out with their riot sticks. But, according to the RTL, these were the "crucial minutes" when there were "only a few cops and a dozen or so fascists" during which "the antifascist militants could have stormed the room and chased out the Nazis"! In reality, what this would have meant is for the protesters (presumably led by the SL since for some reason the RTL's leadership couldn't quite make it to the front) to attack the two cops, where the purpose was to break up the fascist meeting. Two months after the fact, these Monday morning quarterbacks are willing to fight to the last drop of...somebody else's blood.

The first two cops were soon joined by six to eight others who began viciously clubbing the protesters, driving them out of the tightly packed lobby into the street. Having succeeded in breaking up Irving's meeting and with the police now fully in command of the YWCA, demonstrators started to drift away. The protest dwindled to about half the size it had been at the point the meeting was stormed. More cops arrived on the scene and soon the ratio of cops to protesters posed a potentially threatening situation. A Spartacist spokesman took the bullhorn. Congratulating everyone for a good night's work, he told the remaining demonstrators that it had become a dangerous situation and advised people to leave the area.

This was an act of responsible leadership. We had issued a call to "Stop Hitler-Lover David Irving!" and that's what was done in rather dramatic fashion. The point was not to get beaten up and arrested by a phalanx of cops who were furious at seeing the Nazis run out and itching for a fight after having been caught with their pants down. But by the RTL's lights, it wasn't the cops who broke up the protest. It was the Spartacist League! "By prematurely declaring victory, the SL opportunistically and criminally demoralized and dispersed our side's forces," they opine. On the other hand, the RTL, by its own account, demonstrated their "militant" credentials by hanging around long after "the crowd of the antifascist fighters was...too small and scattered."

Sneering at the real victory that took place against Irving and the fascists in Berkeley on October 14, the RTL declares the protest "did *not* achieve the objective of putting an end to the meeting." On the contrary, as it was perceived by all sides (with the exception of the RTL) this was a stunning blow against the fascists' efforts to organize for racist genocide. Or as Trotsky put it, the "whole point" is to give the fascists "a good beating in full view" of the cops "without directly taking on the state itself." The RTL's after-the-fact posture as a bunch of real right-on, street-fighting revolutionaries who would have rolled over the cops is not only criminally idiotic, it is manifestly fraudulent. Indeed, the fact that they condemn the Spartacist League for safely ending the demonstration, with its mission accomplished, is born of their apparent belief that the racist rulers' cops are no kind of threat.

Among the more grotesque expressions of the RTL's touching faith in the "democratic" credentials of the bourgeois rulers was their response to the U.S. government's mass slaughter of 86 men, women and children near Waco, Texas in 1993. RTL leader Dov raved at

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David Irving...

(continued from page 9)

a public forum in May 1993 that the Branch Davidians were a "right-wing reactionary cult" and declaimed, "we don't defend such scum." Another RTLer accused the SL of actually "defending fascists" because of our protest demonstrations against Bill Clinton and Janet Reno's Texas bloodbath.

A racially integrated religious sect, living together communally in *Texas*—are fascists?! There are plenty of Klansmen in Waco, but the KKK *kills* people who live in integrated communes. In this case, they didn't have to—Clinton and the FBI did it for them. The Branch Davidians, a fundamentalist Christian sect with a 50-year history, harmed no one. Their "crime" was to legally acquire more guns than the federal government thought they should have. The RTL's obscene alibis for this government atrocity gives the lie to its claim to a "proletarian" strategy to fight fascism: a) they don't know what a fascist is; b) they alibi the bourgeois state as a force that will "disarm" the fascists; c) they apologize for mass murder perpetrated in the name of "gun control," i.e., of disarming the population leaving only the cops, criminals and *fascists* armed.

Fascism: What It Is and How to Fight It

Out of their own tissue of self-contradicting fabrications over what happened last October, the RTL advances the political conclusion that what is needed is a "permanent organization to coordinate the work of the antifascist united front." Recently, they established the Bay Area Coalition Opposing Fascism (BACOF) which is billed as a "new, broad-based coalition opposing racist, neo-Nazi hatemongers such as British Holocaust revisionist David Irving."

In its advertised activities—setting up a system to "monitor" fascist activities, "share this information" and develop a "method of outreach"—this coalition sounds like a left version of the liberal "Klanwatch." As for any kind of *action* to stop the fascists, BACOF says its "aim [is] to coordinate common strategies for physically defeating the fascists." What common strategies?

The SL strategy is to mobilize all the opponents of fascist terror behind the power of organized labor in mass actions to stop the fascists. We've applied it across the country: in Washington, D.C. in 1982, Philadelphia in 1988, Atlanta in 1989 and recently in Springfield, Illinois. To this end, we will make alliances *in action* with the RTL and any other left organizations. But most self-proclaimed "socialist" organizations are contemptuous of our proletarian-centered strategy and, in general, have chosen a sectarian route—abstention from the many SL-initiated mobilizations that *have stopped* the fascists.

The united front is a tactic to bring together the broadest forces in action, while maintaining complete organizational and political independence. This is the point behind the Communist slogan: "march separately, strike together." To the uninitiated, it might appear that the statement in BACOF's "Basis of Unity" which says that "each organization and individual in BACOF has the right to openly differ" is an application of this slogan. But differ over what—sharing "information," "outreach"? In the absence of any concrete action against the fascists, this coalition has nothing to do with fighting racist terror. It's just a talk shop.

Should David Irving, for example, attempt to make another appearance in the Bay Area, we're for the broadest possible mobilization to stop him and his Nazi-loving followers. In that context there should be the widest possible appeal, or "sharing of information" if you will, to bring together all opponents of racist terror as one united fist. On the spot, all efforts should be coordinated militarily to this effect.

But this is a rather different perspective than that of BACOF. This coalition is simply an attempt by the RTL not only to compensate for its small forces through organizational means, but to find an ongoing, "permanent" political unity between various contending tendencies. It is what Trotsky described in his polemic against the German SAP (Socialist Workers Party) in the 1930s as a propaganda bloc calling itself a "united front":

> "The united front is to unite the Communist and Social Democratic working masses and not to patch up an agreement with political groups that are without the masses.
>
> "We shall be told that the bloc...is only a *propaganda* bloc for the united front. But it is precisely in the sphere of propaganda that a bloc is out of the question. Propaganda must lean upon clear-cut principles and on a definite program. March separately, strike together. A bloc is solely for practical mass actions."
>
> —*What Next?* 27 January 1932

A key purpose of the united front, in addition to broadly organizing all the opponents of fascist terror, is also to provide a test in action of the various programs and strategies of the contending claimants to leadership of the proletariat. In short, it is a tactic for building the revolutionary party.

We have a "permanent anti-fascist organization" which is committed to sweeping away capitalism—the system that breeds fascism. It is called the Spartacist League. Doubtless this will be met with howls of "sectarianism" from the RTL. Given their smear of the SL as the force which stopped the "real" anti-fascist militants at last October's anti-Irving protest, we find it curious indeed that the RTL has made repeated verbal appeals to us to take part in their "anti-fascist" talk shop. Maybe even they have trouble believing their own lies. ■

Anti-Klan Protesters Framed

Defend the Cincinnati Six!

On May 1, International Workers Day, three anti-fascist activists will go on trial to face outrageous felony charges stemming from their participation in a December 17 anti-Klan demonstration. The cops whipped up bogus "assault" charges against Kate Frei, Rob Grossman and Adam Johnson, threatening each with up to five years in prison. Their real "crime" in the eyes of the racist bourgeois state was the commendable act of tearing down a "Christmas cross" erected by the Ku Klux Klan at Fountain Square in downtown Cincinnati. Three other demonstrators, Sam Blankemeyer, Doug Mehring and Matt Siegfried (a supporter of Peter Sollenberger's Trotskyist League), will go to court in June on misdemeanor charges. The KKK is also filing charges against anti-Klan demonstrators for "destruction of property." This naked attempt at intimidation by the cops and Klan must be defeated!

This was the fourth year in a row that the KKK has tried to place its cross in Fountain Square. This obscene fascist provocation occurred in the midst of a recent upsurge of racist terror in Cincinnati, coming right on the heels of a KKK-connected firebombing in nearby Covington. The Klan cross received the official blessing of the city, and was erected under heavy police protection at 3 a.m. on December 17.

Later that morning, 150 anti-fascists organized by the Midwest Anti-Fascist Network (MAFNET), including radicals from Anti-Racist Action and the Trotskyist League, held a demonstration against the cross display. As demonstrators protested this fascist provocation, dozens of cops moved in to bust up the rally with horses and riot gear. When protesters responded to the police attack by tearing down the cross, the cops charged again, throwing demonstrators to the cement and spraying mace in their eyes. One mounted cop ripped a handful of hair from a demonstrator's scalp. While in police custody, a protester was deprived of epilepsy medication and had to be hospitalized for seizures. The cops arrested six and then set the KKK cross upright. As a popular chant put it: "The cops and the Klan go hand in hand."

Through this case the state is sending a message to anti-racists: anyone who wants to stop Klan terror will be met with the armed fist of the cops and courts. These anti-fascist protesters must not stand alone. The intended victims of Klan terror—unionists, blacks, Hispanics, Asians, Jews, homosexuals—must rally to their defense. We urge readers to fill the Hamilton County Courthouse on May 1 at 9 a.m. to demand: Drop the charges against the Cincinnati Six!

Defense of the Cincinnati Six is being coordinated through Anti-Racist Action by attorney Jim McNamara, who also plans to file a civil suit against the city on the defendants' behalf. Contributions for the legal defense of the anti-fascist militants should be earmarked "Cincinnati Six" and sent to: Columbus ARA, P.O. Box 02097, Columbus, OH 43202.

National Guard Readied for Black College Students

Hands Off "Freaknik" Fest!

ATLANTA—Thousands of Georgia National Guard troops have been put on call in an ominous provocation against Freaknik, the annual spring break festival which last year drew 200,000 black college students here. The *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* (12 April) reveals that Democratic governor and Clinton pal Zell Miller has delayed travel plans to be in town to sign mobilization orders. An atmosphere of racist hysteria has been whipped up against black students, who are dubbed "unwelcome guests"! Under the "zero tolerance" policy announced by black Democratic mayor Bill Campbell, an army of police agencies promise to block streets to traffic, check IDs, mobilize helicopter patrols and tactical squads, impound student vehicles and arrest anyone even caught jaywalking.

State police plan to stop Freaknik "caravans" on stretches of the interstate in rural Georgia! "Comdex (computer convention) participants will be able to get downtown and Freaknik cruisers won't—at least that's what police hope" (*Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, 19 March). The city has denied permits to all vendors who wish to cater to the students. Traffic plans call for keeping students circling in vehicles outside the city on Perimeter highways. Campbell has refused permit requests for city parks and facilities. These measures set the stage for a police provocation against the students. Remember Greekfest in Virginia Beach in 1989, when cops and troops rioted against black students, arresting 1,235 and turning the entire area into a war zone.

The racist, puritanical attack on Freaknik (black students are reviled for "lewd behavior"), which only last year Mayor Campbell had touted as a big moneymaker for the city, is part of a campaign to get rid of "undesirables" in preparation for the 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta. Contrast Atlanta's response to Freaknik to the warm reception given the mainly white St. Patrick's Day celebrants in the qualitatively smaller coastal town of Savannah, Georgia, where 250,000-plus revelers puke on sidewalks and pee into a river dyed green!

The city, which is home to five historically black colleges at the Atlanta University Center, sent letters to 140 black colleges urging students to "stay away." The police are testing out a new detention center. Hundreds of white youth were arrested at recent Grateful Dead concerts and at the annual Pot Festival calling for marijuana legalization. Black students are declared persona non grata. But the German automaker Daimler-Benz—known for its links to Hitler's Nazis—becomes a "good corporate citizen" by donating $5 million to renovate the Atlanta home of Margaret Mitchell, celebrated for her homage to slavery, *Gone With the Wind*! The city is a "mecca" for the black middle class so Campbell has tried to lower confrontational rhetoric even as police-state measures are readied. Atlanta—whose corporate boosters proclaim it "the city too busy to hate"—with its pretentious aspirations to be a major "international" city, is being made "safe" for mainly tourists, conventioneers and capitalist investors. Hands off Freaknik! ■

Mexico...

(continued from page 1)

called to commemorate the 1919 assassination of peasant revolutionary leader Emiliano Zapata turned into a pro-union protest of over 150,000 in the Zócalo, the huge square in front of the presidential palace. Demonstrators roared "SU-SU-SUTAUR!" and "Barco, hold on, the people are rising up!" Six days later, on Easter Sunday, some 20,000 SUTAUR members and supporters rallied again in the Zócalo vowing to resist the destruction of Ruta 100.

The dissolution of Ruta 100 was deliberately decreed just before Holy Week, during which most businesses are shut down and traffic in Mexico City is minimal. Today, the DF began operating a skeleton "emergency" bus system, using scab drivers (200 of them cops). On the buses were menacing plainclothes police, while 1,500 patrol cars rode alongside and helicopters flew overhead. In addition, "special personnel sought to recover 200 buses which leaders of Ruta 100 are using for protests" (*Ultimas Noticias*, 17 April). Altogether, one-quarter of the DF's regular police force was involved in this mammoth union-busting operation.

The attack on the Mexico City bus drivers comes straight from the top of the long-ruling PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party). It is part of the PRI-government's massive austerity onslaught against the living standards of the workers and poor in the wake of the peso crash. Even as it fired the Ruta 100 workers, the regime suddenly raised the price of tortillas, the staple food of millions, by 26 percent! This anti-worker offensive is also supported by the right-wing PAN (National Action Party), which is now in a de facto coalition with the PRI.

SUTAUR-100 is a special target because it is the largest and most militant of the few independent unions that are outside the official, PRI-government federations. The PRI's corporatist "unions" are the historic instrument of its stranglehold over Mexican workers. The government of President Ernesto Zedillo has accused SUTAUR and the MPI (Independent Proletarian Movement) to which it adheres of diverting public funds to the Zapatista rebels in the southern state of Chiapas. Zedillo knows that the whole country is seething with discontent. Thus the attack on this nucleus of class-conscious workers is meant to be a blow against the extension of revolt to the powerful proletariat of the nation's capital.

PATCO, Mexican-Style

This is the opening shot of a full-scale war on Mexican labor. The Mexican government's action recalls the destruction of the PATCO union in the U.S. The firing of 14,000 air traffic controllers by Ronald Reagan in 1981, as the AFL-CIO bureaucracy stood by and watched, opened the door to a brutal decade of capitalist union-busting, layoffs and rollbacks which left the American labor movement reeling. By busting SUTAUR-100, Zedillo thinks he can replay the PATCO disaster, Mexican-style. Especially under NAFTA (the North American Free Trade Agreement), a defeat for Mexican workers will also be felt well beyond the Rio Grande/Río Bravo. Mexican, U.S. and Canadian workers must come to the aid of the embattled SUTAUR union!

In the largest city in the world, the unionized workers who run the DF transit system have enormous potential power. Working-class discontent is so manifest that the PRI-loyal union federations have canceled this year's official May Day demonstration in Mexico City for fear of unleashing a protest which they would be unable to control. By going after SUTAUR-100, the Mexican bourgeoisie aims to snuff out any idea of organized, independent proletarian struggle—not least in the *maquiladora* zones of the northern border states, where sub-poverty wages and brutal working conditions have propelled aggressive union organizing drives (see article, page 4).

SUTAUR was forged in a bitter struggle in 1981-82, shortly after Ruta 100 was formed with the municipal takeover of the hated bus monopoly held by a consortium of private owners, popularly known as the *pulpo* (octopus). In order to enforce its control over the bus drivers, the PRI attempted to install the pro-government CTM federation. This was resisted by the workers, who affiliated with an independent union federation. Although they urged the angry drivers to cool off, union leaders including Barco were jailed. They were finally released and their union was recognized, but the government achieved its objective by declaring the bus workers government employees without the right to strike. A 1987 study by Octavio Loyzaga de la Cueva, *El estado como patrón y árbitro: El conflicto de la Ruta 100* (The State as Boss and Arbiter), noted:

> "The stability of the Mexican political system rests on the control that the state has over the labor sectors...which is maintained in the first instance through the corporatist organisms which it runs from the top."

A couple of years later, the Ruta 100 union decided to set up the Independent Proletarian Movement as a kind of "political arm" of SUTAUR. The MPI was left-talking and militantly syndicalist, denouncing the bourgeois electoral farce. It maintained its separation not only from the PRI-controlled "labor" bodies but also from the various independent unions which in 1988 sided with the former PRI leader Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, who headed a "popular front" coalition linking various leftists and labor organizations to a wing of the Mexican ruling class. But there was always a big gap between the MPI's rhetoric in periodic marches of several tens of thousands of workers and *colonos* (urban squatters) and its conservative union policies. On the eve of last August's presidential elections, Barco visited President Salinas in Los Pinos, his official residence, to receive the "gift" of 70 buses for Ruta 100. In return, he gave a big wink, stating that while the MPI and SUTAUR did not endorse candidates, many individual members would vote.

Over the past year, the union's non-aggression pact with the government has become increasingly strained, largely in response to the Indian peasant insurgency in Chiapas. The Zapatista rebellion has shaken both the Mexican government and international "investor confidence," even as it has inspired the solidarity of millions of workers, peasants and student youth. The MPI and SUTAUR joined the National Democratic Convention, a popular-front formation aligned with the rebels, where they led its left wing. PRI tops, who had earlier funneled an estimated $20 million into various SUTAUR trust funds—used to buy land for housing, build union headquarters and a vacation center—suddenly began denouncing "union corruption." The workers, who had achieved what for Mexican conditions are relatively high wages, were now decried as an overpaid aristocracy.

Politically unable to quell the uprising in Chiapas by force of arms, Zedillo has now cajoled Zapatista National Liberation Army (EZLN) leaders into "talks." (On April 10, Zedillo spoke at Chinameca, at the exact spot where Emiliano Zapata had been murdered by federal soldiers 76 years before. Zapata, too, had accepted a presidential invitation to "talk"—and rode into an ambush.) The move to smash the MPI through the liquidation of Ruta 100 was, in part, calculated and timed to isolate the EZLN in advance of "negotiations," and to weaken its organized urban base of support. After earlier floating accusations that the MPI was financing the EZLN (which many in Mexico City would hardly consider a crime), the government is now charging the leadership of SUTAUR-100 with financial corruption. To this end, they resuscitated a denunciation from four years ago, which had been thrown out by a judge.

MPI in march against repression, Mexico City, July 1994. Government is now moving to smash MPI and SUTAUR bus drivers union.

Union-Busting, Privatization and NAFTA Rape of Mexico

The liquidation of Ruta 100 has nothing to do with "bankruptcy." The "scandal" over misappropriation of public and union funds is a fabrication. There is widespread suspicion that the government plans to privatize heavily subsidized Mexico City transport. Popular hostility to this runs so deep that all four Congressional parties, including the PRI itself, signed a joint statement rejecting the idea. But wholesale privatization of Mexico's public corporations and industries was the price demanded by Wall Street for entry into NAFTA. The ultimate prize is PEMEX, the state petroleum company which is the fifth largest oil corporation in the world. Even as Ruta 100 was being liquidated, the government announced 30,000 layoffs at the oil giant, and declared that all of PEMEX's secondary petrochemical production would be put up for bids. Marxists oppose these privatizations and call for international class struggle against the NAFTA rape of Mexico.

While Zedillo (like his now-estranged predecessor Salinas) talks of "democratization," this semi-bonapartist regime sitting astride a social volcano cannot dispense with the "old" methods of police-state violence and intimidation. Indeed, the Easter offensive against SUTAUR has evoked the memory of the 1958-59 rail strike, which was savagely broken by federal troops during Holy Week. Thousands of workers were fired and their leftist leaders were jailed for over a decade. Release of the jailed railroad unionists was a demand of the student protesters during the 1968 movement which ended in the Mexican army's Tlatelolco massacre in Mexico City. More recently, in the 1980s the PRI-government resorted to wholesale firings and closing down enterprises in order to get rid of militant unions at the Mexicana airline (1982) and Aeroméxico (1988).

Such iron-fisted state repression is an inescapable reality of capitalist rule in Mexico. Yet in response to the crackdown by Zedillo, MPI/SUTAUR leader Ricardo Barco has once again called on the workers to exercise restraint. While many at the Easter Sunday protest were chafing at the bit to shut down the bus depots, in an interview in *La Jornada* (17 April), Barco announced that the workers "will not try to confront the scabs" and would limit themselves to fighting "within the legal framework." At the same time, he backed away from the Zapatistas, not only denying the frame-up charges of funding the rebels, but stating that SUTAUR-100 "never took any position of support to the EZLN." At no point has the SUTAUR leadership sought to mobilize other unions in support action.

In an April 9 statement, portions of which were read out from atop the SUTAUR bus which served as a platform at the Easter Sunday Mexico City protest, our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México emphasized: "What's needed is a mobilization of the power of the Mexican proletariat. In the DF this means united strike action, by transport and other workers, to smash the bourgeois regime's attack on the great majority of the capital's population and the attempts to silence the voice of workers' protest."

A number of ostensibly Trotskyist groups in Mexico have called for a "National Strike" (POS—Z), a "24-Hour National Strike Now!" (Militante), a "National General Strike" (OSRT) and the like. Such general-strike fetishism ignores the fundamental fact that the bulk of the Mexican working class is straitjacketed by the PRI's corporatist "union" federations, and that a real general strike would quickly pose the question of power. These pseudo-Trotskyists seek to hide behind such seemingly militant demands in order to avoid the central question of revolutionary leadership and the need to break from the *cardenista* popular front. (Militante is actually part of Cárdenas' bourgeois PRD.) In contrast, the GEM stated:

> "Unleashing the strength of the proletariat urgently requires breaking with the bourgeoisie in all its variants (PRI, PAN, PRD, etc.) and forging a revolutionary workers party, which will fight for a workers and peasants government, against capitalism which is drowning the overwhelming majority of the population in misery."

Such a leadership would join with its comrades in the U.S. and Canada in an internationalist fight for workers revolution extending into the heartland of imperialism. ■

Guatemala...

(continued from page 1)

about either case has been true."

What does appear to be true, from details leaked in the following days, is that the U.S. government had known about Alpirez all along. On the CIA payroll from 1988, Alpirez received a lump sum "severance" payment of $40,000 from the CIA shortly after supervising the torture and murder of Bámaca in July 1992. The CIA continued paying him long after the agency admits it learned of his connection to DeVine's murder. On March 28, Torricelli released an anonymous letter from within the National Security Agency (Washington's massive, secret electronic spy outfit) claiming eavesdropping records showed both the CIA and the U.S. Army were directly involved in both crimes, and warned moves were afoot to destroy the evidence (*New York Times*, 29 March).

According to the *Times*, Alpirez had been a U.S. protégé for much longer. He twice attended the U.S. Army's School of the Americas (now located in Fort Benning, Georgia), a veritable finishing school for reactionary butchers. Other alumni of this "School for Assassins" include Roberto D'Aubuisson, godfather of Salvadoran death squads; 22 Salvadoran soldiers variously responsible for massacring priests and raping and murdering nuns; Haiti's General Raoul Cédras; former Bolivian dictator Hugo Banzer; and General Noriega of Panama, a CIA "asset" until he fell afoul of his paymasters. Alpirez served as an officer in the notorious "counterinsurgency" unit known as the Kaibiles, set up by and modeled on the Green Berets; in the Guatemalan military intelligence unit, G-2; and in the central secret police agency known as the Archivo.

Writing in the *Nation* (17 April), Allan Nairn lists half a dozen top Guatemalan officers paid by the CIA including at least three recent chiefs of the G-2, a former army chief of staff, and General Hector Gramajo, who was defense minister when Dianna Ortiz, an American nun, was raped and tortured by the Guatemalan military. Nairn quotes the former U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency chief in Guatemala, Colonel George Hooker: "It would be an embarrassing situation if you ever had a roll call of everybody in the Guatemalan Army who ever collected a C.I.A. paycheck."

Gramajo is a case in point; this mass murderer, who was brought to Harvard's Kennedy School of Government on a fellowship in 1991, was quoted in an article in the *Harvard International Review* saying that he was in charge of a commission that devised the "70-30" program: "You needn't kill everyone to complete the job. We instituted civil affairs which provide development for 70 percent of the population while we kill 30 percent. Before, the strategy was to kill 100 percent" (quoted by columnist Alexander Cockburn in the *Los Angeles Times*, 13 April). Last week a federal judge ordered Gramajo to pay $47.5 million to Ortiz and nine Guatemalan victims of military abuse.

Simon/Visions

Former U.S.-backed dictator Rios Montt, psychopathic killer whose "scorched earth" offensive killed thousands in Mayan Indian villages.

Since such murderous actions by Latin American armies and their CIA godfathers have been so pervasive for decades, one has to ask why this is coming out. In the case of Bámaca and DeVine, a corner has been lifted on this bloody history only because the crimes involve U.S. citizens. Harbury herself underlined this in her March 23 statement on CIA involvement in her husband's death: "I am but one of hundreds of thousands of women across Latin America who have suffered the grim experience of searching for a loved one who has been 'disappeared' by the authorities.... I am saddened but not at all surprised to hear of the direct link with the CIA in the assassination of my husband." Indeed, when Alexander Gómez Virula, a local leader of UNSITRAGUA (Union of Guatemalan Workers) at a Korean-owned *maquiladora* "free trade" plant, was abducted, and his tortured, bullet-riddled body was found on March 19, this was "no news" in the imperialist press.

Cambio 16

Guatemalan army, trained and equipped by U.S., has slaughtered over 150,000 Mayan peasants and leftist insurgents.

And why now? Behind the self-righteous condemnations by Torricelli, the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* is a move by influential circles in the U.S. ruling class to cut the CIA budget. With the Soviet Union gone, El Salvador's rebels demobilized, Nicaragua's Sandinistas ousted, and Cuba on the ropes, they feel they've won. Torricelli is a vicious anti-communist who authored the notorious "Cuban Democracy Act" reinforcing the U.S.' brutal starvation embargo of Cuba. This line was summed up in an editorial by the liberal *New York Newsday* (16 April). Under the title "Heel!" it compared the CIA, "plagued by internal scandals, shamed by sordid connections with Central American death squads," to "a Doberman pinscher that has bitten the mailman once too often." "What's needed is a reformed and much slimmer CIA," *Newsday* argued, "one cleansed of superannuated cowboys" in the post-Cold War world.

Moreover, Washington is now trying to "wrap up" the Guatemala insurgency by inducing the remaining guerrillas to disarm—particularly in light of the Zapatista uprising of desperately poor and exploited Mayan peasants across the border in Chiapas, Mexico. On March 31, the Guatemalan government signed an "Accord on the Identity and Rights of the Indigenous Peoples" together with the URNG (Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union) promising an end to ethnic discrimination. As a result of this pact, the Mexican government dumped 1,000 Guatemalan refugees back across the border. Meanwhile, as the Mexican army launched a manhunt against Zapatista leaders in early February, 10,000 Guatemalan troops were moved up toward the border with Chiapas. While they are talking of peace and human rights, the imperialists and their semicolonial vassals are setting the stage for a new bloodbath of Mayan insurgents.

For its part, the *New York Times* (9 April) ran a lengthy apology for Yankee imperialism, arguing that since massacres of peasants have been going on in Guatemala since the 1760s, "Guatemalans do not need prompting to kill one another," regardless of how much "American agents supported or condoned" the Guatemalan military. And the *Washington Post* (7 April) cites a "congressional source" in 1989: "We finally realized that three hours of classroom experience was not going to correct 15 centuries of Latin American culture." This refers to so-called "human rights" training offered as a fig leaf for "Torture 101" at U.S. counterinsurgency schools. Such lying, racist arrogance is a liberal cover for the policy espoused by Reaganite Jeane Kirkpatrick of backing "moderately authoritarian" death squad regimes.

The truth is that for 40 years, Washington did far more than simply "aid" Guatemala's brutal military gang in enforcing the rule of the local *latifundistas*, capitalists and their Wall Street masters. Left to their own devices, these butchers would have been plenty barbaric. The characters in Guatemalan writer Miguel Angel Asturias' famous novel *Señor Presidente* are all-too-real distillations of Guatemala's rulers and their hired killers; he portrays a system in which the secret police are everywhere and "the annihilation of one of his fellows was the clearest proof of a citizen's complete adherence to the President." But it was the United States government which purposely and deliberately planned, financed, supplied, trained and directed the transformation of a monstrous but inefficient gang of thugs into a modern, scientifically organized machine of systematic mass murder, torture and terror. U.S. imperialism inflicted on the desperately poor and exploited working people and the Mayan Indian majority of this small country horrors with few parallels in history. Estimates range from *150,000 up to 200,000 dead and "disappeared"* since 1960 out of a population of 8-10 million.

"Operation Success"

In 1954, under the orders of President Eisenhower, the CIA carried out what it now considers the textbook example of a "pro-democracy" coup, overthrowing the reform-minded Guatemalan government of Colonel Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán. "Operation Success" was run directly by the sinister Dulles brothers, CIA head Allen and Secretary of State John Foster. Part of the Cold War drive to "contain" and "roll back" Soviet influence, the coup was precipitated when Arbenz' land reform threatened big tracts of land belonging to the United Fruit Company. (John Foster Dulles was general counsel of the bank which handled the UFC's affairs in Guatemala.) Arbenz was denounced as a Communist for offering to reimburse United Fruit for the paltry amount it declared its holdings to be worth for tax purposes. Almost immediately, the regime of the CIA's puppet "Liberator," Colonel Castillo Armas, reversed the land reform and began murdering union organizers and protesting students.

Seven years later, Armas' successor, General Ydigoras, turned over Guatemala to his CIA sponsors to use as a staging ground for the Bay of Pigs invasion of revolutionary Cuba. When a group of nationalist Guatemalan officers rebelled in protest, Cuban *gusanos* flying CIA B-26s bombed them. Fearing the spread of the Cuban Revolution, the liberal Democratic Kennedy administration used its "Alliance for Progress" program to pump in money, weapons and advisers with experience in Vietnam to build up a model "counterinsurgency" program. After sponsoring a military coup replacing the corrupt Ydigoras with a fanatical anti-communist officer, the U.S. systematically planned and prepared a "counter-terror" offensive scheduled to follow phony "elections" in 1966.

Washington's installation of the machinery of mass murder in Guatemala has been amply documented. In his book, *The American Connection, Volume Two, State Terror and Popular Resistance in Guatemala* (1985), Michael McClintock details this systematic transformation of the Guatemalan repressive apparatus. The first anti-communist death squad to appear in Latin America, the Mano Blanca (White Hand), announced its presence in June 1966. These ostensibly independent "vigilantes" were run by the military, while drawing in members of fascist organizations. After the chief of the U.S. Military Mission in Guatemala, Colonel John Webber, was brought to justice by guerrillas in 1968, *Time* magazine eulogized: "It was his idea and at his instigation that the technique of counter-terror had been implemented by the Guatemalan Army."

According to Susanne Jonas in her book *The Battle for Guatemala Rebels, Death Squads and U.S. Power* (1991), "U.S. Embassy personnel were allegedly involved in writing an August 1966 memorandum outlining the creation of paramilitary groups." Later, the "cashiered" Salvadoran military intelligence leader D'Aubuisson went to Guatemala to learn how to organize death squads for El Salvador. His ARENA party was modeled on the fascistic Guatemalan MLN (National Liberation Movement). Under the "civilian" cover of the Agency of International Development (AID), a massive "Public Safety Program" was instituted in the early 1960s and run by the CIA. This established an integrated intelligence agency with a center operating out of the National Palace compound, the precursor to the "Archivo," originally known as the Centro Regional de Telecomunicaciones. McClintock writes:

> "It is beyond dispute that US security assistance between 1963 and 1966 was directly responsible for creating the Regional Telecommunications Center; that US Investigations Advisers were assigned to the National Security Service operating from the Regional Telecommunications Center; and that, since 1966, this...agency has continuously been the centre of command directing covert state terrorism."
>
> —*The American Connection*

A 1981 Amnesty International report concluded the center coordinated "routine assassinations, secret detentions and summary executions" as part of a "clearly defined program of government." The center maintained daily radio contact with the Southern Command of the U.S. Army in the Panama Canal Zone. Its new computerized intelligence data bases represented the kind of "modern public administration" promoted by

Witchhunt...

(continued from page 3)

Vedomosty's sensationalist "exposé" makes patently clear, that the ICL was engaged only in lawful and open propagandistic activity. Indeed, *Vedomosty* reports that "SBU investigators have not opened a criminal case in connection with the members of the ICL" because, according to prosecutor Vinokurov, "seizing power was talked about only theoretically." What this slander campaign is all about is precisely an attempt to persecute left-wing political dissent—and nothing else.

We noted in our earlier statement, "The urgent social and political discontents of the peoples of the former Soviet Union are being falsely converted into a monumentally microscopic conspiracy.... We are Marxists, not putschists; we rely on the forces of the working class." The widespread discontent of the working masses is self-evident. On April 12, one million people across Russia took to the streets or went out on strike in protest against non-payment of wages. In Moscow, the notorious OMON riot police charged into a student demonstration that day, arresting some 35 protesters. In Chechnya, the Yeltsin regime continues its brutal "mopping up" operation, wiping out entire villages.

At the two Moscow demonstrations, protesting workers and students bought dozens of pieces of Trotskyist literature, including our Russian-language supplement on Chechnya and Leon Trotsky's *The Communist International After Lenin* (published by the ICL for the first time in Russian); many also received the April 3 protest statement. In the ICL protests internationally, demonstrators carried signs denouncing Yeltsin's invasion and calling for a plebiscite on national affiliation in Chechnya, as well as in the Crimea.

In his article, Renfrey Clarke notes that in Russia, "the *Vremya* slanders fit into an unnerving pattern that has emerged recently as the government has prepared new restrictions on political rights." Clarke documents some of these repressive measures in his article, including a proposed law banning "extremist organizations" and the strengthening of the Federal Security Service (FSB), whose activities will now be virtually free of any legal or parliamentary restraints.

Decades of heavy-handed Stalinist bureaucratic repression buried the understanding in the former Soviet Union that communists see the fight for basic civil liberties like freedom of speech as an integral component of the proletariat's struggle. In the context of the drive toward a "strong state," the attack on the ICL is a test case for the country: will Russia become a tinpot dictatorship where intellectual life is stifled?

Particularly since its bloody assault on the former Russian parliament in October 1993, endorsed by the Western imperialist rulers, the Kremlin regime has been moving ever more openly toward naked bonapartist dictatorship. Dmitry Volkov, political editor of the Moscow daily *Sevodnya*, reports: "There is a long list of top-ranking officials"—ranging from Yeltsin's closest advisers to "powerful Muscovite bankers"—"who publicly and privately speak in favour of cancelling elections" (London *Financial Times*, 10 April). As ICL spokesman Len Meyers declared at the New York City protest on April 5:

> "If there is a conspiracy, it is among the ruling circles in Kiev and Moscow. It is they who have something to hide, as they plot the exploitation and starvation of the working people, of the young and the aged, as they make deals with the imperialist politicians and bankers behind the backs of the population, as they incite nationalist fratricide in the Crimea, as they fan the flames of anti-Semitism, as they send thousands of people to their deaths in Chechnya.
>
> "We Trotskyists have nothing to hide. We follow in the footsteps of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, of V.I. Lenin and L.D. Trotsky. We are for the reconstitution of the working class of the former Soviet Union as a class capable of taking power and reorganizing society on the basis of soviet democracy, of central planning and of revolutionary internationalism. We are for the rebirth of the Fourth International of Leon Trotsky. Down with the slanders against the ICL! For workers rule in the Ukraine and Russia!" ■

Clarke...

(continued from page 3)

particularly successful, the Spartacists have nevertheless come under repeated attack from people hostile to their ideas.

In February 1992 a member of the tendency, Martha Phillips, was murdered in her Moscow apartment. Police showed little interest in mounting a serious investigation.

"We have...been subjected to the most invasive surveillance and police attention," members of the organisation noted in a recent statement. "Those Russian and Ukrainian youth who have expressed interest in our literature and political views have been subjected to harassment, interrogation and threats."

The *Vremya* segment appears to herald a further escalation of these attacks, directed not just against the Spartacists but against broad sections of the left. The immediate choice of target—a tiny group composed largely of foreigners—might seem improbable, but is not in fact so mysterious.

Concentrating their initial fire on an organisation in which Westerners figure heavily, the instigators of the attack hope to brand leftist ideas as alien and unpatriotic. Starting with slanders against a small tendency with few defenders, the people responsible for the *Vremya* clip evidently hope to work their way up to staging successful attacks on large political parties and trade unions.

Vremya viewers, meanwhile, are supposed to accept without regret the loss of their right to consider ideas from any source, including small political groups with foreign members. Viewers are also supposed to ignore the absurdity of *Vremya*'s underlying claim: that the threat allegedly posed by four Spartacists to the constitutional order in Ukraine justifies the police bursting into a private apartment and seizing political literature.

The real danger to the constitutional order in Ukraine—starting with the constitution's guarantees of human rights—obviously comes not from the left, but from a chaotic state apparatus anxious to divert attention from its own looming collapse.

In Russia, meanwhile, the *Vremya* slanders fit into an unnerving pattern that has emerged recently as the government has prepared new restrictions on political rights. While these initiatives have been trumpeted as blows aimed against fascism, they are obviously intended to be equally useful against organisations opposing the government from the left.

February saw the beginning of discussion in the Russian parliament of a law "On the Prohibition of the Activity of Extremist Organisations in Russia." Under this law, Russian courts would be able to order the dissolution of organisations deemed extremist, and to confiscate their property.

More recently, the parliament adopted a new law granting extraordinary powers to the Federal Security Service (FSB), the successor to the KGB. Under the law, the FSB will receive the right to run its own jails, to establish widespread networks of informers, and to enter premises without a warrant, a provision which appears to violate the Russian constitution. The "means, methods and tactics" employed by the FSB will be immune to scrutiny by the General Prosecutor's Office.

12 April 1995

AID. Paramilitary units were set up; "elite" military units including the Kaibiles were financed, equipped and trained by the U.S. Military Assistance Program. After a phony "election" in June 1966, a civilian front man was installed as president and a long-prepared offensive was launched in the guerrilla stronghold of Zacapa department. Hundreds of Green Berets trained and led the campaign which killed some 8,000 peasants in less than a year. U.S. planes flying out of Panama dropped napalm on suspected guerrilla concentrations. The commander of the slaughter, Colonel Arana Osorio, the "Jackal of Zacapa," became the next president.

As in Vietnam, "strategic hamlets" were set up and the Indian population driven into them. Under the tutelage of some of the same U.S. "advisers" responsible for Operation Phoenix in Vietnam—which rounded up, tortured and individually murdered some 30,000 Vietnamese to "eliminate the Vietcong infrastructure"—in Guatemala "a new weapon was also introduced: political assassination on a mass scale" (Stephen Schlesinger and Stephen Kinzer, *Bitter Fruit. The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala* [1983]). Horribly tortured and mutilated victims of death squads littered the country in a manner calculated to maximize terror. This was an integral part of the U.S. "counterinsurgency doctrine."

In preparing the groundwork for Cold War II, Democratic president and professional imperialist hypocrite Jimmy Carter made a show of cutting off aid to the Guatemalan officers in protest of "human rights" abuses. But this was nothing but a cynical maneuver. McClintock writes: "Dealings between the military of each country continued...and, simultaneously, close U.S. allies (particularly Israel and Argentina) were increasingly involved in taking up the slack in military assistance—with the apparent encouragement of the U.S. military and intelligence establishment." By 1980 the dollar value of Israeli assistance was estimated at $90 million.

In 1982, yet another coup brought to power the megalomaniacal general Efraín Ríos Montt. A fundamentalist Protestant and graduate of Fort Bragg, who also had served as a department head at the Interamerican Defense College in Washington, Rios Montt's main qualification was that he had the stomach for the dirty work. He launched a "scorched earth offensive" (with the Kaibiles in the forefront) against highland Mayan villagers among whom leftist guerrillas had won support. A survivor of one massacre told Americas Watch:

> "Guatemalan army soldiers entered their village and began shooting men, women, children and livestock. Soldiers murdered children by cleaving their heads with machetes, strangling them with rope, and throwing them in the air and then bayonetting them. Women who did not escape were raped. Those who survived fled to the hills. [In the following months] the army again returned to the village and burned crops that the survivors had recently cultivated."
>
> —quoted in *The American Connection*

In a couple of years, they had killed or "disappeared" well over 100,000 people, entirely destroyed 440 villages, and displaced more than a million Indians, driving 200,000 across the border into Chiapas. In this truly genocidal rampage, whole Mayan tribes were virtually wiped out, such as the Ixil people of El Quiché, who numbered some 45,000 in 1969.

Today, imperialist mouthpieces like Torricelli and the *New York Times* profess to be horrified that Bush "suspended" aid to the Guatemala junta over the killing of DeVine only to resume it "secretly" through the CIA. But from Carter to Reagan to Bush, Washington has consistently used public displays of feigned shock as a screen when the atrocities of its puppets become an international embarrassment. Aid is "suspended" by one hand and reinstated by the other. Clinton is no different. To appeal to the capitalist state to clean up its act is both futile and creates dangerous illusions.

Grisly repression is a fundamental feature of the U.S. empire, which repeatedly drives the workers and peasants in its neocolonies to desperate uprisings as Wall Street literally drains their lives to fill its coffers. In the four decades since 1954, the Guatemalan countryside has been the scene of almost uninterrupted guerrilla struggles. But the death squad regimes also direct their terror at the small urban working class. A heroic fight by the workers of the Coca-Cola bottling plant in Guatemala City, lasting from 1976 to 1985, saw three general secretaries of the union assassinated, while other members and their families were arrested, kidnapped, tortured, shot or forced into exile (see Latin American Bureau, *Soft Drink, Hard Labour: Guatemalan Workers Take on Coca-Cola* [1987]).

The tentacles of the octopus (as United Fruit was known throughout Central America) can be cut off, as in Cuba, but Yankee imperialism will continue to strangle the hemisphere until it is struck in the heart. It is up to the U.S. working class to come to the aid of their class brothers and sisters fighting to throw off imperialist slavery and landlord-capitalist rule. Today, when sections of the ruling class so desire for their own ends, we may get a glimpse of the crimes perpetrated by this system. But it is only when the working class, led by its internationalist vanguard party, takes power that the secret archives will be opened from Washington, D.C. to Guatemala City and justice will be meted out against the hitmen of the international Murder Inc. and their paymasters. The hundreds of thousands of victims of imperialist slaughter *will be avenged*, through socialist revolution. ■

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Thought Police for "Billary"
NOW Censorship Flops

As thousands turned out for the "Rally for Women's Lives" in Washington, D.C. on April 9, NOW censors failed in their attempt to ban leftist literature on the Washington Mall. When the Spartacist League found out about NOW's outrageous plan to ban non-NOW "vendors," we immediately issued an "Open Letter to All Participants in the Rally for Women's Lives" (printed below) to expose this threat to use the forces of the capitalist police against political opponents. Our protest embarrassed the feminist thought police enough that SL supporters distributing our revolutionary literature were not harassed by the Park Service cops, as NOW had threatened.

NOW did not hesitate with others, however. Despite being listed as a "national endorser" of the rally, the reformist Socialist Workers Party, which has been cravenly tailing the bourgeois-feminist NOW for over two decades, had one literature table shut down by Park Police. Other vendors selling buttons and T-shirts were deemed to be competing with NOW's profit-making enterprises (featuring a specially produced "Stop Violence" T-shirt) and were chased off NOW's "territory"!

As the Clinton White House has backed off the abortion question in response to right-wing pressure, NOW has shifted its attention to individual domestic violence, taking the focus off the fascists and the state. Meanwhile, these bourgeois feminists *prevent* militants from organizing effective defense of abortion clinics against the "right to life" terrorists, while portraying the genocidal bipartisan assault on welfare as solely the fault of the Republicans. NOW & Co. wanted only to make the rally safe for the Democrats, by limiting all politics to mobilizing voters to "Stop Newt" (Gingrich) in 1996 and campaigning for more police and more laws to "stop violence."

Despite the NOW threats, hundreds of young demonstrators got Spartacist literature: 665 copies of *WV* with the headline "Defeat Racist Assault on Affirmative Action!" and 445 copies of *Women and Revolution* were sold, with our class-struggle program for women's liberation through socialist revolution.

WV Photo

Washington, D.C., April 9: Spartacists assert right to sell Marxist literature and petition against the racist death penalty at rally on Capitol Mall, defying feminist censors.

Open Letter to All Participants in the Rally for Women's Lives

Imagine a mass protest where the only literature available for sale must be approved by the government and its police forces. No Virginia, it's not a Nuremberg rally or a bookburning in Bangladesh, it's the National Organization for Women's "Rally for Women's Lives" in Washington, D.C. on April 9—*and it's a scandal!*

Today, we socialists of the Spartacist League/U.S. were informed by one Cindy Hanford of NOW that *only* NOW could have literature tables at the Sunday rally on the Washington Mall. Ms. Hanford added that, "if you try to vend, the Park Service will arrest you." While Ms. Hanford feigned the role of a powerless woman obeying the diktats of manly police agencies, the truth of the matter is that NOW has made this rule and will use the cops to enforce it. NOW has a long and sordid history of promoting the cops and suppressing the left. At the huge marches for abortion rights in 1989 and 1992, NOW goons tried to shut down socialist literature tables and unleash the cops on militants who declined to be segregated from the main rally in NOW's demeaning penned-in "ghetto" for left groups. NOW's most blatant dive into the sewers of bourgeois state repression was their open invitation to the FBI—the agency whose purpose is to destroy the work and the lives of black militants, leftists, union organizers, homosexuals—to set up a recruitment booth at NOW's July 1991 national convention in New York City!

Thus this threat of police censorship at NOW's behest against the left is not a surprise to us Marxists. Still, it is deeply ironic that at a "rally for women's lives" we shall have to dodge the feminist thought police of the National Organization for Women in order to distribute our journal *Women and Revolution* which features an exclusive interview with the courageous Bangladeshi woman writer Taslima Nasrin whom Islamic fundamentalist thought police have vowed to kill for "blasphemous" views.

NOW will not succeed in their attempt to spawn a seamless mass of bourgeois-feminist conformity. Their scandalous censorship only emphasizes the huge gulf between the politics of those who fight for women's liberation through socialist revolution and those middle-class feminists who repress the left and sacrifice the interests of poor and minority women in order to advance their own positions in the capitalist order. In this regard it is instructive that since "Billary" took the White House, NOW has mounted no mass protests in defense of abortion clinics for fear of alienating their Democratic Party masters. Even after the chilling murders of abortion clinic workers in Brookline, Massachusetts, abortion is "hush, hush"—yet NOW loudly howls alongside the Republican far-right about "pornography" and fuels the "sex abuse" hysteria which results in the persecution of day-care workers and teachers.

For our part, we believe that political censorship, whether emanating from Ayatollah or Cardinal, "born-again" bigots or bourgeois feminists, is all equally loathsome. The Spartacist League has consistently fought to mobilize the working class to defend the rights of women and all the oppressed. Against those who attempt to channel struggles into the dead end of Democratic Party electoralism (which maintains the capitalist status quo by chaining the exploited to their exploiters) we fight to build a revolutionary party which will serve as a Leninist "tribune of the people," fighting all forms of social oppression as we organize to sweep away this whole system of race, sex, and class oppression.

- **Break with the Democrats! Build a Workers Party!**
- **Free Abortion on Demand!**
- **Defeat the Racist Attack on Affirmative Action! Jobs and Free Quality Education for All!**
- **Women's Liberation through Socialist Revolution!**

Look for the forbidden fruit on April 9! Don't let NOW tell you what you can and can't read! Don't go home without your very own copy of *Workers Vanguard* and *Women and Revolution*!

Spartacist League
7 April 1995

Jamal...

(continued from page 16)

month, permitted only legal visits and prohibited from receiving books other than legal or religious materials. They are already restricting Jamal's contact with his legal team and supporters outside prison walls in order to isolate Jamal and prevent him from assisting in the preparation of a petition for a new trial being prepared by his attorneys led by Leonard Weinglass.

Partisan Defense Committee counsel Rachel Wolkenstein said, "They are trying to entomb Jamal even before a death warrant is signed. State Representative Michael McGeehan, the FOP and prison officials are incensed that support for Jamal around the world keeps growing. This is a transparent effort to prevent Jamal from breaking the wall of silence and intimidation put up by the FOP and overturning his conviction and death sentence."

Jamal, a former spokesman for the Black Panther Party, supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE organization and renowned journalist who was president of the Philadelphia chapter of the Association of Black Journalists at the time of his arrest, has been a target of the Philly cops and government for over 25 years. In 1982, Jamal was framed on charges of killing a Philadelphia police officer. Wolkenstein pointed out:

> "Heavily edited files recently obtained from the FBI under the Freedom of Information Act document that the government was targeting Jamal from the time he was a teenager. As a 16-year-old leader of the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Panther Party, Jamal became a marked man. He was placed on the FBI's Administrative Index of 'subversives' and recommended for the Security Index of those deemed to pose a 'threat' to the government. Many other Panthers given that designation ended up either dead or locked away for many years on racist frame-ups as part of the COINTELPRO vendetta against black activists."

PEN/Faulkner prize-winning author John Edgar Wideman writes in the introduction to *Live From Death Row*, "Mumia's words are clarified and purified by the toxic strata of resistance through which they must penetrate to reach us. Like the blues. Like jazz." The book includes comments by such notable figures as actor Ossie Davis, who is co-chairman of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, and author E.L. Doctorow. Alice Walker, author of *The Color Purple*, writes, "A rare and courageous voice speaking from a place we fear to know: Mumia Abu-Jamal must be heard." Prominent attorney William Kunstler adds, "Everyone interested in justice should read the words of this innocent man."

Jamal wrote of the efforts to silence him by the same Philly cops and state officials responsible for the bombing of the MOVE home on 13 May 1985, which killed eleven blacks, five of them children: "Does the First Amendment, which allegedly *guarantees* Freedom of the Press, apply behind prison walls? Does it truly apply to all within America? We shall see....

"I, after having had one court-appointed lawyer (who was later disbarred), and another on appeal, am fighting, quite literally, for my very life, against an unjust and an illegal Death Sentence, have decided to finally try to hire a good lawyer, and the buzzards of the FOP and political hitmen screech their objections.

"If Stacey Koon [LA cop convicted on civil rights violations in the beating of Rodney King] is entitled to a direct mail solicitation for legal funds and family assistance in an amount upwards of $4 million, and he is fighting a less than 3-year federal sentence for a crime that was videotaped and televised internationally, why the squawk over a book deal with the writer for $30,000?

"The squawk, upon reflection, is utterly reasonable, for one man served the interests of the system all of his professional life, while another man opposed the interests of the system all of his professional (and indeed teenage) life.

"You decide who you would rather read, and refuse to let baby-killing cops, or their political lackeys tell you what is, or isn't verboten to read.

"Isn't that the very essence of the 'Freedom of the Press'?"

* * *

Make the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, the voice of the voiceless that the police want to silence, the rallying cry against the racist death penalty. Deborah Mackson of the PDC stressed, "Jamal's victimization throws a spotlight on what the death penalty in this deeply racist country is all about. In fighting the legal lynching of Jamal we will strike a blow against the entire apparatus of capitalist repression."

For more information about the campaign to save Jamal, contact the Partisan Defense Committee at PO Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, (212) 406-4252. *Live From Death Row* can be purchased for $20 from Addison-Wesley, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010 ■

California Supermarket Strike Beats Back Attack on Health Benefits

Union Tops Agree to Three-Year Wage Freeze, Raid on Union Trust Fund

OAKLAND—On April 15, some 32,000 supermarket workers ended their nine-day strike against grocery chains in Northern California. The strike—which hit over 200 Safeway stores, while Lucky and Save Mart declared a lockout—was immensely popular. For an entire week, TV news showed empty aisles at struck stores as shoppers refused to patronize the grocery chains which gouge increasingly large chunks out of their paychecks. This time, the bosses miscalculated in declaring war against workers who the public at large sees are struggling just like them—kids trying to make it through school, single mothers, young black, Asian and Latino fathers stocking shelves and bagging groceries to keep their children fed. "Everybody's tired of the corporations taking away from the working people," said a bartender in the one-supermarket town of Guerneville.

The strike began on April 6 when 18,000 clerks, baggers and butchers belonging to the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) struck Safeway. The bosses' Food Employment Council was out to eliminate medical benefits for part-timers, jack up premiums for everyone else and slash overtime and holiday pay. The employers went all-out, locking out 14,000 Lucky and Save Mart workers and hiring 10,000 scabs to work in struck stores from Fresno to the Oregon border. But they didn't count on the tremendous echo this strike had among working people: if a picket line was up, the aisles were empty.

One week into the strike, nearly a thousand workers protested outside Safeway world headquarters in Oakland. Grocery workers were joined by hotel, civil service, machinist and longshore unions in a powerful display of multiracial and multiethnic unity. The bosses' divide-and-conquer strategy can be transcended in *class struggle*. With booming chants of "Hey, say it loud, we're union and we're proud!" it was the voice of militant women, minorities and young workers which injected the most heartfelt urgency. They represent the thousands of part-time and lowest-paid workers whose health benefits the bosses want to take away.

After a deal was struck between the UFCW tops and the bosses the night of April 14, union reps rushed to picket lines to gather up signs and order strikers back to work without details of the proposed contract. At one Safeway picket line in Oakland, strikers argued strongly that they should vote *before* going back. Now the agreement is supposed to be ratified by mail ballot, which could take weeks.

The Food Employment Council bragged that they had won a "cost-neutral" contract, meaning that the profit-bloated supermarket chains won't have to cough up one extra cent for their workers. Increased medical costs (projected to rise by 12-15 percent over the life of the contract) will be stolen right out of the union's health and welfare trust fund. On top of that, wages—for some as low as $6.75 an hour—will be frozen for the next three years! The union tops are throwing away the enormous support for the strike.

From the beginning, the UFCW strike "strategy" was to target only Safeway, while allowing many stores to go without pickets and even encouraging consumers to shop at Lucky stores. The supermarket bosses were acting in complete unity to crush the strike. Chuck Mack, the president of Teamsters Joint Council 7 who acted as the UFCW's main adviser, casually predicted that the strike would last "a month, maybe two," which would have left strikers trying to make ends meet on $60 a week strike benefits. Yet he and the UFCW misleaders never shut down the key supermarket distribution centers, like Safeway's gigantic facility at Tracy, organized by the Teamsters. This would have *shut down the supermarkets* overnight, scuttling the plans to run scab stores.

In fact, Mack allowed Teamster drivers to continue hauling groceries to the supermarkets, allowing management and scabs to unload trucks in the street. He didn't lift a finger when Safeway bosses "temporarily replaced" as many as 300 Teamster drivers at the Tracy facility with scab owner-operators in the first days of the strike! Mack mouths support for the "armed struggle" of Zapatista rebels in Chiapas (in his column in the February 1994 *Northern California Teamster*). But at home he lets grocery store strikers and his own members hang out to dry.

The labor sellouts' game is hitching the unions to the Democratic Party politicians, who were invited to speak at the April 13 rally. The Democrats are no "friends of labor." With their immigrant-bashing, assault on welfare and attacks against affirmative action, they are enemies of workers' struggle and minority rights.

On the picket lines during the supermarket strike there were white, black, Latino and Asian strikers fighting together against the wage-gouging companies with their divide-and-rule strategy. Safeway was among the biggest financial backers of California's 1992 Proposition 165, an early attempt to drastically cut welfare benefits on the grounds that they are a "disincentive" to seeking work. Supermarket owners want people to "seek work" at poverty wages and are guilty of every form of discrimination. In 1993, three women who worked at Lucky won a class-action lawsuit worth $107 million on behalf of 14,000 women workers denied promotions due to sex discrimination.

The rulers' attacks on immigrants and affirmative action are aimed at dividing the working class. To win the battles ahead, workers need their own party, a class-struggle workers party fighting to realize the program *those who labor must rule*. ■

Mangelsdorf/SF Examiner

Strikers picket Safeway supermarket in San Francisco.

Prepare for Emergency Demos!

THE CAMPAIGN IS AT A CRITICAL POINT—YOU CAN HELP! At any moment, Pennsylvania's pro-death penalty governor, Tom Ridge, could sign Mumia Abu-Jamal's death warrant. Ridge has already signed warrants for five death row inmates, and the state's first execution in 30 years is set to take place this month. Jamal is in imminent danger—if a warrant is signed, emergency demonstrations will be held the next day in New York City, Oakland and elsewhere. Get on the Partisan Defense Committee phone tree and help organize to make these urgent demonstrations the loudest possible outcry against the racist death penalty!

JOIN THE CAMPAIGN: take petitions; ask your friends, neighbors and co-workers to sign and get involved. Organize a showing in your union, community group, church or school of the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*. Send letters and get Jamal's powerful columns into your local newspapers, school or union newsletters; raise motions in your union or at your school to send a letter to Governor Ridge demanding "Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!" Contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 406-4252.

SEND PROTEST LETTERS TO: Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120.

WRITE TO JAMAL to express your solidarity: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090.

SEND $$$ FOR JAMAL LEGAL DEFENSE NOW! Funds are urgently needed to wage the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal's life. All money being raised through these rallies and forums organized by the Partisan Defense Committee goes directly to Jamal's legal defense. Since February 9, nearly $15,000 has been collected or pledged. More is needed now! Jamal's legal team initiated the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, co-chaired by actors Ossie Davis and Mike Farrell, to help raise funds. Make out your tax-deductible contribution for the defense to: Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and send it to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Jamal Book, *Live From Death Row*, to Be Published May 2

Cops Escalate Vendetta Against Mumia Abu-Jamal

Despite a frenzied campaign by the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) to block its publication, *Live From Death Row*, a collection of writings by political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, will be released by Addison-Wesley Publishing Company on May 2. Announcing the publication, Addison-Wesley stated, "*Live From Death Row* adds immediacy, depth, and passion to the nationwide controversy surrounding race, capital punishment, and freedom of speech.... Abu-Jamal's commentaries illuminate the conditions inside death row and the racial inequities of the United States judicial system, a system recently indicted by Amnesty International for its treatment of racial minorities and inadequate legal representation of poor defendants."

Since taking office in January, Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge has already signed five execution warrants, bringing closer the state's first execution since 1962 and placing Mumia Abu-Jamal's life in immediate jeopardy. In the past two months, rallies to save Jamal were held in more than a dozen cities internationally, drawing representatives of labor, community, student and left organizations representing hundreds of thousands. As support for Jamal has grown worldwide and particularly with the publication of Jamal's book, the state is seeking to make it ever more difficult for Jamal's powerful voice to be heard and to prove his innocence. Requests for interviews with Jamal by *People* magazine, France 2 TV, German Public TV Channel 1, Connie Chung of CBS, Gramercy Pictures and National Public Radio, among others, have been denied by prison officials. The state has seized upon publication of Jamal's book as the bogus pretext for placing Jamal in "investigative" status and denying the press access to him.

The Philadelphia cops and their friends in the state government have been on a vendetta to censor the book and to seize the $30,000 advance to the author. They are using the publication of Jamal's writings to escalate their efforts to silence Jamal by execution. As Jamal recently wrote, "They are trying to build a climate of death, with me as a mute bystander." Retaliating against Jamal for speaking out from behind the walls of death row, prison officials have threatened him with disciplinary proceedings on the pretext of carrying on "commercial activity" while in prison.

As they conduct an "investigation," prison officials have already abrogated Jamal's lawyer-client privilege, confiscated his legal correspondence and prevented visits by legal assistants. If found "guilty," Jamal will be placed in disciplinary custody, where he will be limited to two phone calls per

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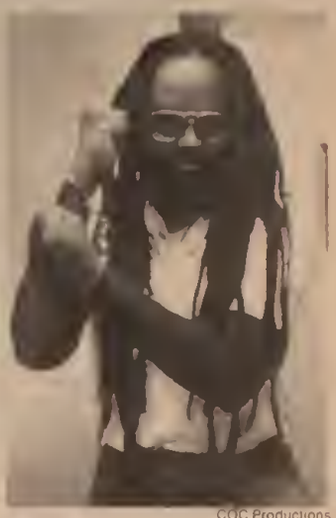

COC Productions

Mumia Abu-Jamal

Young Spartacus

Break with the Democrats—Unleash Labor's Power!

CUNY Students Debate How to Fight the Cuts

Young Spartacus

New York City, March 23: More that 10,000 students and teachers protest vicious cuts in higher education. SYC called for students to unite with labor in one-day citywide strike against cutbacks.

In recent weeks, New York City has been swept by a wave of angry demonstrations protesting drastic cutbacks ordered by Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and Governor George Pataki. On April 4, some 5,000 trade unionists and students marched on Wall Street. Two weeks earlier, over 10,000 City University (CUNY) and high-school students defied a massive cop mobilization to demonstrate outside City Hall, chanting, "Education is a right—Fight, fight, fight!" On March 1, New York hospital workers union Local 1199 led a march of 30,000 health care and city workers to protest cuts which would eliminate up to 80,000 hospital jobs.

Students are literally being bludgeoned by the Giuliani administration. On March 23, as a spirited, multiracial crowd sought to step off from City Hall Park for a march to Wall Street, the cops unleashed a brutal assault lasting over an hour, pulling students over barricades to pummel them and spraying the crowd with Mace. More than 60 students and others were arrested. Last week at City College, cops arrested 47 people, including hunger strikers and their supporters, mostly black and Hispanic. Student protesters at other campuses have also been arrested. At a meeting of the CUNY Coalition Against the Cuts two days after March 23, Spartacus Youth Club members fought to mobilize to fill the courtroom in defense of the protesters. With hearings coming up on April 20, we say: Drop the charges!

Labor Misleaders: Roadblock to Struggle

CUNY students are not alone. There is broad recognition that the assault on education, public health and mass transit requires a unified struggle drawing on the power of the trade unions. Giuliani, narrowly elected as the cops' candidate in 1993, is already despised by masses of blacks and Hispanics. Now the arrogant attacks on municipal unions are

continued on page 8

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 622

5 May 1995

In Wake of Oklahoma Atrocity:

Government Launches Assault on Your Rights

The death toll is climbing toward 200 in the April 19 bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah federal building in Oklahoma City. The blast, which reportedly came from several thousand pounds of ammonium nitrate fertilizer mixed with fuel oil and a detonator, tore away a huge swath in all nine floors of the steel-reinforced concrete structure. The building housed a broad spectrum of government agencies, from the Social Security Administration and the Department of Agriculture to the Secret Service, the Drug Enforcement Administration and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF). Overwhelmingly, the victims of this act of indiscriminate terror were ordinary government workers, black and white, who staff the offices in the building. Most wrenching were the pictures of dead and dying children being carried from the ruhble of the day-care center.

Immediately, the news media began whipping up an anti-Arab hysteria saying the suspects were "men of Middle Eastern origin," running shots of the 1993 NYC World Trade Center bombing, comparing the blast to the 1983 bombing of U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut. Every paper featured stories about "foreign terrorists" striking at the "heartland of America." Arabs throughout the U.S. felt under siege. But the next day the government revealed that the suspects were two white American men. Moreover, it turns out that captured bombing suspect Timothy McVeigh is an Army veteran associated with the right-wing paramilitary "militia movement."

From the "war on international terrorism," the government's line suddenly shifted to a war on "extremism." Behind this "anti-extremist" crusade is an accelerated drive by both capitalist parties to ram through a whole panoply of repressive measures. The Clinton administration immediately seized on this horrendous atrocity to place on the "fast track" an ominous "Omnibus Counterterrorism Act," as well as draconian new FBI "guidelines." Clinton's "package" is chock-full of provisions attacking civil liberties which the White House has been trying to get through Congress for a couple of years. Among them are: secret trials for "suspected terrorists," using the military for domestic police enforcement, unlimited harassment and surveillance of dissident organizations, blanket authorization for wiretaps, and escalating the ongoing campaign against the constitutional right to bear arms.

Banali/Gamma-Liaison

Government seizes on bombing of Oklahoma City federal building for "anti-terrorist" crackdown on civil liberties. Above: FBI SWAT team during 1994 World Cup soccer games.

Such police-state measures have long been used against leftists, blacks and anyone else the government puts on *its* "enemies list." But the bipartisan embrace of this repressive arsenal, which is cynically being sold over the dead bodies in Oklahoma City, is intended to legitimate its extension to the population as a whole. In the name of combating "terrorism," the government wants to give a legal cover to a wholesale abrogation of everyone's rights—authorizing them to open your mail, listen in on your phone calls, keep tabs on who you associate with, and assert a state monopoly of armed force. They're not really after the fascists, who at bottom are the creatures of this racist ruling class, but the labor movement, blacks and other minorities—those the capitalist rulers consider "the enemy within."

In justifying his "anti-terrorist" crackdown, Clinton pointed a finger at "hate" speech, later adding, "whether it comes from the right or the left." But the kind of bloodthirsty mass murder seen in the Oklahoma bombing is the hallmark of the *fascists*, whose view of their perceived enemies is "the only good one is a dead one." The 1980 fascist bombing of the Bologna train station in Italy, which killed 84 people, as part of a strategy of provoking chaos, is typical of their M.O. Extreme nationalists, who see whole peoples as their scourge, also engage in such criminal slaughter of random people, as in the ethnic-national butchery racking the former Yugoslavia. So do the imperialists, who have regularly slaughtered whole populations in the name of freedom and democracy.

The Oklahoma bombing may well have been modeled after a strikingly similar scenario described in *The Turner Diaries*, a 1978 novel by West Virginia white-supremacist William Pierce. (In this book, which is a bible for American fascists, a fertilizer bomb destroys FBI headquarters at 9:15 a.m.) Former Green Beret colonel Bo Gritz, who in 1988 ran for president on the ticket of the racist Populist Party and is now the führer of a "militia" group in Idaho, praised the blast as "a Rembrandt—a masterpiece of science and art put together." Tom Metzger, leader of the fascist "White Aryan Resistance," tipped his hat to the Oklahoma carnage, saying, "Evidently, these people...saw the Federal building as a strategic military target, and these are the kind of things that happen at war" (*New York Times*, 23 April).

These fascist killers grow from the fertile soil of racist U.S. imperialism. During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the Pentagon reveled in raining bombs on Iraq's cities, killing thousands of civilians, destroying hospitals and waterworks. In that "Desert Slaughter," the arrested suspect in the Oklahoma bombing case, Timothy McVeigh, "served with the Big Red One's 2nd Battalion of the 16th Infantry, which performed one of the most grisly operations of the ground war—the burial [of] many Iraqi soldiers, some still alive, by armored vehicles equipped with plows" (*New York Newsday*, 25 April). It's not surprising that out of such barbarism can come a twisted, Nazi-like mentality.

This government is in fact the biggest terrorist and mass murderer of them all. Don't forget the A-bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, as well as the firebombing of Dresden and Tokyo! The 1985 bombing of the Philly MOVE commune was the Reagan government's message to black America that anyone who steps out of line would face the full brunt of

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Why "Labor Party Advocates" Doesn't Advocate a Labor Party

SEE PAGE 3

13 May 1985—Ten Years Later

MOVE Massacre—We Will Never Forget

This May marks ten years since the Mother's Day 1985 siege of Osage Avenue in Philadelphia, when eleven black people, including five children, were killed and hundreds were burned out of their homes in the police/FBI bombing of the MOVE commune. The racist slaughter, ordered by Democratic mayor Wilson Goode and orchestrated by the feds, was a signature of the Reagan years. The Philadelphia body count was exceeded on 19 April 1993, as Democratic president Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno ordered the BATF/FBI assault which resulted in the deaths of 86 men, women and children in the compound of the racially integrated Branch Davidian religious group outside Waco, Texas.

Today, a decade after the MOVE massacre, wholesale attacks on the black population are accelerating. Assaults on welfare spell genocide for a layer of ghetto blacks, and black men languish in prison hellholes—virtually the *only* "growth industry" in America. The racist vendetta against MOVE and those who dared defend them continues in ominous moves by the Philly cops to silence the voice of Mumia Abu-Jamal and force his execution. The black journalist and former Black Panther had long been in the cops' gunsights; he was framed up and sentenced to death in the wake of his courageous defense of MOVE prisoners arrested in the 1978 murderous police assault on their Powelton Village home.

In a recent column from death row titled "Judicial Approval of Mass Murder," Jamal exposes the whitewash amnesty given this March to the police and government murderers in the MOVE bombing: "The U.S. Court of Appeals in Philadelphia recently decided that the politicians, firemen and police responsible for the bombing of MOVE on May 13, 1985, are not, in fact, responsible."

Jamal quotes Ramona Africa, who spent seven years in prison for the "crime" of being the sole adult survivor of the massacre:

> "To blame MOVE for that massacre is like an armed robber blaming the murder of his victim *on the victim* by saying he shouldn't have resisted, he should've given in to the robber and he wouldn't have gotten killed.... The bottom line is that this government came to *kill* MOVE on May 13, *not* to arrest us."

The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee fought for Ramona Africa's freedom until her release in 1992, and continues to aid and demand freedom for the nine MOVE members still in jail as a result of the 1978 Powelton Village raid.

Immediately after the 1985 MOVE massacre, stressing that a communist party must serve as a tribune of all the oppressed, we vowed to "sear the memory of this heinous act into the consciousness of the American workers movement." *Workers Vanguard* (No. 379, 17 May 1985) headlined, "Reagan Bombs Black Babies—Bitburg Hits Philly," denouncing the government's "Vietnam-style overkill" and the "brutal, conscious racism of the bombing."

In the following issue, our front-page article headlined: "Philly Inferno: Racist Murder! Reagan, Cops, Black Mayor—They're the Terrorists" (*WV* No. 380, 31 May 1985). We reprint below selections from this article.

> "'Attention, MOVE. This is America.' With this ultimatum, delivered over a cop bullhorn at 5:40 a.m. on May 13, there began the hideous siege and mass murder by firebombing of a black neighborhood in West Philadelphia. At least four black children, seven black men and women burned alive and entire city blocks destroyed in a deliberate firestorm. . .
>
> "Now as the details of the sinister operation emerge, it is utterly clear that this heinous crime was approved right at the top. Philadelphia police met with the FBI and reviewed strategy and tactics two days before the operation against MOVE began . . From Reagan's top cop this was no surprise. The people who salute SS graves in Germany brought Bitburg back to Philly with a bang. This was no 'firefight,' it was a *firestorm*: Dresden in America . .
>
> "This was a willful racist massacre of people with no name (they called themselves 'Africa') who had committed no crime ...
>
> "We communists say black Democrat Wilson Goode is as guilty as Republican Ronald Reagan and the racist cops for the murder of eleven blacks, women and children alike. The liberals now apologize for this calculated obliteration of a black neighborhood—to do otherwise requires a break from the whole myth of the 'new black power' at the voting booth, organized through the Democratic Party of George Wallace and Jesse Jackson ...
>
> "The Osage Avenue massacre was supposed to be a message to anybody who gets 'out of line' in Reagan's America—blacks will get the Philly treatment, labor will get the PATCO treatment, and everyone, not least the Marxists, will get the 'terrorist' treatment. But you can fight the terrorists in City Hall and the White House and win. Black people do have social power: they are concentrated in some of the key sections of the American proletariat, constituting its most militant layer. But to unlock this power means breaking the capitalist two-party stranglehold, fighting for a workers party to mobilize labor and oppressed blacks in revolutionary struggle against this racist, capitalist system. Avenge the Philly inferno—For black freedom through socialist revolution!" ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

The Soviet Union in Battle Against Nazi Germany

May 8 marks the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II in Europe. The smashing of the Nazi regime was carried out fundamentally by the Soviet Red Army. While the workers had no side in the interimperialist conflict between the Allied "democracies" and the Axis powers led by Nazi Germany, the Trotskyist Fourth International called on the world proletariat to unconditionally defend the Soviet degenerated workers state. Several months after the German Wehrmacht invaded the USSR, Polish Marxist Isaac Deutscher noted that the heroic resistance of the Soviet workers showed that the revolutionary gains of October 1917 still persisted, despite Stalin's criminal undermining and betrayals. Decades later, in the absence of proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy, and of workers revolutions in the West, the Soviet Union succumbed to capitalist counterrevolution.

Eight months have passed since the fateful date of 22 June 1941 when Hitler began his march on Russia. From that day the two most powerful armies in the world have been locked in epic combat from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Although the German Panzer divisions have in this time conquered a territory no smaller than that of Germany itself, nothing foreshadows the breakdown of the superhuman heroism with which the Russian revolution fights for its life and for its banner. Bleeding profusely it finds its greatness anew. The destiny of the world now hangs in the balance across the vast spaces of the USSR. . .

One fundamental truth about the German-Soviet war has to be understood: the heroic resistance of the Russian workers and peasants is proof of the vitality of revolutionary society. Soviet workers and peasants are defending everything which, in spite of various deformations, has remained of the revolution: an economy without capitalists and landlords. They defend what they see as their socialist fatherland—and here the accent is on the adjective no less than on the noun. They defend it not because, but *in spite of* the privileges which the new bureaucracy has usurped for itself; not because, but in spite of the totalitarian regime with its GPU, concentration camps, cult of the leader, and the terrible purges. Whoever has had an opportunity to observe Soviet reality even for a short time knows that the totalitarian regime had not strengthened but weakened the Soviet state. The huge quantity of modern weapons which the Red Army wields in battle could have been produced on a far greater scale and in better quality without the whip that lashes the backs of the Soviet workers. The sword of the revolution would be sharper today if it had been honed by a true democracy among the working masses. Solidarity with Russia does not in any way demand that this truth be concealed.

—Isaac Deutscher, "22 June 1941" (February 1942)

UPI

Firebombing of Philadelphia MOVE commune, with explosives supplied by FBI, killed eleven people and burned down entire black neighborhood.

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Why "Labor Party Advocates" Doesn't Advocate a Labor Party

Labor Party Advocate photos

Labor Party Advocates head Tony Mazzocchi (left) seeks to refurbish "friends of labor" image of capitalist Democratic Party. At January 14 Hayward, California LPA meeting, former Democratic governor Jerry Brown (far right) was a featured speaker.

The twin parties of American capitalism, Democrats and Republicans, have never been as discredited as they are today. It is an increasingly accepted commonplace that the "Republicrats" are simply two wings of the same Property Party. Clinton's "new" Democrats compete with Newt Gingrich's right-wing Republicans in tearing down social services, targeting black welfare mothers, bashing immigrants and trampling the unions. Meanwhile, millions of working people can barely eke out a living, even when there are two wage-earners in the family. Black people find themselves under siege on every front, from the attacks on affirmative action to the deadly "war on drugs" which is filling the prisons and decimating the ghettos. And while many women looked to the Clintons in '92, women's rights today are under savage assault by "right to life" terrorists.

Through a dozen years of Reagan/Bush, labor and black misleaders told their constituencies to take it on the chin and work to put a Democrat back in the White House. But yuppie racist Bill Clinton wasted no time in making it clear that blacks and labor would have no say in his Democratic Party, as he spit on Jesse Jackson and shoved NAFTA through Congress despite vociferous opposition from organized labor. Falling voter participation at all levels undoubtedly reflects widespread disenchantment with both major parties. The right-wing Gingrich "sweep" in the '94 elections was based on the votes of less than a fifth of the electorate. It's not surprising, then, that over the last few years, all kinds of calls for a third party have been sprouting up—a "New" party, a "21st Century" party, a "rainbow" party, and even a "labor" party.

Throughout our existence, the Spartacist League has fought for labor to break with the Democratic Party and form a *workers party to fight for a workers government*. Only a party which opposes the capitalist profit system down the line, which acts as an organizing center for workers in struggle everywhere, which fights to uproot every manifestation of racial and sexual oppression, can truly claim independence from the parties of Wall Street. And only such a party can lead the struggles of the workers and oppressed to victory.

Ever since the days of FDR's "New Deal," the union bureaucracy has been a key prop of the Democratic Party, shoveling pro-business "friends of labor" down the workers' throats every time an election rolls around. Recently, however, talk of a "labor party" has become downright respectable among these lifelong Democratic Party stalwarts. At the AFL-CIO's annual extravaganza in Bal Harbour in February, even "Lane" Kirkland's cronies on the executive board, such as IUE chief William Bywater, were muttering about a labor party. And get this: Gus Hall's Communist Party U.S.A., which after decades of denouncing calls for a labor party as a "Trotskyite" ploy to disrupt the unity of Democratic Party "progressives," now proclaims: "It's Time for a Labor Party!"

Labor party talk has become positively trendy. This trend has been reflected in increased interest in an outfit called Labor Party Advocates (LPA), headed by longtime Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) International official Tony Mazzocchi. Two or three years ago, LPA meetings were little more than playpens for handfuls of left reformists like Socialist Action and Socialist Organizer. But it has now garnered the support of three international unions ("Rail Union Endorses Labor Party Advocates," *Labor Notes*, September 1994). And since the November '94 elections, LPA has attracted a broader hearing. An LPA meeting in Hayward, California on January 14 drew some 400-500 people, mostly union members. A meeting in Toledo a month earlier also drew several hundred.

Mazzocchi's "socialist" cheerleaders yearn to be in on the ground floor of something on the model of the British Labour Party—or more to the point, the insipid, barely social-democratic Canadian New Democratic Party. They regularly churn out press releases describing Labor Party Advocates as "inspiring," "historic," even "labor's Declaration of Independence." But LPA spurns the most basic element of working-class independence—a clean break with the bosses' political parties. Indeed, these "labor party advocates" don't even ..advocate forming a labor party. They just want to talk about it, *in order to pressure the Democrats*.

An LPA handout concludes with a money-back guarantee that Mazzocchi & Co. would not dream of besmirching the AFL-CIO's solidly pro-capitalist credentials, least of all the COPE political action machine that disburses millions in union members' contributions to Democratic Party candidates: "Labor Party Advocates is neither running nor endorsing candidates for political office and therefore is not interfering in ongoing COPE work or other political activity." If that isn't clear enough, the same brochure quoted from Jan Pierce, vice president of the Communications Workers (CWA), to dot the i's and cross the t's: "We can continue to work within the Democratic Party."

And this is at the heart of Labor Party Advocates. At LPA's founding in 1991, Mazzocchi laid down the condition that the organization would not run its own candidates, enabling LPA members to be "free to work for the candidates of any of the major parties." LPA doesn't reject the Democratic Party, only its most recent drift to the right:

> "The Democratic Party has changed. Once it was a real grass-roots organization . . . Organizing Labor Party Advocates is not going to retard the re-birth of the Democrats. On the contrary, it will encourage it."
>
> —*Labor Party Advocate*
> (August 1991)

At the outset, Mazzocchi peremptorily dismissed pleas by his "socialist" waterboys even to hold discussions about a program for the labor party they were supposedly working toward. Recently, LPA has staged a number of "program hearings," including the meeting in Hayward, and is even talking about holding a national convention—maybe, sometime—before the next presidential election in 1996. But the game's the same: pressuring the Dems for a better deal. Far from rejecting the politics of lesser-evilism, *Labor Party Advocates simply wants to put the "lesser" back in the Democratic Party evil.*

WV Photo

NYC transit workers demonstrate against layoffs. To fight for its interests, labor must break with the Democrats and forge a class-struggle workers party.

A "Labor Party" Fit for Ross Perot?

To put it bluntly, the increasing posturing about a "labor party" by elements of the labor bureaucracy is an effort to rope working people and minorities back into the Democratic Party fold, and that's what the LPA is all about. To believe the reformists of *Socialist Action* (May 1991), Tony Mazzocchi is "a long-time progressive and even radical militant." Actually, Mazzocchi is a pro-capitalist union bureaucrat to whom the methods of class struggle are alien. He spent 12 years working inside the Democratic Party as OCAW's legislative director. For Mazzocchi, calling for a "labor party" and supporting Democratic politicians have always gone hand in hand: he backed Democrat Jesse Jackson in 1988 and spoke as a featured guest at Jackson's Rainbow Coalition only last fall—three-and-a-half years after founding Labor Party Advocates.

Mazzocchi explicitly hails Roosevelt's New Deal for its "worker-oriented economic policy." But it was this alliance with the Roosevelt and Truman administrations—a bloc of labor, Northern liberals and racist Southern Dixiecrats—that made the unions dependent on the government's NLRB "labor court," paved the way for the Taft-Hartley union-busting law and sacrificed labor's postwar drive to organize the South on the twin altars of racism and anti-Communism.

Resurrecting the New Deal coalition is also what animates the CP's newfound support for a labor party. The *People's Weekly World* (21 January) emphasized "the urgent need to combat the Republican's Contract with America, not only by defending existing programs but by fighting for expanded programs to meet the people's needs." A month earlier *People's Weekly World* (17 December 1994) ran a major speech by Gus Hall

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Labor Party Advocates...

(continued from page 3)

under the headline, "We Need a *New* New Deal."

A measure of the kind of labor party the LPA has in mind was revealed by Mazzocchi's failed bid for OCAW president in 1981, when he simultaneously called for a labor party while arguing that strikes were ineffective! LPA's "socialist" enthusiasts to the contrary, a party of the working class will not be built simply on the basis of disaffection with the Democrats, but will arise in the course of sharp, tumultuous class struggles. And in these struggles the mass of the working class will find itself directly pitted against the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy. Can anyone even imagine the current crop of labor bureaucrats, who cut their teeth purging reds from the unions on behalf of J Edgar Hoover, organizing a party to take on the bosses and their state? Any party that these labor cops for capital would build would be aimed at heading off any struggle that challenged the capitalist system.

As James P. Cannon, a leader of the syndicalist IWW and the early American Communist Party and a founder of the Trotskyist movement in the U.S., remarked: "The achievement of political class consciousness by a proletariat is necessarily a convulsive and historically monumental act." In this deeply race-divided society, key to such a development will be the struggle to mobilize the power of labor against racism in all its ugly forms, because a workers party that's going to *lead* anything in this country must be a beacon for the fighters of all oppressed groups, *or it will not be*. Yet Mazzocchi insists, "We aren't organizing around a 'progressive' agenda. We're trying to organize the working class around their economic interests, and many of them are opposed to the 'progressive' agenda."

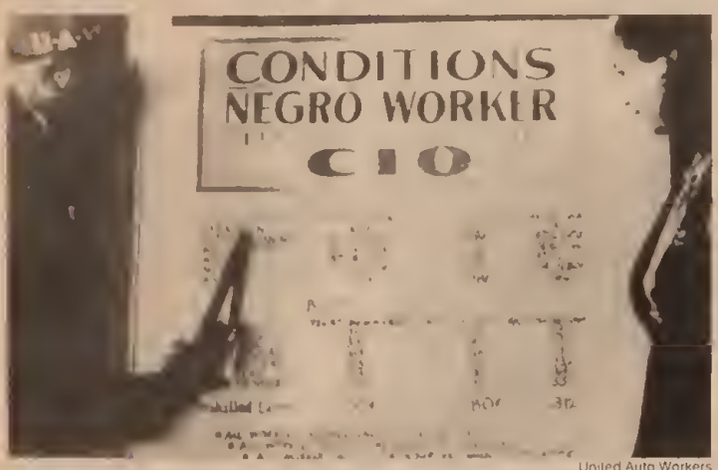
AP

AFL-CIO top Lane Kirkland (second from left) presides over destruction of unions while begging Democrats. Here looking on as Clinton signs toothless "striker replacement" executive order.

At the same time, Mazzocchi & Co. push poisonous economic protectionism which pits workers in the U.S. against their class brothers and sisters abroad. Mazzocchi says the "multi-national corporations have...scabbed our jobs abroad." California AFL-CIO chieftain John Henning, another LPA bigwig, raves, "American capital spits on the American flag." Such flag-waving chauvinism politically chains the proletariat to its "own" exploiters and paralyzes working-class struggle. A clear example of that is the ten-month-old rubber workers strike at Japanese-owned Bridgestone-Firestone, where instead of fighting for class solidarity with Japanese workers, the bureaucrats are killing the strike with anti-Japanese protectionism.

Any "third party" constructed around such policies would look dangerously like Ross Perot's "United We Stand America," with its demagogic appeals to the "angry white male" vote of anti-black racism and immigrant bashing. The overriding reason why the U.S. has no workers party is because the deep racial divisions in the working class, fostered by the bourgeoisie in a thousand ways, are a bar to successful, united class struggle. Class consciousness is precluded by race prejudice.

Black oppression is the bedrock of racist American capitalism. At the same time, black workers occupy key positions in the industrial and urban working class. And through their ties to the ghettos and barrios, black and Hispanic workers are linked to those who have the most to gain from revolutionary struggle to bring down the profit system. That is precisely why the labor lieutenants of capital will oppose any move toward a truly *class-struggle*, multiracial workers party every step of the way, and why such a party will only be built in bitter political combat against the entrenched bureaucratic misleadership of the unions.



United Auto Workers

CIO's appeals to black workers in auto were key to successful drive for mass industrial union in 1930s. A workers party must lead fight against racial oppression in struggle against capitalist system.

Heeere's...Jerry!

The Hayward LPA meeting in January, co-sponsored by several Northern California labor councils (including Alameda County, San Francisco and San Mateo), offered a snapshot of what the LPA stands for. Henning, one of the main speakers, pointed as a positive example to the San Francisco Union Labor Party, whose mayoral candidate captured City Hall in 1901. What Henning didn't mention is that that "Labor Party" administration was controlled by Republican Party hacks and that its program called for segregated schools for Asian Americans!

Introduced as a surprise speaker at the Hayward meeting was former California governor Jerry Brown, a Democrat who fishes for union support with the bait of populism. During his 1992 presidential run, Brown called for a flat-rate income tax and value-added tax scheme that would have *jacked up* tax rates for the poor while easing up on the rich (see "'Tax the Rich' Fakers Back 'Flat Tax' Jerry Brown," WV No. 549, 17 April 1992). Yet Brown spoke to the LPA gathering as a champion of the poor, receiving a standing ovation. Henning exclaimed, "We want Jerry in the labor party"!

This unity fest with a capitalist demagogue left many of LPA's fake-left press agents nursing a serious political hangover. "Nothing *good* can come from LPA's invitation to this life-long capitalist politician," moaned *Socialist Action* (February 1995). The *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism* (*BIDOM*, March 1995) warned that capitalist politicians like Brown "want to control the steering wheel" of the labor party movement: "We can't let that happen!" But none of these "critics" waged a fight to get capitalist politician Brown thrown out of the Carpenters hall—that would destroy any hope of being allowed to remain as house "oppositionists" in Mazzocchi's sandbox.

Workers Party—Reformist or Revolutionary?

From the time of the 1848 *Communist Manifesto*, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels called for the "organization of the proletarians into a class, and consequently into a political party." In his 1887 preface to the American edition of *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, written in the wake of American labor's strike movement for the eight-hour day in the 1880s, Engels raised the need for the working class in the U.S. to form "a distinct political party, independent of, and opposed to, all the old political parties formed by the various sections of the ruling classes." Engels stressed that such a party must "proclaim, as the ultimate end, the conquest of political supremacy by the working class, in order to effect the direct appropriation of all means of production—land, railways, mines, machinery, etc.—by society at large, to be worked in common by all for the account and benefit of all."

This is what Trotskyists fight for today, codified in our call for *a workers party to fight for a workers government* through socialist revolution to expropriate the capitalist class and sweep away its state apparatus of repression. In contrast, a number of groups which occasionally—and falsely—claim to be Trotskyist call for the formation of a *reformist* labor party, i.e., a party aiming to patch up the profit system rather than eliminate it altogether. These groups look to Labor Party Advocates in the hope that it will create an American version of the pro-imperialist British Labour Party or the Canadian New Democratic Party, which is ramming austerity down the throat of the working class in the three provinces where the NDP is in office.

Of the coterie of "left" groupies hovering around the LPA, perhaps the most single-minded "labor party" party is the Socialist Organizer group, centered in San Francisco. They appeal for a "democratic Labor Party" and complain about undemocratic maneuvering by Mazzocchi & Co. An S.O. leaflet titled "What Kind of a Labor Party Do We Need and What Should Its Program Look Like?" lays out a series of minimalist reforms—shift money from "building weapons of war" to "human needs," public works, etc.—nothing that wouldn't fit in a Democratic "new New Deal." *BIDOM*, now a journal without an organization, acts as a press agent for LPA, uncritically reprinting speeches by various union bureaucrats, not even bothering to offer its own "program" for a labor party. It's striking that none of these outfits even come close to calling for the equivalent of the British Labour Party's (now scrapped) "Clause IV"—nationalization of the "commanding heights" of the (capitalist) economy.

The closest that any of these reformist left groups gets is Labor Militant, whose British cothinkers spent *four decades* buried deeply inside the Labour Party there, even as it broke strikes, imposed degrading racist "virginity tests" on Asian women immigrants, deployed imperialist troops in Northern Ireland and governed in coalition with the openly capitalist Liberal Party. In the U.S., Labor Militant talks of "public ownership" of "500 multinationals," but it doesn't even hint at the need to replace the racist capitalist state. And even that is window-dressing for its real policy, which is for "the creation of a Labor Party on any program" (Labor Militant leaflet, "Build Labor Party Advocates!"). At bottom, all these outfits have a *stagist* concept, that the workers first must go through an obligatory reformist stage of consciousness.

The sort of labor party Militant Labor, Socialist Organizer, *BIDOM* and the like want is what Russian revolutionary V.I. Lenin called a *bourgeois* workers party, one that while based on organizations of the working class is committed to maintaining the capitalist system. While in certain historical instances the formation of a labor party organized independently from openly capitalist parties—even on a reformist program—has represented a step forward for the working class, we fight for a party which is truly independent of the bourgeoisie, one based on a *revolutionary program*.

There is a rich history to the question of a labor party in the U.S. In the early '30s, the Trotskyists opposed the call for a labor party in the U.S. precisely because it would foster illusions in the conservative trade-union bureaucracy. In 1932 Trotsky called it "a very simple but absolutely irrevocable principle: that a Marxist, a proletarian revolutionist, cannot present himself before the working class with two banners. He cannot say at a workers' meeting: 'I have a ticket for a first-class party and another, cheaper ticket for the backward workers.' If I am a Communist, I must fight for the Communist Party" ("The Labor Party Question in the United States," May 1932). Latter-day falsifiers to the contrary, Trotsky never changed his view on this fundamental principle of fighting for a revolutionary party.

With the turbulent strike wave of the mid-late 1930s, which led to the growth of the mass industrial unions of the CIO, the Trotskyists adopted the call for a labor party to popularize the need for the *political independence* of the working class. This slogan was directly counterposed to the New Deal popular-front coalition with the Democrats, pursued by the "progressive" union bureaucrats and the Stalinist Communist Party in order to stem the proletariat's rising militancy and class consciousness and channel it into support for Roosevelt. The Trotskyists at no time called for a *reformist* party or one based on "any program," but rather fought for a party based on the revolutionary Transitional

Toronto: Canadian Police Grab Young Socialist Organizer

TORONTO—On April 20, using the excuse of the Oklahoma City bomb blast, four officers of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police National Security Unit staged a raid on the leftist Pathfinder Bookstore in Toronto. Police physically assaulted volunteer workers in the bookstore, including a candidate of the Communist League (associated with Jack Barnes' Socialist Workers Party in the U.S.) in the upcoming Ontario elections, in order to forcibly seize Nojan Emad, a 19-year-old leader of the Young Socialists. Emad, a Canadian citizen of Iranian origin, was dragged into a minivan which then drove off. Held against his will, he was interrogated and threatened.

An April 21 Pathfinder protest statement reports that the RCMP grilled Emad about his political views and activities, his religion and his reasons for a recent trip to Cuba on an international youth brigade. The cops asked: "Have you ever been to Oklahoma?" "Do you know how to make a bomb?" "Do you promote terrorism?" When a lawyer managed to contact Emad by phone, the police instructed Emad to tell him they were discussing an "immigration" matter. After the lawyer pointed out that Emad is a citizen, the cops claimed it was a "national security" matter. The Young Socialists leader was finally released with a warning not to contact his lawyer and was told he could be picked up again at any time.

We print below a Partisan Defense Committee protest against this ominous attack on democratic rights. Further protests should be sent to Solicitor General of Canada Herb Gray, 340 Laurier Ave. W., Ottawa ON, K1A 0P8, Canada, fax (613) 952-2240.

* * *

23 April 1995

Herb Gray
Solicitor General of Canada
Ottawa, Ontario

Dear Sir:

We vigorously protest the illegal seizure, detention and interrogation of Nojan Emad, a leader of the Young Socialists in Toronto, by officers of the RCMP National Security Unit on April 20. We further protest the RCMP's invasion of the Pathfinder bookstore, and their assault on volunteer bookstore workers including John Steele, a Communist League candidate in the Ontario elections.

The RCMP's harassment of and threats against a left-wing political activist are an outrage which reeks of McCarthyite anti-communism. To tar this leftist with any alleged connection to the April 19 Oklahoma City bomb blast—by all appearances an act of nativist right-wing terrorism—is as ludicrous as it is obscene. The targeting of Mr. Emad, a Canadian citizen of Iranian origin, is of a piece with the racist state persecution of people of Middle Eastern descent which erupted during the Persian Gulf War. Such hysteria has again been fomented in the aftermath of the Oklahoma City carnage.

The Partisan Defense Committee demands: Hands off Nojan Emad and Pathfinder Bookstore!

Yours truly,
Peter Stevens
for the Partisan
Defense Committee

Program, a series of demands aimed at connecting the immediate felt needs of the working class to the fight for a workers government.

In a discussion with his U.S. supporters on how to influence the development of the CIO's political formation, Labor's Non-Partisan League (LNPL), which was being tugged between supporting the Democrats and efforts at independent political action, Trotsky stressed:

> "Are we in favor of the creation of a reformist labor party? No. Are we in favor of a policy which can give the trade unions the possibility to put its weight upon the balance of the forces? Yes. "It can become a reformist party—it depends upon the development. Here the question of program comes in."

Trotsky goes on to emphasize several key programmatic questions, including the need for workers militias to combat strikebreakers and fascist gangs, and for workers control of industry. He then sums up:

> "We say, you cannot impose your will through a reformist party but only through a revolutionary party."
> —"How to Fight for a Labor Party in the U.S." (March 1938)

At the time, there were various "Labor party parties"—as the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) dubbed the Lovestoneites and Norman Thomas' Socialist Party—which "carry on an abstract, general, universal and perpetual campaign for a Labor party" (see "The Labor Party Question in America," *WV* No. 248, 25 January 1980). The reformist character of this campaign was expressed in the 1936 formation of the American Labor Party (ALP) in New York, which was set up as a vehicle to garner workers' votes for Roosevelt. While running its own candidates locally, the ALP endorsed Democrat FDR for president. From the ALP to the LPA, the reformists' policy then and now is for a "labor" auxiliary for the Democrats, *because they tail the pro-Democratic labor bureaucracy*.

The revolutionary approach to the labor party slogan was succinctly stated by SWP leader Cannon in 1948 at the time of the Henry Wallace Progressive Party campaign pushed by the CP:

> "We must not forget that our labor party policy is a method of struggle against the trade union bureaucracy in all its sections, the so-called progressives as well as the reactionaries, the Stalinists as well as the red-baiters."
> —"Election Policy in 1948" (April 1948)

The Fight for Revolutionary Leadership

An ALP-type formation is the *best* that could come out of Labor Party Advocates. The history of the U.S. this century is riddled with the wreckage of third *bourgeois* parties, many of them launched with substantial support from the labor bureaucracy and reformist leftists, none of them representing in any way a break toward independent working-class politics. The rail union bureaucrats were the principal backers of the "Progressive Party" candidacy of Republican Senator Robert La Follette in 1924, as was the Stalinist CP in the 1948 Wallace campaign. The historical norm is for popular disaffection with the Democrats to be derailed into precisely such a bourgeois electoral dead end.

Thus it is notable that nearly all of the opportunist groups tailing LPA also immersed themselves in the 1992 presidential campaign of Ron Daniels, an "independent" Democrat who served as Jesse Jackson's campaign manager in 1988. Even the left wing of the fake-Trotskyist spectrum, the centrist Trotskyist League (TL) of Peter Sollenberger, called in 1992 for LPA to unite with capitalist "third party" campaigns like that of Ron Daniels and NOW's 21st Century Party (*International Revolution*, September 1992).

One pseudo-Trotskyist organization offering a revolutionary-sounding critique of Labor Party Advocates is the Workers League (WL) of the dubious David North. According to North's *International Workers Bulletin* (6 June 1994): "The Workers League has always advanced the labor party demand as a means of popularizing the need for a revolutionary political party of the working class to take power." What a crock! For years the WL begged the racist, pro-imperialist AFL-CIO bureaucracy to launch a labor party. Back in 1972, at the height of U.S. imperialism's counterrevolutionary war in Vietnam, North personally interviewed hidebound anti-Communist Steelworkers president I.W. Abel, who had uttered the words "labor party" in denouncing Democratic "peace" candidate George McGovern. North prettified this *reactionary* thrust as a "developing break between the labor movement and the Democratic Party" (*Bulletin*, 24 July 1972).

The Workers League carefully tailored its own program for a "labor party" to suit the reactionary labor bureaucracy it tailed, not even mentioning opposition to the war in Vietnam or to black oppression. Today, the WL writes off the organized labor movement and the AFL-CIO as no longer working-class organizations at all, equating the unions with the procapitalist tops (see "Workers League vs. the Unions," *WV* No. 580, 16 July 1993). In contrast, the Spartacist League has consistently fought in the unions for a class-struggle program, including opposition to U.S. imperialist intervention abroad, defense of minorities against racist attack, and for a fighting workers party.

Today, a section of the labor bureaucracy is talking "labor party" because they have been marginalized by Clinton and his "New Democrats." In their view, the labor movement was NAFTAed, then they were stabbed in the back over the "striker replacement" bill—and in response, as a desperate pressure ploy, they want to threaten the Democrats with a split. But it is these same bureaucrats who have presided over the wholesale gutting of the union movement over the last two decades, and this latest gambit is just a continuation of their policy of defeat. A class-struggle workers party will be forged through stormy struggles, not just union battles but also mobilizations of labor in alliance with black and Hispanic minorities against racist reaction. Indeed, key to building a workers party will be winning the support of immigrants, many from Latin America, who are among the most combative sectors of labor today. Labor must raise the call for full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

A concrete example of the kind of leadership needed is the series of labor/black mobilizations initiated by the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee to stop the KKK/Nazis in major cities around the country, from Washington, D.C. in 1982 to Springfield, Illinois in January 1994. These united-front actions were supported by numerous unions and union officials, were defended by union-based defense guards and drew significant numbers of minority workers and youth. This is the kind of approach to mobilizing labor/minority power that is key to building a workers party that will fight capitalist exploitation and oppression.

A party of the working class will not be built overnight. Where there is real movement in the direction of forming a workers party, even on a local or partial basis (such as union candidates), so long as it presents a clear class break from the capitalist parties and stands for defense of workers and the oppressed—e.g., support to strikes, opposition to racist terror—Marxists would seek to intervene. While this can involve a range of tactics, including critical or conditional support in elections, we always fight on the basis of the revolutionary program. And we emphasize that it will not be in accord with the "labor lieutenants of capital" but in the struggle to oust them that a workers party to sweep away the profit system will be forged. ■

WV Photo

Demonstration by predominantly Latino L.A. janitors in 1990 defied racist cop mobilization. Labor must fight for full citizenship rights for all immigrants.

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Tailing the ANC's Neo-Apartheid Nationalism

During the 1980s, the explosion of mass black struggle in South Africa, leading to the development of a powerful and combative trade-union movement, shook the apartheid state to its foundations. Decisive sections of the white ruling class and their senior partners in Washington and London became convinced of the need to *co-opt* the leadership of the African National Congress and the closely allied South African Communist Party (SACP) in an attempt to restore social order. At the same time, the collapse of the Soviet bloc, as the Kremlin Stalinist bureaucracy disintegrated under Gorbachev, deprived the ANC of its main international sponsor. Consequently, Mandela & Co. came to terms with the Randlords and Western imperialists in the form of a "power sharing" deal with the National Party, the ruling party of the apartheid state. This led to last spring's elections, whose predetermined outcome was a coalition "Government of National Unity."

While opposing the "power sharing" deal with the National Party, most self-styled leftist groups in South Africa and internationally supported the ANC in the April 1994 elections because not to do so was *unpopular*. An important exception in South Africa was the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA), whose most prominent leader is Neville Alexander. On the eve of the elections, WOSA formed the Workers List Party (WLP) as a vehicle to run against the ANC. Although the WLP program did not go beyond the bounds of left reformism, we gave it critical support on the grounds that "the WLP does draw a crude class line and a vote for it will be seen in South Africa as a vote for a workers party rather than the ANC" (*WV* No. 599, 29 April 1994). The centrist British Workers Power group also equivocally called for a vote to the WLP, "to the extent that it has support amongst sections of the most advanced and determined workers" (*Workers Power*, April 1994). But if the Workers List turned out to be not so popular, Workers Power had an out.

We did not support another small group that ran in the 1994 elections, the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International, which is linked to the British-based tendency led by Cliff Slaughter, noting the virulent Stalinophobia of its election manifesto which "essentially accuses the ANC of bringing Stalinist gulags to the veld" (*WV* No. 602, 10 June 1994).

Nationalist Demagogy and Confusionism

Since coming to office, the ANC-led Government of National Unity has broken black workers' strikes and driven off squatters while wooing foreign investors and seeking the blessings of the International Monetary Fund. Those left groups which backed the ANC now find themselves in an awkward position. One such group, caught in a particularly compromising posture, was the South African Comrades for a Workers Government (CWG). For months, the CWG had worked together with WOSA in its campaign for a "mass workers party," but on the eve of the April '94 vote it suddenly came out for support to the bourgeois nationalist ANC!

In the first issue of its paper since the elections, the CWG has now come out with a pained and defensive polemic: "Why We Voted for the ANC—Why We Called for the [Zulu] Hostels To Be Flattened: A Reply to the Spartacist League and Workers' Power" (*Qina Msebenzi*, March/April 1995). The CWG was simply chasing after the workers and township youth who are tied to the ANC, both directly and through COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) and the SACP (which the CWG polemic curiously never mentions). Using the doublespeak that is required by a policy of tailism, the CWG argues that the ANC "has a mass proletarian following," and so due to their "tactical orientation to the masses inside the ANC" they called for a vote to this political vehicle of the fledgling black bourgeoisie! The ANC/COSATU/SACP "tripartite alliance" is a *nationalist popular front*, in which the black proletarian and plebeian masses of South Africa are tied to their exploiters.

Qina Msebenzi

Paper of Comrades for a Workers Government (CWG) No 9, March/April 1995 R2.50

Why we voted for the ANC

Why we called for the hostels to be flattened - A reply to the Spartacist League and Workers' Power

Late in 1994 some CWG members had a brief meeting with members of the US based Spartacist League (SL) who were visiting SA. Just before the April election we also met members of the British Workers Power who were on a political tour of South Africa. In a recent issue of a Spartacist League publication, *Black History and the Class Struggle* No 12, there are in our opinion, a number of fundamental mistakes.

First, CWG is accused of 'twitching gears' by abandoning the workers party just before the election in April 1994. We are also accused of 'being ecstatic about the election results' (*Black History and the Class Struggle* No 12, p 4). Second we are criticised for calling for the hostels to be 'removed'. Third, we are attacked by the pages of the Spartacist League for calling on ordinary ANC members to fight inside the ANC against the degeneration of their organisation, the lack of accountability and the capitalist orientation of top ANC leaders.

Let us start with the third criticism. When we called for bourgeoise elements in the ANC to be driven out, the authors of the Spartacist publication declared in exasperation 'whoever and whatever' in a completely sectarian fashion the Spartacist leadership in one swoop deny that the ANC has a membership which is increasingly critical of what the leadership is doing. The Spartacist deny that the ANC does have important internal struggles within it. Many ANC workers were dismayed when they saw the election list which had many people they disagreed with. It seems an elementary point to state: surely any serious revolutionary cannot be oblivious to the internal life of mass organisations. The ANC is quite obviously an organisation which has a massive proletarian following.

As a tactical orientation to the masses inside the ANC, CWG called on the ANC comrades to put demands on their leaders. An example of a struggle demand was 'scrap the sunset clauses and expell openly bourgeois elements'. CWG is not a sectarian organisation. We believe we must find a road to the masses, so we must be able to speak to the masses of ANC supporters in a way that they will want to hear us out. We have no doubt that helping critical ANC members to see through the treachery of their leadership is a crucial part of building a revolutionary party in SA. So when you say 'whoever and whatever' you merely show your utter contempt for the real struggle of ordinary youth and proletarians as they battle to make sense of the political developments...(continued on p6).

"Comrades for a Workers Government" voted for Mandela's ANC, which joined in "Government of National Unity" with apartheid leader De Klerk.

Reuters

It is precisely the popular-front character of the "tripartite alliance" that the CWG—which avows a formal Trotskyist orthodoxy—refuses to acknowledge. Does the CWG think it is an accident that Mandela put former COSATU head Jay Naidoo in charge of the Reconstruction and Development Program, made South Africa's grand old man of Communism Joe Slovo housing minister and appointed erstwhile SACP guerrilla chief Ronnie Kasrils as deputy minister of defense? The ANC is using the ex-COSATU and SACP ministers to disorient, demobilize and disarm the organized black working class. In voting for the ANC, the CWG declared itself to be the loyal left critic of this nationalist popular front.

Basically, the CWG polemic consists of variations on the theme of South African nationalism. A major theme is to compare the ANC *favorably* to the British Labour Party:

> "The ANC-Cosatu alliance may not have the same historical pattern as that of the Labour Party in Britain. But the British Labour Party, despite clause 4, is no more radical or socialist than the ANC pretends to be. If anything the LP has [a] much longer tradition of class compromise and has spearheaded attacks on the working class.
>
> "Workers Power routinely votes for the thoroughly imperialist British Labour Party. Similarly Workers Power also calls for electoral support for other social democratic imperialist parties in Western Europe."

The CWG's "anti-imperialist" posture of hostility to British Labourism and West European social democracy is sheer *hypocrisy*. This small South African group is part of an international tendency led by the British Workers International League (WIL). And the WIL is just as the formation of the Workers List Party because of "the peril of cutting ties with the masses" who still support the ANC. The CWG's current polemic emphasizes that the "WLP received a derisory 4,000 votes in an election of over 20 million people." The logic of their argument is that a small left-wing propaganda group should *never* run in an election at all. Rather, they should act as pressure groups on the dominant reformist, nationalist and bourgeois liberal parties. Why not vote for the Democratic Party in the United States, then, or the Peronists in Argentina?

While the subjective motivation for centrists tailing the Labour Party in Britain and the ANC in South Africa is the same—tailing after what's popular—there is a *class* line between these different types of political formations. The British Labour Party is a reformist (bourgeois) workers party, based on the organized workers movement but led by a pro-capitalist *bureaucracy*. British workers see Labour as their class party opposed to the bourgeois Conservative (Tory) Party. Therefore it is *sometimes* a correct tactic for revolutionaries to extend critical electoral support to Labour or other reformist workers parties in order to set the proletarian base against the bureaucratic tops. But what for revolutionaries is an occasionally effective tactic is for centrists like the WIL and Workers Power the excuse to be a "Trotskyist" appendage of Labour.

The African National Congress, however, is *not* a reformist workers party. It was a petty-bourgeois nationalist movement claiming to represent all classes of the nonwhite oppressed. When such movements (e.g., the Algerian National Liberation Front) acquire political power,

AP

ANC-led government called out racist police against striking workers last year at Pick 'n Pay supermarket chain, whose owner was a major contributor to the ANC.

they can use their control of the government apparatus to engage in the *capitalist exploitation* of their own people while remaining subordinate to world imperialism. Thus cadre from the ANC are now being recruited en masse into the upper echelons of South African corporate management. It has become commonplace for black workers to complain that their former leaders have all jumped onto the "gravy train." In their own way, the black masses grasp that the ANC has become a bourgeois party.

And what of the CWG? Simply reading their polemic against our tendency and Workers Power, one would assume they believe the ANC to be a reformist workers party. Actually, in the April 1994 issue of *Qina Msebenzi* they present totally contradictory positions on the class nature of the ANC. In a polemic against the "Militant Workers Tendency," which advocates turning the ANC into a working-class-based socialist party, the CWG states that "the ANC has evolved beyond being a revolutionary petty-bourgeois nationalist movement into becoming (or very close to becoming) a bourgeois nationalist party." But another piece in that issue ("CWG Statement on the Workers List Party!") argues that it is correct to "temporarily support the electoral victory of a reformist organisation, like the ANC." A third article calls for "the expulsion of the open bourgeois elements in the ANC." So presumably they want the ANC to be a bourgeois nationalist party with only *disguised*, but not open, bourgeois elements.

What is going on here? Is the CWG schizophrenic? Are there internal differences reflecting themselves in counterposed lines in their press? Quite possibly, given their flip-flops over the "mass workers party." Or is this deliberate confusionism. It is certainly notable that when the CWG polemicizes against groups to their right—the Communist Party and Militant Tendency—they emphasize the bourgeois-nationalist character of the ANC. But when they face groups to their left—WOSA (last year) or ourselves—they present the ANC as if it were a reformist workers party.

The CWG contends that "Lenin advocated critical support for national liberation movements as well as a critical vote for the Labour Party (LP) in Britain." Not at all. Lenin gave *military, not political*, support to national liberation movements fighting imperialist armed forces, such as his support for the Irish Easter Rebellion of 1916. Similarly, we defended the ANC guerrillas against the South African army, although the ANC's military actions were largely symbolic in their effect. The Bolsheviks never gave electoral support to the petty-bourgeois nationalist parties in the Russian empire (e.g., Pilsudski's Polish Socialist Party, Armenian Dashnaki) in elections to the tsarist duma or the soviets of 1917. Nor did the Bolsheviks give electoral support to the Russian petty-bourgeois radicals of the Social Revolutionary Party.

In another variation of their capitulation to nationalism, the CWG maintains:

> "Another example of the strange method of debate we find among the SL journalists is that they conflate electoral support with liquidationism and entryism. What does the Chinese Communist Party liquidation into the Kuomintang have in common with the tactic of a critical vote."

One would assume, reading this, that the CWG is opposed in principle to entering the ANC. Not so. A pamphlet by the forerunners of this group states: "At the same time as penetrating the proletarian base of the ANC-SACP alliance in its township structures—and this does not exclude the tactic of entry—we must concentrate forces inside the unions" (*South Africa at the Crossroads* [1991]). Here the confusionism is quite dishonest—not the only example of this in the CWG's polemic.

The CWG is well aware that Lenin not only proposed that the relatively small British Communist Party give critical electoral support to the Labour Party but also suggested the Communists do a tactical entry into it. When the Stalinists cited this as a "precedent" to justify the Chinese CP's entry into the Kuomintang, Trotsky responded:

> "The analogy of the British Communist Party's entry into the Labour Party falls apart under its own weight. The British Labour Party is proletarian in composition and political differentiation is proceeding slowly by comparison. The Kuomintang is a 'party' of different classes, and political differentiation among them is proceeding with extreme rapidity because of the revolution."
>
> —"The Communist Party and Kuomintang" (May 1927)

In the course of building the Fourth International Trotsky *never* advocated a vote for, much less entry into, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalist parties, even when these exercised political hegemony over the trade-union movement (e.g., Gandhi's Indian National Congress, Lázaro Cárdenas' Party of the Mexican Revolution).

Unlike reformist workers parties, which are organizationally based on the proletariat, bourgeois nationalist parties can turn on and *destroy* the workers movement which had previously helped them gain and maintain power. Thus the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) regime in Mexico ruthlessly crushes any attempt to form trade unions independent of state control. And we are beginning to see signs of the same thing in South Africa under the Government of National Unity. Witness the redbaiting campaign against the Turning Wheel Workers Union, a militant breakaway from the pro-ANC truckers union. And now a draconian new Labour Relations Bill will outlaw strikes over sackings, in "essential services" and "maintenance services" as well as the public sector, crack down on other strikes with "a conciliation, mediation and arbitration commission," and allow employers to lock out workers.

CWG Support for Anti-Zulu Pogroms

The CWG not only supported the ANC against the Workers List Party in the elections but also called on the ANC to undertake *bonapartist* measures in the name of fighting the right and Zulu tribalism. The original statement of critical support in *Qina Msebenzi* demanded that the ANC take "decisive action against Buthelezi" (leader of the Zulu tribalist Inkatha movement sponsored by the apartheid regime, who is now a minister in the Government of National Unity) and called for "banning right-wing reactionaries." Who exactly will take such "decisive action," who will carry out a "ban"? The CWG is calling here on the racist South African army and police to do their bidding. This creates dangerous illusions. Moreover, any laws allowing the ANC to ban political parties and suppress its opponents will be used first and foremost *against the left and the trade-union movement*.

The Zulu question is a focal point of the CWG's South African nationalism. And here they more than once falsify our positions. Thus the current *Qina Msebenzi* polemic claims: "The SL line up politically with Bantustan policies; with secession for Natal—presently the main demand of Inkatha." This is a flat-out lie. In Part Four of our series, "South Africa Powder Keg" (*WV* No. 606, 16 September 1994, reprinted in *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 12, February 1995), we stated with utmost clarity: "Our support for the right of regional autonomy in a *future South African workers state* in no way implies support for reactionary Zulu separatism in Natal today. *In the present context*, we would oppose a move to secession by Inkatha, which would undoubtedly be allied with a revolt of right-wing whites to form a bitter-end apartheid *volkstaat*. But things can change, and quickly" (emphasis in original).

The CWG's tendency to support ANC bonapartism is even clearer in their call to demolish the Zulu hostels. In a typical example of imperialist-baiting and falsification, *Qina Msebenzi* claims that our line on the ANC/Inkatha conflict "has echoes of the hoary CIA stereotyping of the ANC as a tribal Xhosa organisation." In fact, the CWG's line on the ANC is *far more compatible* with that of the CIA than ours. The American imperialist government and bourgeois media hailed in ecstatic terms Mandela's election as a triumph of "democracy" and "moderation" in the Third World.

We have always characterized the ANC as a petty-bourgeois nationalist, not a Xhosa tribalist, movement. What we did say is: "While the ANC currently draws support from all sections of the nonwhite population as well as liberal and leftist whites, its strongest base of support is among the Xhosas" ("Powder Keg," Part Three). And it is precisely this Xhosa tribalist component of the ANC's social base which came to the fore during the course of fighting between the ANC-linked "Self Defence Units" (SDUs) and Inkatha thugs, armed by the apartheid regime and based in the Zulu hostels, which ravaged the black townships on the Witwatersrand. What began as self-defense against Inkatha terror squads often turned into indiscriminate attacks on all Zulu-speaking people.

The CWG contends:

> "Any class conscious workers who may have lived in hostels moved out in the late 1980s. Since then criminals and hard-core Inkatha supporters and their families have lived in some of the hostels.... In this context the only response of the workers and youth was to try to isolate the hostels and to flatten those hostels which were identified as disguised SADF [South African Defence Forces] bases."

This piece of anti-Zulu demagogy has been refuted even by ANC leaders on the spot. According to Louis Sibeko, general secretary of the civic association in Thokoza, the scene of some of the worst communalist bloodletting: "In other areas of the township and in Katlehong, hundreds of Zulu-speaking residents were forced to flee their shacks and seek refuge in the hostel when youths threatened to burn the homes of people who had allowed Zulu-speakers to occupy shacks in their yards" (*Tribune* [Johannesburg], 15 April 1994). Here we have Zulu migrant workers who wanted to live in peace with their non-Zulu neighbors being driven *into* the hostels by the attacks of the Self Defence Units. Peter

continued on page 11

Farrell/AP

Frankenfeld/NY Times

While neo-apartheid regime sends troops to quell conflict between Inkatha-led Zulu hostel dwellers (above) and ANC-derived "Self Defence Units" (left), we call for ethnically integrated union-based workers militias to suppress right-wing terrorism and communalist violence.

Contents:

- **South Africa Powder Keg** (Four-part series)
  1 ANC Fronts for Racist Exploiters
  2 Growth of the Black Workers Movement
  3 ANC's Nationalist Popular Front Unraveling
  4 Program for Black Proletarian Power
- **ANC/De Klerk Deal Is Betrayal of Black Freedom**
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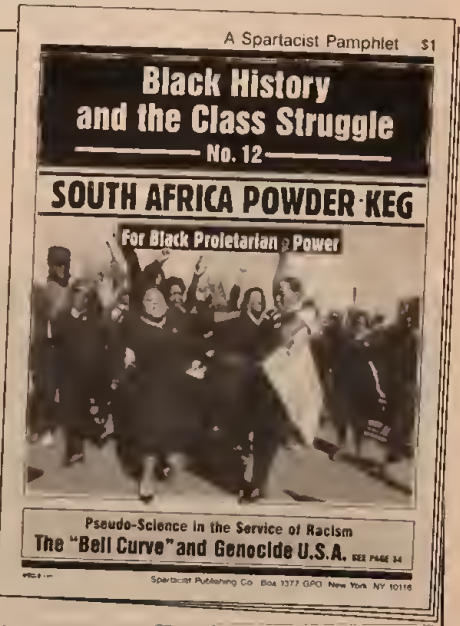

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Oklahoma...

(continued from page 1)

state terror. The fiery 19 April 1993 Waco holocaust, set off by the feds' siege and deadly assault on the Branch Davidian religious group, was the Clinton administration's declaration of a "New World Order" at home. Waco was state murder, killing 86 men, women and children in the name of "gun control"! Beginning the very day of the Waco massacre, the Spartacist League mounted emergency protests against Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno's bloody outrage, with signs denouncing "FBI Baby Killers!"

In the wake of the Oklahoma City bombing, the government is obscenely amnestying its own crime at Waco by seeking to smear all who oppose it as right-wing terrorists. The media got in on the act, typified by the *New York Times* (20 April) headline, "Branch Davidians' Legacy of Hate." The Branch Davidians simply wanted to be left alone to practice their religious beliefs, and exercised their right to have arms (like all their neighbors). Such a racially integrated commune would have been considered an abomination by the racist right wing, but since the government wiped it out, a variety of fascists brandish the Waco holocaust as a rallying cry for their own sinister cause.

A federal judge in Wichita justified holding an alleged associate of McVeigh's by saying, "I have guns, but I don't have any Waco material in my house, I don't have anti-Government material in my house, and I don't think that most of the people in the country have those things" (*New York Times*, 27 April). Behind this is a government agenda aimed at criminalizing all dissent against the powers that be. That agenda is being fleshed out daily as the Clinton administration and the Republican Congress compete in proposing ever more repressive legislation.

Action Press

Halstead/Time

Tasnadi/AP

Mass murderers Clinton and Reno ordered FBI/BATF assault on Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Texas, in which 86 people were killed, including 25 children.

Clinton/Reno's Creeping Police State

Although the principal bombing suspect turned out to be a white American Army vet, the Clinton administration didn't miss a step in escalating its long-standing drive for drastically enhanced powers to go after "international terrorism." Under the proposed Omnibus Counterterrorism Act, foreign tourists and all "aliens" could be subjected to star chamber proceedings (secret trials) as suspected terrorists. And anyone could be prosecuted for so much as donating to any organization deemed "terrorist" by the government of the day, like Mandela's ANC and Arafat's PLO were until recently. The government would be allowed to deport or indefinitely detain non-citizens based on secret "evidence" which would not be revealed to the accused.

How this could play out can be seen in the case of the "L.A. Eight," seven Palestinians and a Kenyan woman who since 1987 have been facing deportation based on their alleged political sympathies for the radical-nationalist Palestinian PFLP. Under the new bill, the L.A. Eight would have been thrown on a plane eight years ago, without ever even knowing the charges against them. Additionally, the government would have been able to suppress the revelation that came out in their hearings that concentration camps already exist for the incarceration of Arab Americans (and many others) in the event of an "emergency."

The "counterterrorism bill" would create a new federal crime of "international terrorism." This catch-all category could be used against any "disruption," including for example civil disobedience and strike picket lines, since interfering with commerce could now be considered "terrorist" activity. If this seems far-fetched, just look at how the state has used the RICO "anti-racketeering" laws to go after unions. The new law would give the government a free hand to use "roving" wiretaps—bugging every public phone in an area where a "suspect" might be. On top of that, even evidence admittedly obtained illegally could be used in court. Also permitted under the bill would be "preventive detention"—imprisonment without either a trial or charges being brought. One of the most dangerous parts of the proposed legislation would lift constraints on the use of the military in civilian law enforcement.

This comes on top of Clinton's 1994 "crime" bill, passed with bipartisan support, which extended the death penalty to some 60 new federal offenses, as well as sharply restricting the right to bear arms. At the same time, the Justice Department is renewing its attempt to be able to spy on all electronic communications, as well as snooping into your personal financial records. Taking its cue from Washington, the Los Angeles Police Commission has already granted "emergency powers" to the LAPD's "anti-terrorism division," allowing wider use of electronic surveillance and undercover operatives (*Los Angeles Times*, 21 April).

Clinton also wants to create a special domestic "counterterrorism center" within the FBI, and hire 1,000 new federal agents. Under proposed new FBI "guidelines," the feds would be allowed to "compile information on potentially menacing organizations...even when there is no evidence they are involved in criminal activity" (*New York Times*, 25 April). A bipartisan Congressional chorus is denouncing the "domestic security/terrorism" guidelines adopted in 1983 by the Reagan administration which supposedly "handcuff" the FBI. The 1983 order allowed unlimited investigation wherever there was "reasonable indication" that a violation of federal law *might* occur. These guidelines were themselves intended to loosen some of the restrictions included in Attorney General Edward Levi's 1976 guidelines, adopted in the wake of Richard Nixon's Watergate scandal and the exposure of the COINTELPRO program of spying and disruption against leftists and black militants.

The Spartacist League denounced Reagan's 1983 FBI guidelines as "McCarthyism with a drawn gun." In a lawsuit filed that year, we contested this witchhunting decree which targeted the entire left, noting that groups previously labeled "politically subversive" were cast as "terrorist outlaws" in order to facilitate "prosecution of Marxist political organizations as criminal racketeering enterprises." The suit also demanded the FBI revise its characterization of the SL as a conspiratorial organization "not openly advocat[ing] the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government at this time." This "definition" was used to place the Spartacist League on the FBI's infamous "ADEX" hit list, a secret "subversives" list. A year later, the FBI conceded the central claim of our suit, that Marxist political principles and advocacy cannot be equated with violence, terrorism or a criminal enterprise (see "FBI Admits: Marxists Are Not Terrorists," *WV* No. 368, 7 December 1984).

The settlement was an important victory for those who fight to defend democratic rights. But we had no illusions that the secret police had stopped their harassment, infiltration and disruption of the government's perceived political opponents. Soon after the 1983 guidelines were established, it was revealed that the FBI was spying on the liberal CISPES solidarity group, which opposed U.S. aid to the Salvadoran death squad regime. Augmenting the secret police and providing a public relations cover for its dirty work are private groups like the Anti-Defamation League (ADL), which was exposed in 1993 for running a massive spy operation in league with the FBI—as well as Israeli and South African secret services—against liberals and leftists. Now the ADL is pushing for more "anti-terrorism" laws—which, of course, these Zionists would never propose for Israel, where Uzi-toting fascistic settlers terrorize Arabs in the Occupied Territories.

From the "White Backlash" to the Oklahoma Bombing

The sharp rise of nativist fascist movements and right-wing militias across the country is fostered by anti-immigrant hysteria and a general rightward shift in bourgeois politics. The myriad fascist groupings share a racist and anti-Semitic demonology, which sees the federal government—often referred to as ZOG (Zionist Occupation Government)—as the creature of an "international Jewish conspiracy." To combat this, the more up-front fascists have been preparing to launch a "war" to save the "purity" of the "white race." For the last couple of decades, there has been a proliferation of paramilitary ultrarightist movements, under a host of names such as the Christian Identity Movement, "survivalists," Aryan Nations, The Order (also known as Bruder Schweigen), the Patriot Movement, etc. Most of these tend to be rural- or suburban-based, while skinhead Nazi gangs reach into the cities.

The rise of the "militia movement" is a new development. According to an article in *CovertAction* (Spring 1995), there is "militia activity in at least 40 states, with a conservatively estimated hard-core membership of at least 10,000—and growing." A number of the larger ones, such as the Michigan Militia and Arizona Patriots, are more circumspect in espousing open racism, but they are all part of the nativist fascist network. The hard core were trained at places like the "Aryan Nations" compound in Hayden Lake, Idaho, which has regular KKK cross-burnings and Hitlerite rallies. Another group called "The Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord" recruited people like William Snell, a white-supremacist who murdered a businessman he thought was Jewish. In the weeks before Snell's execution—on April 19!—fascist newsletters such as the Montana-based *Taking Aim* had urged their readers to "ACT NOW!"

In our article, "The Anti-Abortion Terror Network" (*WV* No. 614, 13 January), we exposed the links between the militias and other fascists and "right to

Howe/NY Times

Michigan Militia, part of growing fascistic network of white-supremacists, anti-Semites, abortion clinic bombers.

life" terrorists. Thus Milwaukee pastor Matthew Trewhella of the Missionaries to the Preborn, who has called for armed militias to attack abortion clinics and doctors, is a leader in the so-called U.S. Taxpayers Party—whose membership overlaps with the fascist Populist Party and Liberty Lobby—as is Randall Terry of Operation Rescue (*Front Lines Research*, August 1994). Many anti-abortion fanatics like Paul Hill, who killed Dr. John Britton and James Barrett in Pensacola, Florida in 1994, signed and circulated statements calling for "use of lethal force" against abortion providers, and distributed "wanted posters" of doctors such as Dr. David Gunn, assassinated (also in Pensacola) in 1993. Anti-abortion assassin John Salvi, who killed two clinic workers in Boston last December, was also tied into this fascistic web.

There is also a large overlap between U.S. police and military forces and American fascist outfits, including the "militia" movements McVeigh has been associated with. Fascist elements are brazenly operating in Fort Bragg, North Carolina, the Special Forces headquarters. *New York Newsday* (28 April) reports that a "clandestine" newsletter called *The Resister* is being distributed to Green Beret and other military bases as well as to right-wing paramilitary groups. Its first issue ranted that "the principles of democracy" have "flushed America down the sewer of altruism, leaving it to sink slowly into the rancid cesspool of liberalism, tribalism, internationalism, and socialism."

Why, then, do these fascist outfits see the (capitalist) federal government as their enemy? In the 1950s, Washington was still a white man's world, with FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover a permanent fixture, diehard racist Dixiecrats influential in Congress and Cold War anti-Communism dominating every sphere of public life. Then came the 1960s civil rights movement, the explosion of black anger in the Northern ghettos and the long, losing, counterrevolutionary war in Vietnam. Today, all elements of the right—Republican leader Gingrich, who is ideologically fascist, as well as Christian fundamentalists, Zionist "neo-conservatives" and the fascistic militia movement—see the '60s as the turning point when things started to go bad for "their" America.

The limited gains for blacks and women which resulted from the social upheavals of the '60s fueled a white racist backlash which eventually took the form of opposition to "big government"—identified as forcing white children to go to school with blacks, giving tax money to black welfare mothers and poverty bureaucrats and giving jobs to blacks and women under "affirmative action." While most blacks were no better off, the government created a layer of black middle-class professionals, and college-educated daughters of middle-class families made it at least into the lower levels of the corporate world. Racist politicians began deliberately stoking white resentment. This boiled over into the "tax revolt" of the late 1970s—the so-called revenge of the suburbs—which propelled Reagan into the White House and began the ascendancy of the Republican right in U.S. national politics.

This is pure demagogy, of course, as the vast bulk of federal taxes go to the military, Medicare and, increasingly, to pay interest on the national debt. Very little of it goes to the poor, black or white. The racist "anti-tax" movement was infused, especially in recent years, with anti-Semitism. The fascist right's ravings are promoted in more "respectable" terms by the likes of Newt Gingrich and Pat Robertson, the Christian fundamentalist guru who is a power broker in the Republican right. His recent book, *The New World Order*, is a rehash of hoary anti-Semitic tracts.

The fascistic militia movement has its roots not only in the "white backlash" but also in the traumatic effects of the U.S. defeat in Vietnam. By the late 1970s, it was a universal myth in right-wing circles—especially among veterans of elite military units like the Green Berets—that the U.S. had not been defeated on the battlefield by the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants, but had been betrayed on the home front by liberal politicians, the press and hippie peaceniks. Militia guru Bo Gritz made his name as a gung-ho Green Beret, staging raids to "rescue MIAs" after the war. Similarly, the core of Hitler's Nazi movement was recruited out of the Freikorps—a counterrevolutionary militia of embittered World War I junior officers who claimed Germany had been "stabbed in the back" by politicians of the left.

The "Rambos" of the militia movement have been running around this country for many years. So why are Metzger, Gritz et al. cheering now over the bombing of a federal office building? To them, Reagan and Bush at least had anti-Communist and "patriotic" credentials, and openly played the race card. Reagan consorted with fascist outfits like General Singlaub's World Anti-Communist League and Christian fundamentalist anti-abortion bigots. In contrast, the White House under "draft dodger" Clinton is seen as pro-abortion, pro-gay and elected by black votes. No matter that Clinton's policies barely differ from those of his Republican predecessors.

The rise of right-wing populism is also fed by two decades of economic decline and deindustrialization. With the labor movement prostrate, the Democratic Party is no longer seen as offering anything to the mass of displaced and in many cases desperate white workers. Instead, discontent with the two major parties finds an expression in reactionary movements like Ross Perot's 1992 candidacy, whose right fringe intersects the fascistic militias.

Sahib/AFP

U.S. government terrorism: rescue workers in Baghdad, Iraq pull victims from the rubble of a residential neighborhood after Clinton ordered bombing in June 1993.

Fascists: Attack Dogs of Capital

There is now a clamor by liberals and reformists for stronger state measures to "ban" fascists. Morris Dees of the Southern Poverty Law Center calls for a federal ban on paramilitary training not authorized by state law (*New York Times*, 28 April). The reformist Communist Party raises its standard call to "Outlaw Hate Groups!" (*People's Weekly World*, 29 April). The social-democratic International Socialist Organization, in its usual coy way, asks in a Berkeley leaflet on the Oklahoma bombing: "Can we rely on the FBI to protect us?" (They give no answer.) Meanwhile, the pro-Democratic Party labor bureaucracy feeds into the witchhunting atmosphere: three unions including AFSCME (public workers) placed a full-page ad in the *New York Times* (27 April) with a screaming headline, "The Call Of Duty," suggesting that the "next time you hear someone viciously attack our government... tell them—STOP IT. THIS IS *OUR* GOVERNMENT."

Tell that to the Teamster strikers whose heads were bashed by riot cops last year, or to the thousands of Latino and black youth and workers in Los Angeles who were beaten and arrested by the National Guard and LAPD during the 1992 upheaval. Looking to this racist capitalist government to "ban the Klan" is a set-up for defeat. The fascists are the capitalists' attack dogs, to be unleashed when needed to smash the struggles of workers and minorities. In this case, they may have slipped the leash. But any move by the government to strengthen its repressive apparatus in order to "fight extremism" will immediately be turned against the labor movement, minorities and the left.

The most notorious example of this was the 1940 Smith Act, originally billed as a tool to fight Nazis on the eve of U.S. entry into World War II. It was first used against the left, in 1941, against 28 leaders of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and the militant Minneapolis Teamsters. During the Cold War it was a centerpiece of McCarthyite repression against the CP. Even the *New York Times* (24 April) acknowledged that Clinton's new "anti-terrorist" legislation could bring back J. Edgar Hoover's notorious "Counter-Intelligence Programs." With unaccustomed candor, they noted that the FBI's measures were "modeled on the first Cointelpro program set up by Hoover in the 1930's, which was aimed at shattering the Communist Party."

Far from fighting the fascists, the FBI and other state agencies have a sordid history of employing "informers" responsible for some of the dirtiest deeds of KKK/Nazi terror. FBI agent Gary Rowe was implicated in both the 1964 bombing of a Birmingham, Alabama church that killed four black girls and the nightriding murder of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo. In 1979, a BATF operative helped carry out the Klan/Nazi murder of five leftists in Greensboro, North Carolina. And several of those accused in the World Trade Center bombing were former *mujahedin* (holy warriors) who were armed, paid and trained by the CIA in the war against the Soviet-backed Afghan government.

A key aspect of the government's attempt to strengthen its repressive apparatus is the liberal appeal for gun control. This was the justification not only for the Waco massacre, but also for the feds' 1992 siege in Idaho against white-supremacist Randy Weaver and his family. FBI/BATF sharpshooters murdered Weaver's wife and 13-year-old son. Weaver was later acquitted in a jury trial of the gun charges which led to the assault. We wrote at the time: "The government jealously seeks to enforce its would-be monopoly on armed violence, and even wants to keep its fascist dogs of war on a short leash" (*WV* No. 579, 2 July 1993). Gun control means that the cops, fascists and other enemies of the oppressed will have guns, while workers and blacks are disarmed.

In fact, any move to strengthen police powers would directly threaten the ability of workers and minorities to mobilize to stop the fascists. The impotent reformists who look to the state to take action against the fascists have let themselves be herded into police pens at recent anti-fascist protests, which ensure that the fascists can stage their provocations with impunity. In contrast, the Spartacist League looks to the power of the organized labor movement and minorities. From Washington, D.C. in 1982 to Springfield, Illinois last year, we have initiated powerful labor/black mobilizations against KKK/Nazi terror.

It is notable that on every front, we communists are the consistent defenders of democratic rights, while the bourgeoisie attacks them. In the New World *Disorder*, following on the destruction of the Soviet Union, America's rulers are intent on regimenting the population for future conflicts with their imperialist rivals. The Persian Gulf War, which was fundamentally aimed at controlling Germany and Japan's access to oil, was a foretaste of this. And Clinton's aggressive moves toward trade war with Japan point to an escalation of such rivalries, which will ultimately be settled by military power, if the capitalists are not first swept away through workers revolution.

The defense of the rights of the working people and minorities to struggle in their own interests, against both the fascists and their capitalist masters, is posed pointblank with the government's assault on civil liberties. We fight to build a revolutionary workers party, which will champion the cause of the oppressed, to lead the struggle to sweep away this decaying capitalist system which breeds fascism and war. ■

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Jamal Book...

(continued from page 12)

PEN/Faulkner Prize, remarks in his introduction to *Live from Death Row*: "The power of his voice is rooted in his defiance of those determined to silence him."

And it is that which makes this book such a powerful weapon in the fight against this abominable system of criminal *injustice* and, in particular, in the fight to save Mumia from its clutches. In his preface, quoted above, Jamal writes:

> "I continue to fight against this unjust sentence and conviction. Perhaps we can shrug off and shred some of the dangerous myths laid on our minds like a second skin—such as the 'right' to a fair and impartial jury of our peers; the 'right' to represent oneself, the 'right' to a fair trial, even. They're *not* rights—they're privileges of the powerful and rich. For the powerless and the poor, they are chimera that vanish once one reaches out to claim them as something real or substantial. Don't expect the media networks to tell you, for they can't, because of the inextricableness between the media and the government, and big business, which they both serve.
>
> "I can.
>
> "Even if I must do so from the valley of the shadow of death, I will."

Mumia concludes with his customary sign-off: "From death row, this is Mumia Abu-Jamal."

James Phila. Inquirer

Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1969 when he was Minister of Information for Philadelphia Black Panther Party.

Resonating with Humanity

To those who have not yet encountered his writings, this book reveals Jamal, the perceptive observer of racist American society; Jamal, the uncompromising fighter against all forms of injustice; Jamal, the incisive and articulate writer. Divided into three parts—"Life on Death Row," "Crime and Punishment" and "Musings, Memories, and Prophecies"—the essays offer a searing indictment of this oppressive capitalist system and open a window into prison life, including the "prison inside a prison," as Wideman calls it, which is death row. The barbarism of the American "justice system," which comes through so powerfully in these pages, is itself an overwhelming argument for socialist revolution to sweep away the whole capitalist system of racist injustice and exploitation.

While focusing particularly on the death penalty, Mumia covers a wide range of topics with the penetrating succinctness of a five-minute radio commentary, which was his specialty. "Rodney Wasn't the Only One"—dealing with the brutal police beating of black L.A. motorist Rodney King—and "Clinton Guillotines Grunier" examine the racism which is pervasive at all levels of American society. In essays like "Musings on Malcolm" and "Blues for Huey," he offers insightful sketches of Malcolm X and former Black Panther Party leader Huey Newton, and how these militant figures affected his own political development as a young man in Philadelphia.

The selections in this book are only a slice of Jamal's extensive and wide-ranging writings. Readers of *Workers Vanguard* will be familiar with many of them, and with others such as "A Big War for Big Oil" (on the U.S.' slaughter in Iraq), "Outrage in Rostock" (about the fascist anti-immigrant pogrom in Germany in 1992) and "U.S. Troops in Somalia: In Defense of Empire." Since 1989, Mumia's columns have appeared regularly in *WV*, as well as in dozens of black newspapers around the country and in publications as far away as Britain (*Caribbean Times*) and Germany. The Partisan Defense Committee, which has played a leading role in building the international defense effort for Jamal, is proud to have been able to help make this possible. Since 1989 the PDC has distributed to the press typescripts of Jamal's writings from prison.

No matter what topic he addresses, Jamal pierces the shroud of silence and venom which envelops the death row population like the black hood which is finally placed over the condemned man's head. In the very act of writing, he refutes the lie pushed by the bloodthirsty "law and order" lobby that every victim of the state's legal murder machine is a crazed, brutal mass killer or rapist who is begging to be executed. Mumia's depictions are not only eloquent, but they resonate with humanity and gentleness, even as he describes how "the state skillfully and intentionally denies those it condemns a fundamental element and expression of humanity."

In "The Visit," Mumia describes the first time his youngest daughter came to see him in prison: "She burst into the tiny visiting room, her brown eyes aglitter with happiness; stopped, stunned, staring at the glassy barrier between us; and burst into tears at this arrogant attempt at state separation." In "A Toxic Shock" (May 1989), Jamal's writing leaps over prison walls with a sense of shared humanity: "we the caged share air, water, and hope with you, the not-yet-caged." Describing how he and his fellow inmates at Huntingdon awoke one morning to find gasoline polluting the prison's water supply, and that of the entire surrounding community, he wonders:

> "How many housewives in the surrounding township met sunrise this morning with sleep in their eyes, filled the pot with water for coffee, caught a whiff of gasoline rising from the cup, and gagged?
>
> "The earth is but one great ball. The borders, the barriers, the cages, the cells, the prisons of our lives, all originate in the false imagination of the minds of men."

"Philly Daze": The Black Panthers and MOVE

Mumia Abu-Jamal was born Wesley Cook in Philadelphia on 24 April 1954. "Philly Daze: An Impressionistic Memoir" describes his own development as a fighter for black rights, beginning with his first political act, at the age of 14, when he and three friends went to protest an election campaign visit by Southern segregationist George Wallace in 1968:

> "We strolled into the stadium, four lanky dark string beans in a pot full of white, steaming limas. The band played 'Dixie.' We shouted, 'Black power, Ungowa, black power!'"

The cops kicked them out, then a gang of racist thugs set upon the teenagers. Mumia relates,

> "I looked up and saw the two-toned, gold-trimmed pant leg of a Philly cop. Without thinking, and reacting from years of brainwashing, I yelled, 'Help, police!' The cop saw me on the ground being beaten to a pulp, marched over briskly—and kicked me in the face. I have been thankful to that faceless cop ever since, for he kicked me straight into the Black Panther Party."

Mumia became the Minister of Information of the Philadelphia Panthers. He survived the FBI's murderous COINTELPRO program—which left over 30 Panther members dead nationally and many more in jail, including Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), who has spent 24 years behind bars in California for a crime the government knows he did not commit. Even more devastating politically to the young radical militant was the bitter and bloody split between the Cleaver and Newton wings of the party: "Frustrated, angry, I drifted away from a party that had drifted away from its moorings in the people. Bitterly, I told myself that I would never join another organization." Jamal's disillusionment was not unique; many courageous revolutionary-minded black militants found themselves politically disoriented by the BPP's inability to transcend its combination of nationalism, reformism and adventurism, expressing its view of ghetto lumpen youth as the vanguard.

During the '70s, Jamal worked as a radio journalist, winning a Peabody award and becoming known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his talk show on WUHY-FM, as well as broadcasts on NPR, Mutual Black Network and the National Black Network. He first ran into the MOVE organization in the mid-1970s. Angered and intrigued by even the black media's refusal to give the controversial and integrated MOVE group impartial coverage as it battled an ongoing police vendetta, Jamal began to follow MOVE more closely. He vehemently denounced the August 1978 raid on MOVE's Powelton Village house, the bloody climax of a year-long police siege. This got him fired from his broadcast job as news director at WHAT-AM, and earned him the enmity of the Philly cops. Arch-racist Philly mayor and former police chief Frank Rizzo specifically targeted the "new breed of journalism."

Philadelphia Daily News

Racist Philly cops beat Delbert Africa after raid on MOVE's Powelton Village home in 1978.

Three years later, on 9 December 1981, Jamal was arrested as he lay on the ground after being shot in the chest by a Philly cop. The frame-up accusation: killing that white police officer. In July 1982 he was sentenced to death after a farce of a trial; presided over by hanging judge Sabo—who has sent more people to death row than any other sitting judge in the country—with a nearly all-white jury, with no defense counsel to speak of, and with Jamal himself barred from the courtroom for most of the proceedings. The prosecution demanded the death penalty for Mumia by citing Black Panther/Maoist slogans to the jury.

"Descent into Hell"

Trapped behind prison walls, Mumia Abu-Jamal has continued to be the "voice of the voiceless," depicting prison

Prepare for Emergency Demos!

THE CAMPAIGN IS AT A CRITICAL POINT—YOU CAN HELP! At any moment, Pennsylvania's pro-death penalty governor, Tom Ridge, could sign Mumia Abu-Jamal's death warrant. Ridge has already signed warrants for five death row inmates, and the state's first execution in 30 years is set to take place this month. Jamal is in imminent danger—if a warrant is signed, emergency demonstrations will be held the next day in New York City, Oakland and elsewhere. Get on the Partisan Defense Committee phone tree and help organize to make these urgent demonstrations the loudest possible outcry against the racist death penalty!

JOIN THE CAMPAIGN: take petitions; ask your friends, neighbors and co-workers to sign and get involved. Organize a showing in your union, community group, church or school of the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*. Send letters and get Jamal's powerful columns into your local newspapers, school or union newsletters; raise motions in your union or at your school to send a letter to Governor Ridge demanding "Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!" Contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 406-4252.

SEND PROTEST LETTERS TO: Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120.

WRITE TO JAMAL to express your solidarity: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090.

SEND $$$ FOR JAMAL LEGAL DEFENSE NOW! Funds are urgently needed to wage the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal's life. All money being raised through these rallies and forums organized by the Partisan Defense Committee goes directly to Jamal's legal defense. Since February 9, nearly $15,000 has been collected or pledged. More is needed now! Jamal's legal team initiated the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, co-chaired by actors Ossie Davis and Mike Farrell, to help raise funds. Make out your tax-deductible contribution for the defense to: Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and send it to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

South Africa...

(continued from page 7)

Mokaba, then chairman of the ANC Youth League, admitted that some SDUs "victimize ordinary members of the community" (*New York Times*, 1 February 1994).

Moderate ANC leaders like Sibeko and Mokaba want to restore social peace in the townships and so preach "tolerance" between supporters of the contending parties. The CWG, however, is playing up to the "militant" plebeian youth who want to drive the Zulus out of the townships. This is the same layer that is appealed to by Winnie Mandela. Among the young "comrades" in the townships, there are certainly many who are angered by the ANC's conciliation of the former masters of apartheid. But there are also plenty of Xhosa chauvinists and lumpen-proletarian criminal elements that a *proletarian* vanguard would have to discipline and if necessary fight. (We dealt with this thorny question in our article, "Uproar Over Winnie Mandela Trial, ANC/SWAPO Prisoners," *WV* No. 532, 2 August 1991.) But the self-styled revolutionary socialists and "internationalists" of the CWG act as lawyers for those who threatened to burn down the homes of anyone giving shelter to Zulu workers.

Criticizing the potential for communalist bloodletting of the CWG's call to "flatten the hostels," we called for union-based defense guards. Already at the outbreak of the "Reef War" between Inkatha and ANC supporters in the townships, we wrote:

> "What is needed is the formation of union-based workers defense guards, linking the factory to the townships, and made up of class-conscious workers including Zulus, Xhosas and members of other tribal groupings, as well as coloured, Asian and anti-racist white workers, to suppress both right-wing terrorists and the fomenters of bloody communalist war."
>
> —*WV* No. 515, 30 November 1990

The CWG links its anti-Zulu demagogy to anti-"coloured" (mixed-race) demagogy with the really weird argument that we support or will support independence for the coloureds in the Western Cape: "The next logical step must be support for the racist 'coloured' Liberation Movement which is threatening 'armed resistance' if the Western Cape is not handed over to the 'coloureds'." Wrong. Unlike the Zulus, a pre-national people conquered and subjugated by British imperialism, the coloureds are not a nationality but a racially defined caste who have integrated into the South African political economy for centuries. A revolutionary party must seriously undertake to win a base among the coloureds, and to counter attempts by the white ruling class to use them as a battering ram against the black African majority.

The CWG lumps Zulus and coloureds together because they are the two largest nonwhite groups among which there is considerable distrust of the ANC's brand of South African nationalism. And not without reason. Last year, Tokyo Sexwale, the ANC premier of the Witwatersrand region, engaged in virulent anti-coloured demagogy over the issue of writing off unpaid back rent in the coloured townships, as the government had already agreed to do in the black African townships, saying he wanted to "vomit" when "others try to use (our) legitimate grievances" (*Cape Times*, 19 September 1994). The CWG's anti-Zulu and anti-coloured demagogy is but a "leftist" reflection of the ANC's South African nationalism.

The CWG seems to be haunted by the spectre of a breakup of the South African state. There is *nothing progressive* about maintaining the territorial integrity of the South African bourgeois state, which is, moreover, a regional *imperialist* power. Does the CWG believe British imperialism was progressive in its colonial wars against the Zulus and Boer (Afrikaner) republics, which led to the Union of South Africa in 1910? The ANC accepts the legitimacy of this imperialist creation, and indeed Nelson Mandela at his inauguration sternly lectured his followers to learn the words of the old national anthem "Die Stem van Suid Afrika." Are the Comrades for a Workers Government learning to sing "Die Stem"?

Another aspect of the CWG's South African nationalism is manifested over the now-hot issue of immigration. As large numbers of impoverished black Africans from neighboring states have poured into South Africa, the ANC-led government is campaigning for tighter border controls and expelling "illegal immigrants." Inkatha leader Buthelezi, home secretary in the Government of National Unity, is leading the charge. An account of the SACP-dominated "Conference of the Left" last November in the current *Qina Msebenzi* reported that the International Socialists (ISSA) had proposed a demonstration against expelling "illegals" and "they proposed that everybody should be allowed into SA." The CWG's only response was to say that "neighbouring countries problems cannot be solved by removing restrictions alone." Nothing about defending immigrants under attack by the ANC regime, much less the necessary call for full citizenship rights for everyone in South Africa.

The CWG's South African nationalism also expresses itself in the hailing of our tendency, the International Communist League, because our largest section is in the United States and we do not presently have an organized group of supporters in South Africa. Scattered through their polemic are snotty lines like "Our 'revolutionary' commentators in New York only see South Africa in terms of 'powder kegs'," and "the New York sages say we must 'regroup' to form a revolutionary workers party (vanguard party)." This is a very old song and dance. In the latter part of the 19th century, opportunists in France, Germany and elsewhere denounced Marx and Engels for seeking to "dictate" the course of the European workers movement from London. Social Democrats castigated the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky as a tool of Moscow. And in the late 1930s, centrists around the world disparaged the Fourth International as a one-man show run from Trotsky's exile in Coyoacán, Mexico.

Even the CWG's posture as being sons of the South African soil is in a sense a sham. As we've pointed out, they're part of a self-styled "democratic-centralist Leninist-Trotskyist Tendency," whose leading section is British. Perhaps in the future, the CWG will complain about dictates from London.

An authentic Trotskyist party in South Africa can only be built as part of the fight to reforge the Fourth International, as the ICL has undertaken. Genuine revolutionary socialists in South Africa should long to be part of an International with strong sections in the United States, West Europe and Japan as well as "Third World" countries. One of the central theses of Trotsky's perspective of permanent revolution, going straight back to Marx and Engels, is that it is not possible to build socialism—a classless society of abundance, requiring the highest level of productive forces—in one country, much less a relatively less developed capitalist state like South Africa. The indispensable need for international extension of workers revolution is all the more clear since the destruction of the Soviet Union. We have noted, as any serious South African communist must be vividly aware, that a workers revolution in South Africa would be crushed by the military and economic action of Western, centrally U.S., imperialism unless it sparked revolutionary struggles in the imperialist centers themselves.

A South African revolution centered on the black proletariat would have an especially powerful impact on the United States, with its large black population heavily represented in key sections of the working class. We're certainly aware of this, if nothing else from the heightened interest in *Workers Vanguard* among blacks, who are our main readership, every time we have an article about South Africa. In the struggle to overthrow world imperialism in its strongest state, the descendants of those black Africans who were enslaved and taken to the New World at the dawn of capitalism will play a decisive role. ■

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life as it "oscillates between the banal and the bizarre." He writes of prisoners forcibly subjected to volatile combinations of psychiatric drugs, to beatings, to long periods of torture in the hole. He tells of a young inmate who was incarcerated at age 15:

> "He has never held a woman as a mate or lover; he has never held a newborn in his palm, its heart athump with new life; he hasn't seen the sun rise, nor the moon glow, in almost fifteen years—for a robbery, 'armed' with a pellet gun, at fifteen years old.
> "When I hear easy, catchy, mindless slogans like 'three strikes, you're out,' I think of men like Rabbam who had *one* strike (if not one foul) and are, for all intents and purposes, already outside of any game worth playing."

It is a telling indictment of this racist society that some of the finest works of black literature deal with life in prison. When Mumia speaks of this "warped rite of passage" for young black men, it brings to mind the writings of George Jackson, who remarked: "Blackmen born in the U.S. and fortunate enough to live past the age of eighteen are conditioned to accept the inevitability of prison." George Jackson wasn't formally sentenced to die; instead, prison police out to get this Black Panther militant gunned him down in San Quentin in 1971.

The quarter-century since then has been marked by a vast burgeoning of the population behind bars, reinstitution of the death penalty and, lately, a determination by the American ruling class to get rid of a whole layer of the ghetto black population; behind the death penalty lies an impulse to genocide. Jamal writes of the "black march to death row" and notes how "at the heart of this country's death penalty scheme is the crucible of race."

WV Photo

Partisan Defense Committee raises banner in defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal at NYC hospital workers rally, March 1.

The racist character of the death penalty in this country is incontrovertible, and was proved by irrefutable statistics in the 1987 case of *McCleskey v. Kemp*. But in his lengthy and thoroughly researched piece titled "Teetering on the Brink Between Life and Death," which was published in the *Yale Law Review* (January 1991), Jamal wields his considerable eloquence and intellect to bring home the systematic racist injustice of the American legal system, at whose apex stands the barbaric death penalty: "States that have not slain in a generation now ready their machinery; generators whine, poison liquids are mixed, gases are measured and readied, silent chambers await the order to smother life." Demolishing the demagogic arguments of racist politicians riding into office on the "war on crime," Jamal points out:

> "No matter that of the ten states with the highest murder rate, eight lead the country in executions that supposedly deter; no matter that of the ten states with the lowest murder rate, only one (Utah) has executed anyone since 1976. No matter that the effectiveness of the death penalty is not really debated; no matter that the contention that the death penalty makes citizens safer is no longer seriously argued.
>
> "*Habeas corpus*, fundamental to English law since the reign of King Charles and to the U.S. Constitution since its inception, now faces evisceration under the hand of the chief justice of the Supreme Court, a possibility unthinkable just a few years ago. Many of the condemned, with constitutional error rife throughout their records, will soon be executed without meaningful review."

In the intervening four years, the rush toward that grim reality has escalated dramatically, particularly since the November 1994 elections. The wholesale assault on *habeas corpus* appeals is accompanied by a frenzied crusade to speed up the assembly line of death. Clinton's "crime" bill added over 60 more capital offenses to the nation's books; now he demands a one-year time limit on death row appeals. Ever more states join the march toward death, and in Texas some months ago, a man was executed after the courts acknowledged he was innocent of the crime for which he died.

The fight to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal is indeed a race against time. As Ossie Davis, co-chairman of the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, stressed at a speakout in New York in June 1994: "Mumia is somebody that we need desperately. At a time like this, we cannot afford to let them take such a voice from us without putting up a struggle of gigantic proportions." We encourage our readers to read *Live from Death Row* and pass it on to others. Use this powerful indictment of legal lynching as a weapon in the battle to save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

* * *

Powerful forces don't want Mumia Abu-Jamal's voice to be heard. Look for *Live from Death Row* at your bookstore. If it's not there, get them to stock it. Jamal's book can be ordered by writing to: Addison-Wesley, Jacob Way, Reading, MA 01867. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Mumia Abu-Jamal Book Published

"Live from Death Row"

A Review

Live from Death Row
by Mumia Abu-Jamal
Addison-Wesley, 215pp, $20.00

"Don't tell me about the valley of the shadow of death. I live there. In south-central Pennsylvania's Huntingdon County a one-hundred-year-old prison stands, its Gothic towers projecting an air of foreboding, evoking a gloomy mood of the Dark Ages. I and some seventy-eight other men spend about twenty-two hours a day in six- by ten-foot cells. The additional two hours may be spent outdoors, in a chain-link-fenced box, ringed by concertina razor wire, under the gaze of gun turrets.

"Welcome to Pennsylvania's death row."

With these words, Mumia Abu-Jamal welcomes the reader to his book, *Live from Death Row*, and to the world in which it was written, the torture chambers spread across the country in which over 2,900 men and women (and children!) "walk the razor's edge between half-life and certain death" at the hands of the state. For 13 years, this award-winning black radio and newspaper journalist, former Black Panther Party activist and supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE group has been imprisoned on Pennsylvania's death row. Framed as a "cop killer" by the racist cops and courts, he was sentenced to die for a crime he never committed, to "pay" for his outspoken political beliefs in defense of the downtrodden and oppressed.

Throughout these years, the authorities have waged a vendetta to keep Mumia from being heard *in order to make it easier to kill him*. They are particularly fearful of his resonant and articulate voice being heard. Last year, National Public Radio (NPR) caved in to police pressure and, in a blatant act of censorship, canceled a series of 12 broadcasts Jamal had been commissioned to air on the program *All Things Considered*.

Death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, with his son in 1982.

no credit

Earlier this year, the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) and its allies tried to prevent the book's publication through a campaign of intense intimidation. Simultaneously, prison officials vindictively abrogated Jamal's lawyer-client privileges, confiscating correspondence concerning his case and preventing visits by legal assistants just as Jamal's lawyers are in the process of preparing a petition for a new trial. They have also peremptorily rejected all requests for press interviews with Jamal, including by CBS-TV's Connie Chung, *People* magazine and French and German television channels (see "Cops Escalate Vendetta Against Mumia Abu-Jamal," WV No. 621, 21 April).

It is a very important victory, therefore, that this book exists at all. *Live from Death Row* is a compilation of 41 political and social commentaries, vignettes of prison life and autobiographical sketches, including the 12 essays banned by NPR and the first article by a death row prisoner ever published in the *Yale Law Review*. The words you will read were painstakingly handwritten by Jamal, who for years was denied access even to a typewriter, as he wages a life-and-death battle against those who would silence this "voice of the voiceless" forever. Indeed, more than just a powerful literary work—and that it is—*Live from Death Row* is a vital weapon in that battle, which has been joined by thousands of death penalty abolitionists, anti-racist fighters, trade unionists and leftists around the world who have rallied to the call: *Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!*

Today the fight to save Mumia's life is more urgent than ever. As his chief legal counsel, Leonard Weinglass, points out in an afterword to the book, "Because of the November 1994 election of Republican governor Thomas Ridge who ran, in part, on expediting executions, there is danger that in early 1995 an execution date will be set. Mumia is near the top of the list of those awaiting the signing of a warrant, so we are in a race against time." Ridge has already signed five death warrants. And in January, Mumia was ominously transferred to the isolated "high-tech hell" of the Greene "supermax" facility in southwestern Pennsylvania.

The defense of this outspoken advocate for all the oppressed is becoming the focus of opposition to the racist and barbaric death penalty. The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal is today's equivalent of the Scottsboro Boys in the 1930s, nine black youth who were ultimately saved from Southern lynch law by an international campaign of protest. What is distinctive here is that Mumia is himself the most articulate spokesman for his cause in the fight to eliminate the whole system of legal lynching. As John Edgar Wideman, author of *Homewood Diaries* and *Philadelphia Fire* and winner of the

continued on page 10

Protest Pennsylvania Execution

First in 32 Years

As we go to press, a 10 p.m. death sentence for May 2 hangs over Keith Zettlemoyer, likely to become Pennsylvania's first victim of judicial murder since Elmo Smith was electrocuted in 1962. Although Republican governor Tom Ridge has signed five warrants, Zettlemoyer's execution by lethal injection threatens to open the floodgates of death, placing all inmates of Pennsylvania's death row, the fourth-largest in the country, in danger.

Most prominent among those immediately threatened is political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, on death row since July 1982. To win the death sentence for Jamal, prosecutor Joseph McGill told the jury, "You are not asked to kill anybody. You are asked to follow the law...the same law that will provide for him appeal after appeal after appeal." Pointing out that 20 years had then elapsed since the state's last execution, McGill convinced the jury that the sentence of death for Jamal would not be carried out. In previous cases, this blatant violation of legal procedure resulted in automatic reversal of the death sentence by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court—but not for Jamal. The Pennsylvania and U.S. Supreme Courts have turned down Jamal's appeals, and now with the Pennsylvania death machine churning once again, Jamal's life is in imminent danger.

We print below a protest sent by the PDC.

* * *

1 May 1995

Governor Tom Ridge
Harrisburg, PA

Governor Ridge:

The Partisan Defense Committee vehemently opposes the execution of Keith Zettlemoyer by the state of Pennsylvania, scheduled for 10 p.m. on May 2nd. Capital punishment, whether by electrocution, hanging or the now-preferred method of lethal injection, is an act of premeditated barbarity that underlines the already advanced brutalization of this class- and race-biased society.

The legal killing of Mr. Zettlemoyer, who will be the first inmate executed in Pennsylvania since 1962, places in immediate danger the over 180 men and women, largely black and Hispanic, who "live" on Pennsylvania's death row.

The murder victim's mother, Aldona DeVetsco, has petitioned the courts stating: "I am opposed to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania executing Keith Zettlemoyer for the killing of my son." Her statement only throws into relief the *state's* lust for vengeance not justice. It thirsts for the blood of Keith Zettlemoyer and countless future victims to lubricate the machinery of death.

We demand the execution of Mr. Zettlemoyer be stayed and his death sentence commuted.

Sincerely,
Rena Herson
for the Partisan Defense Committee

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 623 19 May 1995

Exploiting Oklahoma Bombing, Clinton Launches New COINTELPRO

Feds Target Everybody

With consummate cynicism, President Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno have claimed the men, women and children buried under the rubble of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City as their martyrs in a sinister crusade to beef up the government's arsenal of police-state measures. The capitalist media dutifully join in heating the drums for a new "war on extremism," justifying a wholesale attack on fundamental constitutional guarantees—like the right to bear arms and freedom of speech and association—by pointing to the growing danger of armed right-wing fanatics in the "militia" movements. But the feds, who over the decades have turned a blind eye to or abetted Ku Klux Klan bombers and anti-abortion terrorists, are not about to stop the fascists.

At the same time, in the absence of any real social struggle, U.S. rulers currently don't need a fascist movement to move toward a bonapartist "strong state." They're already implementing many such measures within the present framework. They're seeking to expand and legitimize the methods of state terror, surveillance and harassment used against left-wing, black and trade-union militants and extend them in order to regiment the population as a whole. As we warned last issue: "In the name of combatting 'terrorism,' the government wants to give a legal cover to a wholesale abrogation of everyone's rights—authorizing them to open your mail, listen in on your phone calls, keep tabs on who you associate with, and assert a state monopoly of armed force."

Bill Clinton's Democrats and Newt Gingrich's Republicans are pushing a slew of new repressive measures. Justified as a response to the horrendous bombing in Oklahoma City, they were all laid out long before. The new "anti-terrorism" package includes all the measures they couldn't get through in Clinton's draconian "anti-crime" bill passed last year, and then some. This is a continuation of the juridical counter-revolution inaugurated by the Rehnquist Supreme Court in the 1980s, which has increasingly laid siege to the elementary legal tenet of Anglo-Saxon common law, "innocent until proven guilty." Currently, there is a concerted effort to roll back the *habeas corpus* right to legal appeals and sharply restrict the Bill of Rights.

AP

Clinton uses Oklahoma bomb atrocity to push police-state measures.

The campaign to regiment the population comes amid a rising tide of anti-immigrant racism, an all-sided assault on the ghettos and barrios, a speedup on death row. It reflects sharp shifts in the profile of the American capitalist system, whose massive redistribution of wealth over the last 15 years has impoverished whole layers of the population and made the filthy rich far richer. Today the U.S. has the greatest disparity of income and wealth of any major industrial country. The income distribution here is beginning to look more and more like Latin America—with an impoverished base at the bottom and a tiny layer of super-rich at the top—and so, increasingly, is the repressive apparatus.

Today both capitalist parties are busy shredding any and every social program which benefited the poor and working people. While demagogically playing the race card—portraying desperate immigrant workers and black welfare mothers as a "drain" on the economy—they're also going after Medicare, Social Security and unemployment insurance. After pouring trillions into the "war against Communism," the U.S. is the most massively indebted country in the world. Meanwhile, its imperialist competitors invested in modern productive plant and equipment. Now Wall Street and Washington are trying to pay off their debt load by taking it out of the hides of workers and minorities. And accompanying an increased rate of exploitation is intensified state repression.

Paul Hosefros/NY Times

Federal drug raid in Washington, D.C.: "war on drugs" targets black people.

Despite the lack of any real social struggle, the rulers are cognizant that they have generated a seething mass of anger at the bottom of this society. De-industrialization in the '80s followed by the "demilitarization" of the '90s has produced a huge number of permanently unemployed or marginally paid workers, not only blacks and Hispanics but also among whites. The multiracial L.A. upheaval over the racist acquittal of the cops who brutally beat Rodney King shook the ruling class. Fearing future explosions of plebeian discontent, to preserve their rule they must bring the iron heel of state repression down harder. That's what is behind the "war on drugs," the "war on crime" and now the "war on extremism."

The government's attack on civil liberties is an object lesson in the nature of the capitalist state, an instrument of repression and terror aimed at keeping working people and minorities "in their place." Proclaiming a "New World Order" over the corpse of the Soviet Union, the masters of U.S. imperialism vow that there will never again be another proletarian revolution like in October 1917, whose precursor they see in the Jacobin terror of the French Revolution. Around the world, bourgeois figures are taking aim even at the legacy of the *bourgeois* revolution, from the French Enlightenment to the American Bill of Rights. However, an outbreak of sharp class struggle could tear to shreds the capitalist rulers' designs to straitjacket political dissent and opposition. The social upheavals of the 1960s in opposition to Jim Crow segregation in the South and

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50 Years After Red Army Smashed Nazi Regime

Fourth Reich in the "New World Order"

SEE PAGE 8

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For International Workers Action Against Bolivian State of Siege

The following statement was distributed at a demonstration in London on April 25 protesting the brutal repression of trade unionists in Bolivia. On May 1, bowing to the state of siege, the COB union federation called off its general strike, and soon after, the teachers also returned to work after 50 days of hard struggle. As we go to press, several hundred unionists and leftists are still being held under military law.

The state of siege decreed by the Bolivian government at midnight, April 19 is an assault on the trade-union movement and a frontal attack on the rights of the working people and horribly impoverished masses of this Andean country. This act of force is aimed at smashing the general strike under way for the last three weeks, which in turn was called to back up the 80,000 teachers, on strike for a month and a half against the government's plans to "privatize"—i.e., liquidate—public education.

That these "exceptional measures" are intended to behead the workers movement was clearly shown by the police raid on a national meeting of the Central Obrera Boliviana in the capital of La Paz, where over 100 COB leaders were arrested and loaded onto trucks, hauled off to the military airport of El Alto and then flown to internal exile in disease-ridden jungle areas of the country. Altogether, more than 1,000 workers, teachers, students, peasants and others have been arrested, and according to official figures more than 300 are presently being held in jails and places of detention around Bolivia.

Reuters

Thousands of striking teachers demonstrated in La Paz, March 1995. Over 1,000 workers, students and others have been arrested in current wave of repression.

Above all, this is a brazen attempt to install a "virtual dictatorship"—as COB leader Oscar Salas managed to exclaim before being dragged off—in order to implement draconian "neo-liberal" austerity policies made in the U.S.A. Bolivia is touted as the model for the vicious "shock treatment" of Harvard's expert in capitalist starvation, Jeffrey Sachs, who, based on his "success" in decimating the already miserable living standards in Bolivia, went on to devise similar plans to consolidate counterrevolution through impoverishing the workers in Poland and the USSR. Dreamed up in academic think tanks, endorsed by Washington and Wall Street, ordered by the IMF, these monstrous schemes are now being enforced by riot sticks and automatic rifles of the Bolivian government. In this, they are assisted by the DEA drug squads, who have trained the notorious drug-trafficking "anti-drug" units of the Bolivian military to unleash terror against peasant coca growers. We demand: U.S. imperialist agencies and "advisers" out of Bolivia now!

The mass arrest of the COB leadership took place even before the "exceptional measures" were announced. Earlier that day, a squad of the Bolivian navy arrested peasant union leaders who were meeting in the town of Copacabana. And news dispatches report a raid by more than two dozen heavily armed police on the residence of Guillermo Lora, leader of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Revolutionary Workers Party). The martyrdom of his brother, mine workers leader César Lora, vilely murdered by the military 20 years ago this July, is vividly remembered by Bolivian workers, as is the murder of union and leftist leaders when the García Meza junta assaulted and demolished the COB headquarters in 1980. And around the world, the Bolivian army is reviled for its mercenary role in the CIA assassination of Ernesto Che Guevara.

The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a message to the Bolivian embassy denouncing the raids and arrests, demanding the state of siege be lifted and all victims of the reactionary crackdown released. We call on working-class organizations and defenders of democratic liberties around the world to join in protesting the Bolivian government's dictatorial measures and assault on the labor movement. The international working class holds the government of President Gonzalo Sánchez de Losada responsible for anything that happens to those it has seized.

President Sánchez clearly intends to repeat his "exploit" of 1985-86, when after defeating a march on La Paz by the militant tin miners, the government in which Sánchez was then the economic czar simply closed down the state-owned mines. In March 1985, at the height of a general strike, the unions had effectively occupied the capital. But as in any real general strike, the question was sharply posed: which class shall rule? The COB leadership under veteran caudillo Juan Lechin did nothing, and eventually voted to disband the occupation. Nor did Lora's POR wage the crucial fight to build workers militias and workers councils (soviets) as the vehicle for a proletarian fight for power.

In the aftermath of this ignominious defeat, the number of miners of the state Comibol corporation was reduced from 30,000 in 1986 to less than 3,000 today. The rest were driven off the Altiplano and forced to cultivate coca to survive. Meanwhile, under the watchword of "capitalization" President Sánchez and his family bought up the most lucrative mines to line their own pockets. Today the Bolivian government seeks to bludgeon the workers, teachers, students and peasants into submission to its starvation plans dictated from Washington. But even propped up on the bayonets of its mercenary army, the regime of looter-in-chief Sánchez de Losada will not rest easy. The U.S. will not stand by its "democratic" would-be dictator when his usefulness is at an end any more than it did with earlier American puppets, from Trujillo to Somoza.

The proletariat of the Altiplano has given magnificent examples of heroic struggle in the almost half a century since the tin bosses of *la rosca* were driven from their palatial mansions. But at the height of the 1952 uprising by workers and peasants, the possibility of workers revolution was aborted as the COB gave its backing to the same National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) that is today in power. At that crucial time, Lora's POR called for all power to the left wing of the bourgeois-nationalist MNR (led by Lechin) rather than fighting for a workers and peasants government. Two decades later, in 1971, the POR formed a "revolutionary front" with army general Juan José Torres as the fraudulent "answer" to the coup by dictator Hugo Banzer. (Torres quickly laid down his arms.) In the name of Bolivian exceptionalism, such all-too-typical class collaboration has over and over been the bane of the Bolivian proletariat.

What is necessary is a revolutionary vanguard party to lead the class-conscious Bolivian workers, at the head of the oppressed Aymará and Quechua Indian masses and aided by their allies around the globe, in the struggle to put an end to the capitalist tyranny which has meant that ever since colonial times the base of the silver mountain of Potosí has been surrounded by Indian laborers' hovels. The wealth of this long-suffering land belongs to those who produce it! For an authentic Bolivian Trotskyist party, built in the struggle to reforge a democratic-centralist Fourth International! ■

British Labourism vs. Socialist Revolution

TROTSKY

LENIN

The reformist leadership of the British Labour Party remains today, as it has been since its inception, the chief internal obstacle to the socialist aspirations of the British working class. A key influence in the early development of the Labour Party was the reformist Fabian Society of Sidney Webb, who authored the 1918 party constitution's famous Clause Four, calling for "common ownership" of the means of production. Thus socialist fig leaf was adopted to co-opt the radical sympathies of many workers for the 1917 Russian October Revolution, while covering up Labour's loyal service to the British capitalist state. In a scathing 1925 polemic, Leon Trotsky underscored the need to politically defeat the social-democratic ideologists in the course of splitting Labour's working-class base from their pro-capitalist leaders, the key to forging a revolutionary party.

There is no other country in the world in which the class character of socialism has been so objectively, obviously, unquestionably, empirically revealed by history as in England. For in this country, the Labour Party grew out of the parliamentary representation of the trade unions, i.e., the purely class organizations of wage labor ...

Reformists who resist the proletarian class consciousness are, in the last analysis, a weapon in the hands of the ruling class. Throughout the history of the English labor movement we find a pressure exerted on the proletariat by the bourgeoisie through the radicals, intellectuals, parlor and church socialists, Owenites, who deny the class struggle and advance the principle of social solidarity, advocating collaboration with the bourgeoisie, confusing, weakening, and politically debasing the proletariat....

The insipid, optimistic Victorian epoch, in which it was believed that tomorrow will be somewhat better than today and the day after tomorrow still better than tomorrow, has found its most perfect expression in the Webbs, Snowden, MacDonald, and other Fabians. They may therefore be considered as an awkward and useless survival of an epoch that has already been definitely and irrevocably destroyed ... The proletariat is being restrained precisely by its own leading ranks, i.e., by the Fabian politicians and their mental offspring.

These inflated authorities, pedants, conceited and pompous cowards are systematically poisoning the labor movement, obscuring the consciousness of the proletariat, paralyzing its will. Thanks only to them, Toryism, liberalism, the Church, the monarchy, the aristocracy, the bourgeoisie, continue to maintain themselves and even to feel secure in the saddle. The Fabians, the Independents, the conservative bureaucracy of the trade unions, are now the most counterrevolutionary power in Great Britain and perhaps in the entire present stage of the world situation. The driving out of the Fabians will be equivalent to a liberation of the revolutionary energy of the proletariat of Great Britain, to socialism's conquest of the British fortress of reaction, to the freeing of India and Egypt, and to a mighty stimulus to the movement and growth of the peoples of the Orient.

—Leon Trotsky, *Where Is Britain Going?* (1925)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 623 **19 May 1995**

Balkan Cauldron Heats Up

Reuters photos

Serbian civilians (left) held in detention center by Croatian army (right), which drove out thousands in recent offensive. "Ethnic cleansing" is carried out by all sides in Balkan nationalist war.

The latest in a series of "permanent ceasefire" agreements among the warring Croats, Serbs and Bosnian Muslims in the former Yugoslavia officially expired at the end of April. The next day, the Croatian Army swept past the impotent UN "peacekeepers" stationed in the Serb-controlled western Slavonia area. In two days, the Croatian forces seized over 200 square miles of territory, which has historically been inhabited by Serbs but was inside the borders of the Croatian republic when the Yugoslav federation broke up and the latest Balkan war began in 1991. More than 5,000 Serbian refugees fled the advancing Croatian Army as hundreds were killed. In the towns of Pakrac and Okucani, the Croatian Army rounded up over a thousand men from the Serbs left behind, supposedly for "interrogation about war crimes."

In response, local Serb forces sent rockets crashing into the heart of the Croatian capital of Zagreb. In the east, tanks of the rump Yugoslav Republic headed by Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic moved toward the Croatian border. Meanwhile, Bosnian Muslim forces exploited the Croatian offensive to launch an attack on the strategic Serb-held Posavina corridor in northern Bosnia, which is the lifeline between Serbia and the Serbian regions of western Bosnia and Croatia. The Serbs responded by shelling the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo. As the four-year-old conflagration heats up again, the possibility looms of all-out war engulfing the Balkan peninsula, stoked by the blood-thirsty nationalists on all sides.

The latest outbreak of communal warring was long foretold, ever since the Zagreb regime under its fascistic leader Franjo Tudjman issued an ultimatum in January demanding the exit of UN "blue helmets" stationed on the cease-fire lines between Serb and Croat forces. At the same time, Jimmy Carter had brokered a "truce" in Bosnia, which however was used by all sides to rearm and reorganize their military forces. As Tudjman's deadline expired, UN troops stepped aside as Croats raided UN arms depots for machine guns and anti-aircraft artillery. This time the Western media, which has generally blamed the Serbs for all the atrocities of the war, couldn't hide the mass killings of Serbs by Croatian forces. The *New York Times* (8 May) reported that half of the 15,000 Serbs living in and around the town of Stara Gradiska had been driven out, adding "it is clear that a good deal of killing took place. The whiff of death lingers in the early-summer air, mixed with the smell of detergent used by Croatian authorities to clean the road."

Western Imperialist Propaganda and the Left

For the last four years, the media have kept up a steady drumbeat about Serbian "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia, ignoring the atrocities by the other sides in the territorial conflict among the three South Slav peoples. To justify their call for imperialist military support to the Sarajevo regime, Western liberals have even talked of "genocide" of Muslims by Serbs. A key example was supposed to have been the shelling of a Sarajevo market that killed 68 people in February 1994, which provided the pretext for the first NATO air strike against Serb forces. A suppressed UN report has since indicated that the Bosnian government launched the rocket attack against its own people to draw in Western military support.

Amid the cacophony of comparisons to the Nazi Holocaust, a debunking of this war propaganda has come from an unexpected source: none other than George Kenney, the former State Department official who resigned in 1992 to protest the Bush administration's failure to strongly support the Bosnian Muslims. At that time, Kenney and many others bandied around the figure of 200,000 dead in Bosnia. Now, he admits that these figures were grossly and intentionally exaggerated:

> "Bosnia isn't the Holocaust or Rwanda, it's Lebanon....
> "The notion of hundreds of thousands of deaths emerged late in 1992, when 'ethnic cleansing' was in full swing....
> "The Red Cross has confirmed well under 20,000 fatalities on all sides. Extrapolating from that and from the observations of experienced investigators in Bosnia, its analysts estimate total fatalities at 20,000 to 30,000, with a small chance that they may exceed 35,000."
>
> —*New York Times Magazine*, 23 April

Kenney noted that the accounts of "genocide" had a purpose: "In the West, it meant political support; in the Islamic world, much-needed donations to lubricate the Bosnian war machine." This particularly served the interests of Washington's policy of economic sanctions against Serbia and surreptitious support to the Bosnian Muslim government.

On the left as well, there has been a hue and cry to defend "poor, little" Bosnia from Serbian "aggression," implicitly (and sometimes openly) appealing for NATO imperialist intervention. Various pseudo-Trotskyists, including Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat (USec) and Cliff Slaughter's Workers Revolutionary Party, have been up to their necks in a so-called "Workers Aid to Bosnia" campaign, a cynical ploy to use sympathy for the plight of the working people in this former Yugoslav republic to promote support to the Bosnian Muslim government (see "What's Behind 'Workers Aid for Bosnia'," *WV* No. 604, 5 August 1994).

To disguise this, they claim to be supporting "multi-ethnic" Bosnia against "Great Serbian aggression" (USec resolution, February 1993). Thus they highlighted that the first "Workers Aid" convoy was sent to "the industrial and multi-ethnic city of Tuzla" (*International Viewpoint*, March 1994). However, what residual cross-communalist unity and secularism may have survived in cities like Tuzla have been swamped by nationalist and communalist forces on all sides. The social-democratic journal *Uncaptive Minds* (Fall 1994) reported: "In Tuzla, dissatisfaction is increasing, due to the emerging national inequality, pressure, and even threats. The number of Croatians and Serbs who are leaving or want to leave Tuzla is increasing."

The Mandelites' support for a "democratic and multi-ethnic Bosnia" is a cover for their tailing of "democratic" counterrevolution in East Europe. But far from bringing democracy, the reintroduction of capitalism has set off an orgy of national-communalist slaughter. The counterrevolutionary breakup of the multi-national "Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" along national lines necessarily entailed forced population transfers and communalist massacres. Even USec Balkans "expert" Catherine Samary is finding it hard to locate any Bosnian "multiethnic democrats" these days: "The left's inability to mobilise a solidarity movement with democratic forces in former Yugoslavia is partly the result of a thorough confusion over who is who, and who we should support. This is especially true in Bosnia, where the relationship between anti-chauvinist and democratic currents and the Islamic leadership of the state is complex and inpenetrable" (*International Viewpoint*, March 1995).

U.S./UN/NATO Out of the Balkans!

Marxists and proletarian internationalists take no side in the squalid nationalist bloodbath that has ripped apart the former Yugoslavia, establishing capitalist rule over the corpses of the workers and peasants of all nationalities. We oppose all forms of imperialist intervention in the Balkans, from the economic boycotts to "peacekeeping" troops. A democratic and equitable resolution of the conflicting national claims in the Balkans can only be achieved under the rule of the proletariat, the only class without an interest in pursuing and augmenting national claims.

The descent into a seemingly interminable civil war in Yugoslavia is the result of the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe, prepared by decades of Stalinist bureaucratic-nationalist misrule and engineered by the U.S., Germany and the other NATO powers. Reunified German imperialism, which instigated the breakup of Yugoslavia in 1991, seeks to reestablish its historic overlordship in the western Balkans—Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia. Russia wants to reassert its "great power" status in the region, particularly toward its traditional client state Serbia.

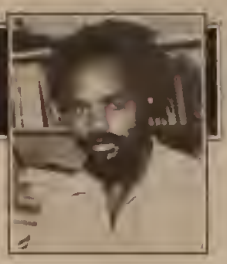
Unlike Germany, which covets the mineral wealth of Yugoslavia, the U.S. has little intrinsic interest in how Bosnia and other former Yugoslav republics are divided among the contending Balkan

continued on page 11

Der Spiegel photos

Above: Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic. Right: Fascistic Croatian leader Franjo Tudjman (second from left).

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal



Oklahoma!

The April 19th, 1995 earth-shattering car-bombing in Oklahoma City is still reverberating throughout America.

What is of most interest to the writer, are the initial responses of the American public and its polity.

An ear tuned to various talk radio stations revealed madness:

"What we need to do, is send some B-52s over there and nuke Tehran!" quoth one caller.

"I'm tellin' ya, We needta bomb Eye-ran (Iran) until it's glowin' in the night!" said another.

"I'm sick 'n tired of them camel-jockeys! First the World Trade Center—and now this! I say we bomb the bastids back into the stone age!" bellowed a third.

No matter what city you reside in, if you've listened to talk radio, I'm fairly certain you heard words similar to these—haven't you?

Nor did the words of the so-called enlightened politicians sound any saner.

Within hours of the bomb blast, politicians issued calls for new immigration procedures, new, more repressive laws that bar members of international "terrorist" groups, and the like.

Within hours, the revelation of who were primary suspects silenced the anti-Arab sentiment, and political opportunism spewing out of talk-radioland and Washington about "foreign terrorism."

For what rocked Oklahoma, was not Arabs, was not foreigners, but was...Americans—white militiamen, some supremacists, so-called "nativists," who gouged out the heart of Oklahomans, by this one desperate act.

The President of the United States was hardly wrong when he condemned this act as "evil" and "cowardly."

But, one is forced to wonder: Isn't it fitting that this act of uncivil barbarity occurred on the same day, two years afterward, of the barbarous attack on the Branch Davidian Mt. Carmel headquarters in Waco, Texas, by the U.S. Government?

Was this action in Oklahoma "evil and cowardly," but the gassing, shooting, burning and killing of the men, women and children of Waco "unevil" and "uncowardly"?

There is a hint, from some sources that the Waco disaster may, in some way, have been the impetus for the Oklahoma bombing.

Time will tell.

What *is* clear, however, is that the State is not without some guilt in this affair, for Waco is still a wound in the psyche of America, in the same way that the murderous massacre of MOVE people in Philadelphia, on May 13th, 1985 was a wound on Philadelphia's psyche.

How can the government kill babies with impunity, all across the country, and call others "baby-killers"?

Oklahoma is not an end—it is a beginning of a dark American era.

24 April 1995

© 1995 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Greene state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

The Campaign to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal Is at a Critical Point—You Can Help!

The May 2 execution of Keith Zettlemoyer by the state of Pennsylvania was the first in the state in over 32 years. Since taking office in January, right-wing governor Tom Ridge has carried out his pledge to speed up the death machine and rapidly sign execution warrants. Ridge has already signed seven death warrants. High on Ridge's hit list is Mumia Abu-Jamal, former Black Panther Party spokesman, prominent journalist and MOVE supporter framed in 1982 on charges of killing a Philadelphia policeman.

Send $$$ for Jamal Legal Defense Now! Jamal's attorneys, led by Len Weinglass, are preparing to file a petition in the Pennsylvania courts for a new trial. The petition will set forth evidence pointing to Jamal's innocence and will expose the multitude of violations of constitutional rights which paved the way to Jamal's conviction and death sentence.

This is only the beginning of a costly process. Funds are urgently needed to wage the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal's life. All money raised through rallies and forums organized by the Partisan Defense Committee goes directly to Jamal's legal defense. This year some $20,000 has been collected or pledged. More is needed now! Jamal's legal team initiated the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, co-chaired by actors Ossie Davis and Mike Farrell, to help raise funds. Make out your tax-deductible contribution for the defense to: Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and send it to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Avenue, No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

Prepare for Emergency Demos! At any moment, Governor Ridge could sign Mumia Abu-Jamal's death warrant. If a warrant is signed, emergency demonstrations will be held the next day in New York City, Oakland and elsewhere. Get on the Partisan Defense Committee phone tree and help organize to make these urgent demonstrations the loudest possible outcry against the racist death penalty!

WV Photo

Protest to save death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal at inauguration of Pennsylvania governor Ridge, January 1995.

Join the Campaign! Take petitions; ask your friends, neighbors and co-workers to sign and get involved. Organize a showing in your union, community group, church or school of the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*. Send letters and get Jamal's powerful columns into your local newspapers, school or union newsletters; raise motions in your union or at your school to send a letter to Governor Ridge demanding, "Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!" Contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 406-4252.

Send Protests to: Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120; fax (717) 883-1396; phone (800) 932-0784.

Write to Jamal to express your solidarity: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090.

Letters

On the Assassination of Zapata

4 May 1995

Dear Editor:

I have appreciated your recent articles on the crisis in Mexico, but I wanted to make a correction on one point ("Mexico City: Union-busting at Gunpoint," *WV* 621, 21 April 1995).

Emiliano Zapata was not assassinated after accepting a presidential invitation to "talk." He refused to recognize Venustiano Carranza just as he had refused to recognize previous presidents. Zapata was the victim of an ambush prepared by General Pablo González, who had conducted a scorched earth military policy in Morelos and had presidential ambitions. Carranza approved the plot, which used the "defection" of an army colonel to lure Zapata to the ambush.

Although your political point is valid—the reformist leanings of one wing of the Zapatista leadership may have contributed to the success of the plot—still, it seems important to be completely accurate about an event that has acquired virtually mythological proportions in the history of Mexico.

Sincerely,
Dana Markiewicz

Casasola Archives

Mexican revolutionary peasant leader Emiliano Zapata.

WV replies. Your point is well taken. We appreciate this correction on an important historical event.

Women's Rights and the Maquiladoras

Boston
9 May 1995

To the Editor:

The article, "Labor Organizing in the Maquiladoras," (which appeared in two parts, in *WV* No. 620 [7 April] and *WV* 621 [21 April]) recognizes that "the woman question is in fact central to the *maquiladoras*." But it should have mentioned the fight for abortion rights. The article describes the horrible situations in which women workers are forced to prove to the factory owners that they are not pregnant, and the ways in which the bosses get around the paid maternity leave required by Mexican law. Demands are raised for 24-hour day-care services, for worker safety committees with the power to stop production, and for an end to company pregnancy tests that are used by employers as grounds to refuse to hire and grant permanent status to women workers. But particularly in a country where complications from illegal abortions are a major cause of death for women, there must be a fight for free, safe abortion on demand.

Leticia Castillo

WV replies. Comrade Leticia is quite right, and this demand is an essential component of the program raised by our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México. For more information on this, we refer readers to our article, "Mexico: Women's Rights Activists Face Torture, Jail," *Women and Revolution* No. 38, Winter 1990-91.

Philly Racism

The following remarks were made by Al Nelson of the Spartacist League Central Committee at a Spartacist educational forum on "Communist Defense Work in America," held in Oakland, California on April 29

If you know something about the sociology, more specifically the racist character of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, you'll know why Mumia Abu-Jamal is in jail. And I know something about it because I was born and raised in Philadelphia. I lived there until I was 22, when I was drafted into the army in 1959.

Throughout my entire life there, the black population of Philadelphia was something around 30 percent, if I remember. And it was as segregated as a Southern city. I lived in a white working-class neighborhood in North Philly. There was a line at 6th Street. That's where the black ghetto started. And from there, for miles, was the black ghetto. All blacks on one side, all whites on the other. I think I found out much later there was a small integrated area out near the University of Pennsylvania in West Philly, the Powelton Village area. When I was a little kid, there was a movie on one side of 6th Street, the Aurora Theater, all black. There was a movie on the other side of the street, the Diamond Theater, where us white kids went.

Philadelphia's racist character goes back to the Civil War, when it was heavily pro-South. You saw the movie "Glory" about the 54th Massachusetts regiment of heroic black soldiers. When the organizers came in to Philadelphia to recruit to it, they had to operate in secret and leave with their recruits in the dark of night, because if they were found out they would have been beaten up. Pennsylvania itself was one of the most Klan-infested states in the whole country in the 1920s, when the Klan had something like over two million members in this country, mainly in the North, directed at immigrants and Catholics who represented the current wave of immigrants.

Philadelphia Bulletin

Police brutality in Philadelphia: Rizzo's cops beat blacks during 1967 protests.

Today, Pennsylvania has two major cities: Pittsburgh at one end, Philadelphia at the other end in the southeast corner. The state is mainly white. That governs the politics of the state. Forty percent of the welfare budget goes to Philadelphia. Philadelphia is now about half black. There's been a white migration out of Philadelphia. The cops ran that city when I lived there like a plantation. And any political expression, any kind of organized expression whatsoever on the part of the black population was viewed with fear by the racist establishment and stopped.

That's what this guy Frank Rizzo meant. He was a real racist pig. When he took over the police force, he proceeded to terrorize the black neighborhoods. He had special roving arsenals stationed in the black areas, so that buses full of riot cops could intersect the arsenals full of machine guns and tear gas and heavy stuff, and not lose a minute in smashing some political demonstration. And they raided the Panthers' offices in the '60s.

Those guys had to be really courageous to be Panthers in Philadelphia. Most of them were teenagers. In 1970, the cops had these guys out on the street stripped naked, laughing at them, stripped naked on the street to humiliate them. This is like out of the South! This is the city where Jamal became a conspicuous spokesman for black people and against white racism. His very effectiveness is what has put him behind bars. He was *targeted* by Rizzo when Rizzo was chief of police and then became mayor.

What really tipped it over was MOVE. MOVE was just a "back to nature" black commune, it wasn't a political organization. But Jamal's defense of MOVE against police repression made him a target, and so they went after him and they got him on this frame-up. So when we say that his case represents the racist character of the death penalty, you put that in the context of that incredibly racist city, in that racist state, then you'll know why he's behind bars. ■

In Philly Transit Strike

Communist Party Hails "Support" from Racist Cops

You can count on the reformists of Gus Hall's Communist Party U.S.A. to follow every twist and turn of the labor bureaucracy, spicing it up with "fight the right" rhetoric to sell their support to "lesser evil" liberal Democrats. But the 8 April issue of the CP's *People's Weekly World* struck a new low for recent times: prominently displayed in large type next to the article "Philly Transit Workers Get City-Wide Support" was a statement by "policemen's union President Richard Costello to his members," calling for unity between the transit workers and the Philly cops!

The Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) is no "union," but a notoriously racist gang of armed thugs, and like all cops, the hired strikebreakers for the capitalist class. These are the same cops who persecuted the Black Panther Party; they're the same uniformed killers who ten years ago bombed and burned alive eleven men, women and children of the MOVE organization; and today they are engaged in a national campaign to kill death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Moreover, on a different page in the *same issue* of the *PWW* was a photograph of striking members of the Transport Workers Union being arrested by the Philly cops! But the CP sings the cops' praises for declaring their "solidarity" with the TWU strike!

From the beginning, the cops' "support" was the kiss of death for the strike, whose success depended on waging a sharp struggle to unify the multiracial union with the ghetto poor. From the first night of the strike, TWU bureaucrats tied the union to the cops. Local 234 president Harry Lombardo appeared at the headquarters of the Fraternal Order of Police seeking "strike support" from these hired strikebreakers and racist thugs. The bureaucracy's alliance with FOP president Richard Costello was their guarantee to the city fathers that this was a strike that would play by the bosses' rules.

Philly transit workers were in a powerful position to win against the Southeast Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA), and to deliver a blow against the union-busting privatization campaign by Philadelphia mayor Ed Rendell and Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge. The more than 5,000 subway, bus and trolley workers stayed solid for two weeks.

But on April 10 the executive board of TWU Local 234 caved in, agreeing to a miserable contract settlement. With "backloaded" (delayed) wage increases, reduction in health benefits and givebacks in workers compensation, SEPTA is bragging it will save millions. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* (11 April) described it as "a typical '90s contract," which "requires workers not only to acknowledge their employer's financial trouble, but help solve them."

The TWU bureaucracy and their "'90s contract" received praise from a gaggle of other reformist outfits as well. At a rally of New York transit workers on April 18—called by the dissident bureaucrats of the "New Directions" outfit, who control almost half the seats on the executive board of TWU Local 100—a speaker for the International Socialist Organization (ISO) called the Philly strike a "model." She was echoed by a speaker for the Revolutionary Socialist Group, a local group at the College of Staten Island. Of course for the social-democratic ISO, the racist, strikebreaking cops aren't the enemy—the ISO says they belong in the labor movement! At the recent May 6 pro-Democratic Party rally called to protest the "Contract on America," the ISO was deliberately selling their press to the NYPD—and bragging about it!

The assorted reformists are so craven in their pursuit of the union tops that they act as publicity agents for the police! We warned during the Philly transit strike: "Mobilizations by the cops, in whatever guise, reflect their own agenda and are sinister attempts at police bonapartism, to slip the leash of civilian control.... Any attempt to gain support from Philly's black workers and ghetto poor is *doomed* as long as Local 234 is 'united' with the bloody enforcers of the bosses' law and order" ("Victory to Philly Transit Strike!" *WV* No. 620, 7 April). We added: "The FOP's threat to kill Philly's 'voice of the voiceless,' Mumia Abu-Jamal, is also a threat against labor." For the CP to hail the would-be executioners of Jamal is obscene. ■

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British Labour Party Drops Socialist Fig Leaf

At a special conference on April 29, Britain's Labour Party repudiated its verbal commitment to socialism—even as an ultimate goal—enshrined in the party constitution's famous Clause Four. The nearly two-to-one vote by delegates representing Labour's trade-union base and local constituency parties capped 35 years of efforts by a parade of Labour "moderates," from Hugh Gaitskell to Tony Blair, to dispense with the party's socialist fig leaf. The latest assault on Clause Four was initiated by Blair at last October's annual conference, shortly after he was elected party leader. With the Conservative (Tory) government going down the tubes, the Labour Party—out of office for the past 16 years—is redoubling its efforts to put itself forward as worthy guardian of wretched British capitalism.

Glynn Griffiths

Labour Party leader Tony Blair (center) dumps "socialist" Clause Four, seeking to fashion "New Labour" Party.

The bourgeois press predictably hailed Blair's victory. But among the Labour Party's working-class base, the campaign to dump Clause Four provoked a wave of internal opposition unseen in recent years. Only weeks before the special conference, both the Unison public employees union and the million-strong Transport and General Workers dramatically announced that they would oppose Blair's move. Rank-and-file party members and trade unionists turned out for hundreds of meetings around the country to register their defense of Clause Four.

Clause Four is hardly a revolutionary proclamation such as to inspire passionate divisions. In fact, it was drafted by Fabian socialist Sydney Webb in 1918 to head off the wave of working-class radicalization inspired by the 1917 Russian October Revolution. This rather pallid reformist statement, printed on the back of every party membership card, vows: "To secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible, upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange." Blair has now succeeded in replacing this statement with one which extols "the enterprise of the market and the rigour of competition," combined with some gobbledygook about placing wealth and opportunity "in the hands of the many and not the few."

Whether in government or in opposition, the Labour Party has more than amply demonstrated its commitment to the capitalist "free enterprise" system, Clause Four notwithstanding. Blair has repeatedly assured the City of London financiers that a Labour government would not even reverse the widescale privatizations carried out by the Tory governments of Margaret Thatcher and Major, much less proceed to place the means of production as a whole under "common ownership." And when it comes to defense of British capital against workers' struggle, during the heroic 1984-85 miners strike, the right-wing Labour Party leadership under the ignominious Neil Kinnock openly joined Thatcher in denouncing strikers' "violence." And Blair now proclaims his admiration for the "Iron Lady."

Why, then, the uproar over Clause Four? To Labour's working-class ranks, this statement symbolized that this is their *class party*, however pro-capitalist the leadership. To the "Blairheads," as the new party leader's yuppie coterie is known, Labour's lip service to the cause of socialism was seen as an anachronistic albatross around their necks.

Blair has set out to fashion a "New Labour" Party modeled on the capitalist Democratic Party in the U.S. The allusion to Clinton's "New Democrats" is hardly coincidental: Blair & Co. have turned to Clinton advisers like James Carville as they seek to appeal to disaffected supporters of the right-wing Tories and the smaller bourgeois Liberal Democratic Party.

To be sure, the Labour Party is not about to cease being, in Lenin's words, a bourgeois workers party—thoroughly pro-capitalist in its program and leadership but organically based on the workers organizations. On two occasions prominent leaders split to the right from Labour—Ramsay MacDonald in the 1930s and the group around Roy Jenkins which launched the Social Democratic Party in the early 1980s. But both these splits went nowhere.

Labour parliamentarians of the right and the "left" continue to be heavily dependent upon the financial and electoral support of the trade unions, who finance half of Labour's general expenses and all of its campaign funding. For its part, the Trades Union Congress (TUC) bureaucracy relies on the Labour Party's pretensions of representing working people as a pressure valve to channel working-class discontent away from class struggle. How many strikes have been sold out on the grounds of not hurting Labour's electoral chances, or not embarrassing a Labour government!

However, the Labour tops, particularly within the Parliamentary Labour Party, have for decades chafed at the influence exercised by the trade-union bureaucracy. By picking and winning a fight with the Labour/TUC lefts over Clause Four, Blair believes he will gain the authority needed to crack down on the unions when the time comes. An editorial in the London *Independent* (15 April) commented, "What is being defined in the current battle is not just the wording of a once obscure and largely ignored part of Labour's constitution...but the public's perception of how Labour will handle the unions once in power."

And, in fact, the day after ramming through his change to the party constitution, Blair announced a whole series of measures aimed at weakening union influence—reducing union representation on the party's executive committee and at party conferences and escalating a longstanding campaign against the trade-union block vote. The block vote, in which an entire union's delegation at Labour conferences is committed to a certain policy, has more often than not been used by the union bureaucracy to obstruct the democratic will of the membership. But the Labour tops' attack comes from the right, aimed at stifling the voice of the union membership entirely.

As the Spartacist League/Britain wrote a few months ago:

> "The fight over Clause IV, albeit in a distorted way, reflects a class divide in the British labour movement. The fact that the open opponents of the great miners strike of ten years ago are opponents of Clause IV speaks volumes.
>
> "Revolutionaries have a side in this fight, against Tony Blair. The defeat of Blair's plan would put a big spanner in the Labour right wing's works, and would widen and deepen the debate in the labour movement on the true nature of socialism, and the means necessary to achieve it. It would strengthen the prospects for working-class struggle to transcend the parliamentary dead-end of a future Labour government."
>
> —*Workers Hammer* No. 144, January-February 1995

At the same, our comrades emphasized that Clause Four was "at best a statement of reformist parliamentary 'socialism'" and a "'pink' fig leaf" for the Labour traitors.

Clause Four and the Labourite Bureaucracy

The British Labour Party developed in the first years of this century as a bloc dominated by the trade-union bureaucracy, which advocated liberal social and economic reforms under capitalism, along with various petty-bourgeois reformist socialist groupings, notably the Fabians. The adoption of Clause Four in 1918 in no way changed the basic character of the Labour Party as an agency by which the union bureaucracy subordinated the working class to the British imperialist bourgeoisie.

During the interwar period, there were two Labour governments, both of them dependent on the bourgeois Liberal Party for support. Thus the Labourite bureaucracy could hide behind parliamentary cretinism to justify its failure to implement the "common ownership" promises of Clause Four. Nonetheless, it was quite clear that the Labour leaders were no more committed to socializing the econ-

Workers' Liberty

Radio Times Hulton Picture Library

Post-WWII nationalizations of British industries by Labour government of Prime Minister Clement Attlee (right) amounted to giant capitalist bailout of unprofitable industries.

omy than were their Liberal allies. The Liberals' leading ideologist, John Maynard Keynes, asked rhetorically in 1939: "Why cannot the leaders of the Labour Party face the fact that they are not sectaries of an out-worn creed, mumbling moss-grown demi-semi Fabian Marxism, but the heirs of eternal Liberalism."

The leftward radicalization of the working class internationally at the end of World War II—during which Labour was in a coalition government with the rabidly right-wing Tory, Winston Churchill—manifested itself in Britain in a massive electoral victory for Labour in 1945. For the first time, British social democracy had a solid parliamentary majority. At the same time, Britain emerged from the war deeply in debt to the U.S., with much of its industry obsolete and uncompetitive in world markets.

Faced with this situation, the Labour government of Prime Minister Clement Attlee and left-winger Aneuran Bevan maintained and even extended wartime economic controls. As the TUC leaders cracked the whip for Labour, strike activity (in terms of workdays lost) fell to *one-sixteenth* of the level after World War I (Carl F. Brand, *The British Labour Party* [1974]). Needless to say, a Tory government could not have maintained such class peace amid general economic deprivation.

In the context of an overall corporatist economic program, the postwar Labour government nationalized the Bank of England, the railways, civil aviation, electricity, telecommunications, the coal mines and the steel industry. To this day, Labour lefts like Tony Benn and miners' leader Arthur Scargill portray the postwar nationalizations as the first installment of the "common ownership" promised by Clause Four. In reality, the nationalization of the Bank, transport and utilities simply brought Britain into line with the norm of capitalist West Europe.

In fact, the postwar nationalizations amounted to a giant *capitalist bailout*, generally limited to failing industries that the bourgeoisie had given up on. Even veteran left Labourite Ken Coates concedes:

> "The nationalisation measures all involved substantial compensation for the original private owners. Since most of the industries concerned were unprofitable, and some were on the brink of actual bankruptcy, their compulsory purchase represented a veritable renewal of the dynamism of capital. Phoenix-like, capital was liberated to seek more profitable areas in which to grow, leaving behind the husks of the derelict industries upon which it had already preyed."
>
> —*Workers' Liberty*
> (February 1995)

The clearest indication that these nationalizations served the interests of British capitalism at the time is that except for steel they were *retained* when the Tories returned to power in 1951 and ruled the country for the next 13 years.

After losing three elections, in the late 1950s Labour Party leader Hugh Gaitskell argued that the party could regain its role as administrator of the British capitalist state only by renouncing its working-class character and openly repudiating any socialist goals. Declaring "our object must be to broaden our base" and "to avoid becoming small cliques of isolated doctrine-ridden fanatics," he called for getting rid of Clause Four. Gaitskell's "revisionism," as it was called, provoked outrage among the party ranks, especially among the core of older trade unionists.

A majority of the Labourite bureaucracy, including many of Gaitskell's close collaborators, therefore backed down. A compromise was cobbled together at the 1960 party conference, in which Clause Four was retained, but a further statement of aims was added which called for "an expansion of common ownership substantial enough to give the community power over the commanding heights of the economy." David Howell, in his critical history of the Labour Party, *British Social Democracy* (1980), explained the cynical calculations behind this outcome:

> "[M]oderate figures opposed the venture because they regarded it as tactically ill-conceived. It was simply not worth an argument, since for several years the party had existed amicably with a combination of specific policies that implied acceptance of the mixed economy and a constitutional clause that did not. Such ambiguity was valuable—so why destroy it?"

Among the leading figures of the "moderate" Labour left defending Clause Four was Harold Wilson, who became party leader when Gaitskell died in 1963 and the head of the second postwar Labour government the following year. But in office Wilson made no attempt to nationalize anything other than steel (whose owners were generously compensated) once again. Moreover, this erstwhile Bevanite leftist became a staunch supporter of the U.S. imperialist war in Vietnam. On the plane of domestic policy, the Wilson government proposed a series of measures to weaken and suppress strikes.

The 1974-79 Labour government of James Callaghan was even more right-wing. Callaghan decreed a "social contract" to hamstring the trade unions. Toward the end of its term, the Callaghan government joined in a Lib/Lab coalition with the openly capitalist Liberals, having launched one vicious assault after another on the working class, including the use of cops and troops to break strikes by firemen and other unions. Callaghan was finally swept out of office after a series of bitter strikes during the 1978-79 "Winter of Discontent."

Sturrock/Network

Labour Party leader Kinnock stabbed British miners in the back in 1984-85 strike, denouncing "violence" by strikers facing massive cop attacks.

Der Spiegel

Protest against anti-union "social contract" of the 1974-79 Labour government of James Callaghan.

For the Revolutionary Expropriation of British Capitalism

Now that the Tories, increasingly faction-ridden and widely despised, are about to vacate office, the new Labour leadership has pledged itself not to reverse the ravages of Thatcherism on British working people. That's what is behind Blair's campaign to scrap Clause Four. His Labour left opponents like Benn and Scargill have sought to evoke a quasi-religious fervor by glorifying Clause Four as Labour's "socialist soul." This is echoed by supposedly "revolutionary" alternatives to Labour like Tony Cliff's reformist Socialist Workers Party, which rhapsodizes that "Clause Four represents the urge for a better society, a yearning for peace, security and a decent life" (*Socialist Worker*, 29 April).

The Labour Party has never had a "socialist soul." Even taken at face value, Clause Four was at best reformist utopianism. A quintessential expression of this is the perpetual call for an "Enabling Act in Parliament" to nationalize "the top 200 monopolies including the banks and insurance companies which control the 'commanding heights' of the economy," promoted by the Militant Labour group of Peter Taaffe, which for decades was hurled deep inside the Labour Party. The idea that the bourgeois Parliament can serve as a vehicle for socialism, and that the blood-drenched British imperialist ruling class will allow itself to be driven from the stage by a piece of legislation, flies in the face of all historical experience. But it reflects Militant's outlook that the capitalist state is the instrument for fundamental social change. This is also clear in its view that the bourgeois cops are "workers in uniform" (see the Spartacist Pamphlet, "Militant Labour's Touching Faith in the Capitalist State," August 1994).

Far from posing a genuinely socialist alternative to Blair & Co., the Labour lefts act as the glue which binds disaffected workers to the right-wing Labour leaders. Even as he led the hard-fought miners strike in defiance of open scab-herding by the Labour/TUC tops, Scargill never once called for a split with Kinnock. And as the Labour lefts go, so go their "Clause Four Trotskyist" camp followers. The bottom line for all of them, as succinctly put in a piece titled "The Diary of a Clause Four Activist" in Sean Matgamna's *Workers' Liberty* (February 1995), is: "'Loyalty' is important in the labour movement and Blair is Party leader." Come the next election, one and all, they will campaign for a Blair victory. Already, the perennial appeals are being trotted out: "Vote Labour but Organise to Fight!" (*Workers Power*, May 1995), "Get the Tories Out—Don't Trust Blair" (*Socialist Worker*, 29 April), etc., etc.

A revolutionary party, a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard, will be built through splitting Labour's working-class base away from its pro-capitalist misleaders in the heat of class struggle. As Spartacist League/Britain spokesman Alastair Green said in reply to Scargill at a February 24 "Defend Clause Four" rally in London (*Workers Hammer* No. 145, April-May 1995):

> "If you look at 1945 or any of the Labour governments—the Labour Party has never touched a hair on the head of capitalism.... You will only have socialism through the working class in this country and every country on earth taking power in its own name on the basis of workers councils.... And you need a party which will fight for the interests of the workers to the end, that is, to the seizure of power." ■

Radio Times Hulton Picture Library

1929 Labour cabinet, including Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald (front row, left) and Fabian Society leader Sydney Webb (front row, right).

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Fourth Reich in the "New World Order"

50 Years After Red Army Smashed Nazi Regime

The following article is adapted from Spartakist *No. 118, May-June 1995, published by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD).*

On 8 May 1945 the Red Army crushed the Nazi regime, liberating Europe and humanity from the nightmare of Hitler's genocidal ter-

PART ONE OF TWO

ror. This is a day of celebration for working people internationally. But only 50 years later and five years after the capitalist counterrevolution that destroyed the East German deformed workers state, reunited German imperialism wants to usurp May 8 for its own purposes and to celebrate Germany's reborn "national identity." German chancellor Kohl dictated how and where the observances of May 8 were to be held in Europe, making sure that his visit to Yeltsin in Moscow would not include the traditional liberation parade (U.S. president Clinton boycotted only the military part). The time is past when German imperialism genuflected before the victims of the Third Reich, as Willy Brandt did 20 years ago in the Warsaw Ghetto. The president of Poland, Lech Walesa, was disinvited from the planned observance in Berlin. With breathtaking *herrenmenschen* (master race) arrogance Kohl declared that otherwise they would have to invite *all* the countries Nazi Germany invaded and leveled.

The masters of imperialist Germany with their new great-power strivings don't intend to "commemorate" the Reich's defeat. Instead they are celebrating the "regaining of complete sovereignty" and their economic power. Already last September Kohl & Co. orchestrated a *russenrein* (Russian-free) celebration on the occasion of the withdrawal of the American, British and French troops with a full Bundeswehr ceremonial sendoff complete with a military torchlight parade through the Brandenburg Gate. (The Russians had been dispatched separately.) Meanwhile, *Spiegel* magazine kicked off 1995 with a photo history called "Rise from Ruins"—50 years of growing prosperity in the anti-Communist bulwark of West Germany.

Five years after capitalist reunification and the subsequent destruction of the Soviet Union, the German rulers are rewriting history. Bonn is acting like victors, celebrating "liberation" from 45 years of "imposed Soviet rule" in East Germany. The appeal "Against Forgetting"—signed by Christian Democrat (CDU) extreme right-winger and Eastern Front veteran Alfred Dregger, the increasingly noisy ultra-right-wingers around Alexander von Stahl (FDP), Republikaner Nazis as well as East German civil libertarian Siegmar Faust—calls for the "consciousness of a self-confident nation." The appeal opposes the "one-sided" characterization of May 8 as "liberation," since it "at the same time also meant the beginning of the terror of expulsion and new oppression in the East and the beginning of the partition of our country." This appeal is the ugly offspring of a growing German nationalist current, linking mainline conservatives with ultrarightists, to "relativize" liberation: the doors are wide open for new and old Nazis in the service of a new nationalist awakening.

Liberals and Social Democrats got very exercised over this declaration: former Social Democratic (SPD) defense minister Hans Apel withdrew his signature under pressure from his party. But the "opponents" of the appeal share its central tenet. The Bonn press spokesmen for the Greens, SPD and PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism) only groan about the "endless embarrassment" over May 8 because they are worried about the "image" of (export-dependent) Germany abroad. Thus, Baroness Marion Donhoff, editor of the social-democratic-oriented liberal *Die Zeit*, headlined on 21 April: "The Fight About May 8: Liberation—Yes and No." The SPD prime minister of the federal state of Nordrhein-Westfalen, Johannes Rau, seconded this with a proposed consensus "that expulsion, wartime imprisonment and the Communist dictatorship in East Germany had a prehistory beginning with the invasion of Poland on 1 September 1939 and the seizure of power by the National Socialists on 30 January 1933" (*tageszeitung*, 19 April).

Dregger & Co. only articulate what Kohl himself said ten years ago in the Bundestag (parliament). At that time Kohl and Reagan reaffirmed their anti-Soviet drive and in Bitburg saluted before the graves of the SS and the Division "Das Reich," responsible for the bloody massacre of Oradour in France. The Social Democrats also wrung their hands over this obscene spectacle. But their nationalism reflected the development of the SPD from an American-oriented (and even CIA-financed) bourgeois workers party expressing the dominance of U.S. imperialism after the end of the war, to the social-democratic party of the *German* bourgeoisie. Bitburg gave a green light to the fascists, and with the wave of German nationalism that accompanied the counterrevolution in the DDR, racist terror against immigrants escalated sharply. The SPD joined the CDU in adopting the fascist demand to abolish the right to asylum.

Today the German-nationalist revision of history is being displayed in numerous historical exhibitions. In the capital of Berlin, across from the *Gedächtniskirche* (Memorial Church) the official exhibition on the 50th anniversary of the end of the war is now showing. Under the watchword of "differentiation," it is conceded that "objectively the end of the war was, of course, liberation." Nevertheless, one must not force "people who did not feel like they had been liberated or who experienced the atrocities of the occupying army" to declare "they were happy at the time," declared historian Rürup, head of the exhibition (*tageszeitung*, 11 April). On the occasion of the anniversary of the liberation of the concentration camps, commemorations have taken place including in Auschwitz, Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen. But the German concentration camp memorials have been redesigned since *Anschluss* (annexation) of the DDR, the East German deformed workers state, ostensibly to commemorate "all groups of victims." In Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald, side by side with the hundreds of thousands of victims of Nazi

Soviet flag flies over Berlin Reichstag, marking Red Army's victory over Hitler's Third Reich.

April 23: At memorial at Sachsenhausen concentration camp, survivors greeted Spartakist Workers Party banner which proclaims, "The Red Army Smashed the Nazi Regime."

extermination, the Nazis who were imprisoned in Soviet camps after the end of the war are presented as "victims."

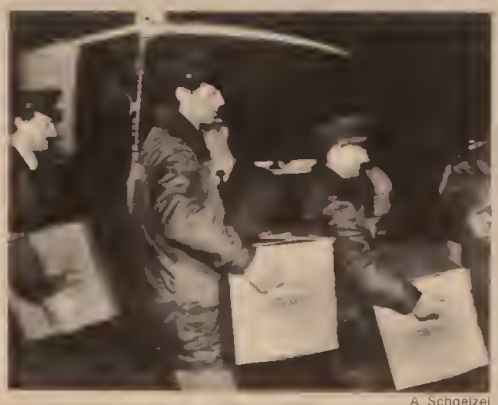
The PDS tops also participated in the search for the ostensibly new "national identity" and appeal to "Germany's increased international responsibility." In 1990, the SED/PDS gave away the DDR under Modrow's motto, "Germany, One Fatherland." To seal the sellout, Modrow took over the imperialists' "collective guilt" thesis and declared that the DDR shared responsibility for the "worst crimes against the Jewish people" under Hitlerite fascism. With this stroke of the pen, the newborn social democrats of the SED/PDS sought to extinguish the anti-fascist foundation of the DDR and accepted one of the central theses of the anti-Communist witchhunt.

In Modrow's speech about May 8 at the recent PDS congress (*disput*, February 1995), he praised the "DDR's achievement of creating friendly ties with the Czechs, Slovaks, Poles and, not least with the peoples of the USSR.... If Willy Brandt's thought that that which belongs together should grow together has a deeper meaning, then it should above all refer to bringing together, transferring to united Germany, those formerly one-sided friendly ties maintained by each of the two German states that pointed in only one direction." By the DDR's "friendly ties" Modrow is referring to the Warsaw Pact, which was created under the Soviet nuclear shield in order to defend East Europe against the NATO imperialists. Today, after the counterrevolution he promoted, Modrow offers these "ties" to the reunified Reich so that it can pursue its *Drang nach Osten* (drive to the East).

The PDS pushes its profile as the spearhead for heavier intervention by the German government in Russia: thus the PDS conference demanded that Kohl/Kinkel ensure "the end of the war" in Chechnya. PDS delegates in the Bundestag voted for an all-party resolution on Chechnya, thus taking responsibility for German imperialism and seeing this as a means of achieving their own goals. But by this they serve Bonn's ominous imperialist thrust into East Europe. Already in 1991 Kohl/Genscher pushed through unilateral recognition of Slovenia and Croatia, thus putting into motion the carving up of Yugoslavia and the bloody nationalist slaughter in the Balkans.

At the same time, it is certainly not yet decided how far Bonn can go. The working class in Germany with its strategically important immigrant component is a powerful force standing in the path of the bourgeoisie. And as historian Gordon Craig recently stated: "It has often been remarked that World War I arose out of the circumstances that the newly united Germany of 1871 was both too big for Europe and not big enough to be a world power" (*New York Review of Books*, 20 April). As the "chancellor of unity" of this century, Helmut Kohl likes to be compared with Bismarck, not least because reunified Germany still faces the same problem.

Der Spiegel



A. Schoelzel

Nazi *Blutrichter* (bloody judges) of the Third Reich continued on the bench in postwar "democratic" West Germany. Capitalist reunification in 1990 led to anti-Communist witchhunt, including against PDS successor to former East German ruling party. Left: Police seizing PDS files.

Bonn's drive on all fronts—to run Europe under the dictate of the D-mark as it pulls in different directions, exploit all of East Europe including the lands of the former Soviet Union, again be master of the Balkan cauldron and slice off a big share of the Asian markets for itself—faces enormous problems. The European Monetary System—the D-mark in disguise—collapsed at the starting line, while the international capitalist financial world lurches toward disaster. Constitutionally sanctioned "out-of-area" Bundeswehr interventions outside Europe seek to compete with the U.S. as world policemen under the motto, "Create peace with German weapons." This time the German imperialists want to avoid the mistake of two lost world wars—they want to push through their new *Drang nach Osten* with the D-mark. But still, behind the Deutsche Bank are panzers and the Luftwaffe, except that today a new world war brings the threat of a nuclear holocaust.

The Class Line Divided Germany

With liberation by the Red Army, the basis was laid in East Europe to eliminate the capitalist system and establish workers states, albeit bureaucratically deformed and Russian-dominated. The social transformation in East Germany went deeper than in most of the other East European countries. A resurgence of fascism in the Soviet-occupied part of Germany which later became the DDR was deprived of any social basis. From the outset, every Nazi bigwig and little fish who could fled to the West into the arms of the Americans and British rather than fall into the hands of the Red Army. In trials following the formation of the DDR in 1949, some 12,881 Nazis were convicted; in the West, with four times the population, it was half that number (*Der Spiegel*, 9 May 1994). While the West German state, with the outbreak of the Cold War, quickly shifted over to the persecution of Communists and anyone connected with them—from 1951 to 1968, legal proceedings were undertaken against some 150,000 to 200,000 alleged Communists (7,000 to 10,000 of them were convicted)—the DDR sentenced more than 350 Nazi mass murderers to death or to life imprisonment. Whereas the state apparatus in the West was shot through with Nazis, big and small, the DDR state apparatus consisted mostly of former prisoners of the Nazi concentration camps, and many of its most prominent figures came from Jewish families, although the top echelons came from the Ulbricht group of Moscow's Hotel Lux fame.

We Trotskyists have always emphasized that the social gains of the deformed workers states belonged to the international working class, not the Stalinist bureaucracy which undermined them and finally surrendered them. That is the reason we defended them unconditionally against imperialism and internal counterrevolution. When Stalinist rule in the DDR collapsed in 1989-90, the International Communist League mobilized its cadres worldwide to fight for proletarian political revolution and against *Anschluss* of the DDR to the Fourth Reich of German imperialism. In January 1990 over 250,000 people protested the desecration of the Soviet war memorial in Treptow and in defense of the Soviet Union and the DDR, a protest initiated by us and taken up by the SED/PDS. At this demonstration, probably the largest anti-fascist protest in the history of postwar Germany, the enormous power of the working masses of the DDR was clear for all to see, and this deeply frightened the bourgeoisie as well as the SPD *and* the SED/PDS. What was lacking was a strong revolutionary workers party which could have organized the workers and led them to victory. The gains of the October Revolution could only have been defended by extending them—through proletarian political revolution in the East and their extension to the West through social revolution. That is what our slogan "For a Red Soviet Germany in a socialist Europe" meant.

German imperialism never reconciled itself to the emergence of the DDR, which removed one-third of the country from its grip. With *Anschluss* it unleashed a furious, vindictive witchhunt against everything reminiscent of the DDR and the Red Army's victory. Over 250,000 trials and administrative procedures are pending against citizens of the former DDR because of the "crime" of "proximity to the system," and on the same grounds even larger numbers of retirees' pensions were cut. Only a few days after reunification, the anti-fascists Gerhard Bögelein and Karl Kielhorn were arrested, having lived up to them in the DDR. They were dragged into court in SPD-run Hamburg on charges of having killed a Nazi war judge who had executed over 100 Soviet partisans, civilians and Wehrmacht soldiers. Kielhorn was acquitted; the seriously ill Bögelein, who had deserted from the Wehrmacht and gone over to the Red Army, died after months of incarceration. The consistent criminalization of anti-fascism continues.

Current foreign minister and former justice minister Klaus Kinkel laid down the line at the German Judges' Conference in 1991: "We must successfully delegitimize the SED regime, which until the bitter end derived its justification from anti-fascist sentiment, ostensibly higher values and the claim to absolute humanity, while under the cover of Marxism-Leninism it built a state which in broad areas was as terrible as the fascist Germany that had been combatted, and—rightfully—should never again be allowed to arise" (quoted in Kurt Libera, *Zum deutschen Neuanfang 1945-1949*).

Those of Hitler's henchmen who met justice at the hands of the Red Army and in the DDR are now honored as "victims of totalitarianism"; at the same time, top DDR functionaries are dragged into court because they defended the borders of the DDR. DDR espionage chief Markus Wolf, a Communist of Jewish origins, was even indicted for "treason against the fatherland." Former Stasi chief Erich Mielke was dragged through a show trial on the basis of witnesses' testimony *extracted by Hitler's Gestapo*. He was convicted for the death of two policemen who were celebrated by the Nazis as martyrs. We Spartakists defend all representatives of the DDR regime against Fourth Reich prosecution. They have been tried by the wrong class for the wrong crimes. The defense of the DDR was no crime—selling it out was!

The revolutionary working class has its own score to settle with the Stalinists: for destroying the Left Opposition, led by Trotsky, which carried forward Lenin's internationalist policies; for capitulating without a fight in 1931-33, allowing Hitler to march to power unhindered; for murdering virtually every Bolshevik leader remaining from the 1917 October Revolution in Stalin's blood purges of the late '30s; for beheading the Red Army General Staff on the eve

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Der Spiegel photos

Above: Heads of industrial giants Mercedes Benz and Siemens saluted Nazi regime. Leading capitalist figures under Hitler remained in place despite token U.S.-sponsored postwar "de-Nazification."

Feds...

(continued from page 1)

the dirty imperialist war in Vietnam ripped apart the conservative, anti-Communist "consensus" of the day.

Down with the New COINTELPRO!

The government wants an updated version of the notorious "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO) of the 1960s. Masterminded by fanatically anti-Communist FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover, COINTELPRO was a license for massive infiltration and disruption of left, liberal, antiwar and civil rights organizations. Under its cloak of secrecy, the capitalist government waged a murderous vendetta against black militants, killing *dozens* of members of the Black Panther Party and imprisoning hundreds more. Among the victims of this "domestic counterterrorism" terror operation are death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, framed for the killing of a Philadelphia cop, and Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), who remains imprisoned in a California hellhole 25 years after being framed for a crime the government knows (from its own wiretaps) he did not commit.

Today, Clinton/Reno's man Louis Freeh is being billed as the new Hoover, a "no nonsense" cop who is "the most intensely hands-on boss since the FBI's founder." And now Larry Potts, the FBI official who oversaw the murderous assault on the Branch Davidian commune outside Waco and the bloody siege of the Randy Weaver home in Idaho, has been rewarded with the position of deputy director. After getting flak over its plans for new FBI "terrorism guidelines" to do away with minimal restrictions imposed on the agency in the aftermath of the Watergate and COINTELPRO revelations, the Clinton administration simply decreed a new "interpretation" of the old guidelines, to the same effect. On May 3, Freeh announced that any group which "advocated violence or force with respect to achieving any political or social objectives" could now be subject to "broad investigation." The feds don't even have to claim any evidence of "imminent violation" of the law to justify their spying.

This expansion of FBI powers comes on top of Clinton's Omnibus Counterterrorism Bill. Under this legislation, as we reported last issue, immigrants would be subject to deportation on the basis of secret trials and citizens could face up to ten years in jail for donating money to an organization deemed "terrorist" by the government. As a Center for Constitutional Rights spokesman remarked before a Senate hearing, this would "make 'guilt by association' a guiding principle of criminal and immigration law." And the general population is worried: a recent *Time*/CNN poll reported that 52 percent of those interviewed think "the Federal Government has become so powerful that it poses a threat to the rights and freedoms of citizens" (*Time*, 8 May).

Sygma

FBI/BATF baby-killers: government sent tanks against integrated Branch Davidian commune near Waco, Texas, in assault that killed 86 people, including 25 children.

The escalation of repression today is not narrowly directed against the left—which is too small to much worry the bourgeoisie—but rather is more broadly aimed at "disciplining" and intimidating the population. It takes little imagination to see how this will be used against labor and minorities. A foretaste was last year's deployment of regionally coordinated police SWAT teams to bust up Teamsters strike picket lines. Reno's Justice Department has already used "interference with interstate commerce" as bogus grounds for framing West Virginia UMWA miners' striker Jerry Dale Lowe and putting him behind bars for eleven years. The "war on drugs" has meant the imprisonment of literally hundreds of thousands of ghetto blacks. And now it turns out the FBI has for years "kept watch" on the AIDS coalition ACT UP and the left-wing Haitian paper, *Haiti Progrès*.

Big Brother's Big Lie

In his speech to an April 23 memorial meeting for the victims of the Oklahoma City bombing, Clinton invoked the biblical injunction that "those who trouble their own house will inherit the wind." In effect, he is seeking to smear all opposition to the government as "terrorism." At the same time, the capitalist press has embarked on a grotesque propaganda campaign to put an equal sign between leftist opponents of this racist capitalist state and the fascistic network of "patriot militias," abortion clinic bombers and KKK/Nazi killers.

In the last few weeks, there has been a steady barrage pushing this lying amalgam. A front-page *New York Times* (7 May) commentary headlined that the "Violent Right" was a "Legacy of the 60's." A day later, *Times* columnist (and former Nixon aide) William Safire labeled the New Left Weathermen and the Black Panthers as the "domestic terrorists" of the '60s. *U.S. News & World Report* (8 May) featured "A Brief History of Zealotry" which extended this amalgam to heroic pre-Civil War abolitionist John Brown and revolutionary anarchist and socialist labor organizers at the turn of the century. The yuppie *New York* magazine (8 May) railed against Leonard Bernstein "indulging" the Black Panthers. And the liberal *Village Voice* (2 May) ran a disgusting front page superimposing over the image of the bombed-out wreckage in Oklahoma City the headline: "You Say You Want a Revolution."

The *Times* commentary remarked that "there is a sense that Vietnam War-era turmoil tore a hole in the post-World War II social fabric, and that although it was the left that opened the rift, it is the right that has driven a truck through it." The "social fabric" they so prize was the anti-Communist "consensus" of the 1950s that was shaped by McCarthyite witch-hunting and die-hard segregationism. Today the imperialist bourgeoisie yearns for a return to that era of social regimentation. But the "Vietnam syndrome"—the result of U.S. imperialism's humiliating defeat on the battlefields of Indochina, which has made Washington wary of embarking on military interventions which could entail American casualties—has also had its effect on the home front: the population doesn't trust the government.

The brazen rehash of the Cold War shibboleth that "communism equals fascism" is hardly subtle in its intent: to identify militant struggle against capitalism and racism with the bloodthirsty fascist fanatics who revel in the slaughter of innocent men, women and children. In fact, the violence of the '60s *was perpetrated by the capitalist government and its fascist henchmen*. There was a direct line from the FBI to segregationist Birmingham police chief "Bull" Connor to the KKK nightriders. These are the antecedents of today's fascistic militias, only today these ultraracist reactionaries also think the federal government is dominated by a bunch of liberal "draft dodgers" and feminists. The principal Oklahoma City bombing suspect, Timothy McVeigh, was reportedly driven by virulent bigotry against black people and hatred for affirmative action and abortion rights. As Mumia Abu-Jamal writes in his column (see page 4), "Oklahoma is not an end—it is a beginning of a dark American era."

At bottom, the fascists are the creatures of the American ruling class, growing in the fertile soil of the economic misery and increasingly emboldened racism of U.S. imperialism. But the U.S. rulers do not presently need to unleash their fascist dogs of war, as the German rulers did with Hitler's storm troopers in the 1930s, because they do not face any real internal challenge to their rule. On the contrary, for the past two decades they have smashed unions, totally impoverished and decimated the inner cities and driven down living standards for the overwhelming majority of Americans...and gotten away with it.

Today it's almost a cliché to say that most Americans think that their children will be worse off than they were. Even what's called the middle class despairs of the "American Dream" (which was always "whites only" anyway). The fascistic elements who have organized the militias are feeding off this sense of despair, particularly from the base of Ross Perot's right-wing populist movement in the "white flight" suburbs, the home of the tax revolt. Frustrated in their

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Fourth Reich...

(continued from page 9)

of Hitler's invasion, as well as handing over hundreds of German Communists to the Gestapo during the Hitler-Stalin pact; for sabotaging the fight for socialist revolution throughout Germany after the victory of the Red Army in 1945; for putting down the June 1953 East German workers uprising, as well as systematically suppressing socialist-minded oppositionists (including inside the ruling "Socialist Unity Party").

Bureaucratic rule made life incredibly stultifying for the East German population. The motto was: we know what the people need. Ulbricht-Honecker sought to control what could be read and heard, from trying to ban reception of Western TV through the early 1970s to the 1988 ban on the Soviet magazine *Sputnik* (because of its Gorbachevite line). The all-intrusive State Security had tens of thousands of informers, creating an atmosphere of generalized snooping. The bloated security apparatus also acted as a brake on the collectivized economy. Meanwhile, endless bottlenecks and shortages caused by a ponderous central bureaucracy gave planned economy a bad name. Under Honecker, the heavy-handed repression eased, but instead of communism they tried to sell the DDR population consumerism. And in that competition they inevitably lost out to the economically stronger German imperialist state.

The greatest crime of the Stalinists was the destruction of the revolutionary consciousness of the working class. In contrast to the bourgeois revolutions of the past, socialism can only be built consciously, by a proletariat acting as a class for itself. The DDR regime, in order to keep itself in power, had to stamp out any vestiges of Lenin's internationalist program and shape the Communist Party into an apparatus of bureaucratic rule. So they kept the proletariat atomized, fearful and deeply alienated, while schooling the population by rote in an anti-Leninist, nationalist perversion of "Marxism." This had the additional effect of making the DDR's claimed "real existing socialism" unappealing to West German workers, and thus *strengthened* the hand of the pro-capitalist Social Democratic bureaucracy in the West.

But in fact the Stalinists did not *want* to spread workers revolution to the West, rather preaching the reformist program of the popular front, which aided in propping up capitalism ever since the mid-1930s. They justified this, and their own bureaucratic grip, with the lie of building "socialism" in one-third of a country. Decades of Stalinist *anti*-Marxism affected SED loyalists and dissidents alike. When the Honecker regime began to disintegrate in 1989 under the weight of its own internal contradictions and relentless imperialist pressure, would-be Leninists in East Germany had been so inoculated against proletarian internationalism that they viewed the Trotskyist program of fighting for a revolutionary reunification of Germany in a socialist Europe as utopian. As in the Soviet Union and elsewhere in the deformed workers states, Stalinism paved the road to counterrevolution. A proletarian fight to oust the bureaucracy was the only practical program.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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aspirations, feeling powerless in the face of "Big Government" and economic instability, they invent racist, anti-Semitic fantasies about a "ZOG" (Zionist Occupation Government) as a scapegoat. Meanwhile, the rich WASPs who run Wall Street and the Fortune 500 corporations think they can do anything to the workers, the poor, the elderly, the black and Hispanic populations.

While outright fascist elements remain a relatively small force, their racist, bigoted outcry has steadily moved into the "mainstream" of American capitalist politics. It can be heard in the virulent campaign by the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police to see Mumia Abu-Jamal executed. It can be seen in the overwhelming influence exercised in the Republican Party by the far-right Christian Coalition of Pat Robertson and Ralph Reed, who can now "virtually dictate an important part of the congressional agenda" (*Time*, 15 May). It can be felt in the chilling winds of anti-immigrant hysteria which buffet the country and in the bipartisan drive to destroy social welfare for the ghettos which amounts to the policy, as we have termed it, of "Genocide U.S.A."

Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Fight Racist Reaction!

The present assault on civil liberties is spearheaded by liberal Democrats rather than the more traditional "law and order" Republicans. *Newsweek* (8 May) observed that "Congress is rife with a new breed of Hoover Democrats—as in J. Edgar, not Herbert." It's not surprising that the Republican right is currently touchy because of the attention directed at its fascist fringe. The front page of the same issue of *Newsweek* advertised a plea by right-winger Rush Limbaugh, "Why I'm Not to Blame." But there are deeper reasons why the Democrats are running point on this issue.

With the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union and the deformed workers states of East Europe, and in the absence of any significant social or labor struggle in this country, the right wing's obsession with a "clear and present Communist danger" is off the agenda, for the moment. In this era of heightened interimperialist rivalries, the old ideological bogeyman of a "red threat" is increasingly being replaced by "yellow peril" racism, as the U.S. gears up for trade war with Japan, sowing the seeds for imperialist war. This is fed by the union bureaucrats' poisonous Japan-bashing protectionism. And the Democrats are the traditional *war party* in recent American history. With the exception of Bush's one-sided slaughter in the Persian Gulf, it is the Democratic Party which has taken this country into every major war this century, from World Wars I and II to Korea and Vietnam.

Nor is it surprising that liberals would be lining up behind their man in the White House, albeit with the occasional moan about "excesses" in the "war on extremism." They, and their reformist hangers-on, look to the capitalist government as an agency for social progress. It is a short and logical step from their perpetual calls to "fight the right" and "ban the Klan" to marching in lockstep in the current offensive against democratic rights in the name of combatting right-wing terror. It is the liberals who have been in the front line of the crusade for gun control, which asserts the capitalist state's right to a monopoly of armed force. This was the battle cry under which the FBI and BATF (Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms) set off the fiery Waco holocaust. On top of that, Reno raised the "politically correct"—and utterly false—charge of child abuse to justify slaughtering more than two dozen children at Waco!

Two years ago, the Democratic White House claimed widespread popular support for its mass murder of the Branch Davidian religious group. But today they're acting distinctly defensive: Clinton chief of staff Leon Panetta called new Congressional hearings on the Waco massacre "despicable." In fact, as the capitalist press has lately been grudgingly admitting, millions of people around the country—not just a handful of far-right "gun nuts"—were horrified by the deliberate incineration of 86 men, women and children in a display of arrogant state terrorism.

The National Rifle Association, in a national May 15 full-page newspaper ad, effectively detailed how the BATF acts as black-uniformed stormtroopers, breaking into people's homes and brutalizing them while flouting constitutional rights. Unusually for the NRA, they took the government strongly to task for racism and sexism, citing for example a suit against the BATF by black agents who exposed egregious racist provocations against them by their white colleagues—even as the ad attacked the Black Panther Party for exercising *its* right to self-defense!

At the time of the Waco inferno, when most of the left took a dive or obscenely echoed Clinton/Reno's line, the Spartacist League organized protest demonstrations against this mass murder and exposed the government's fraudulent account in our article, "Waco and the White House—First the Massacre, Now the Lies" (*WV* No. 575, 7 May 1993). Marxists understand that this racist capitalist state is the archenemy of social progress. We look to mobilizing the social power of those who are today its victims and will one day be the gravediggers of this system of exploitation and oppression, the multiracial working class.

We oppose gun control in particular because it is aimed at disarming working people and minorities while leaving guns in the hands of the cops, criminals and fascists (see "Revolution and the Right to Bear Arms: The Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution," *Spartacist* No. 43-44, Summer 1989). Today, the government and media claim they are out to stop right-wing militias, but the kind of laws they have in mind will be used above all against *workers militias* defending strike picket lines and black communities against fascist attacks. In the 1960s, the FBI and government authorities at local, state and national levels went into a frenzy over the Black Panther Party's determined assertion of the right to armed self-defense. The capitalist rulers loathe the idea of black and working people in this country being able to defend themselves.

We fight the *political disarming* of the working class by the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy and the black misleaders, who seek to keep workers and minorities tied to the capitalist Democratic Party. Following the Republican victory in last November's elections, the liberals and reformists have redoubled their efforts to reforge the New Deal coalition with the Democrats. This was exemplified by the recent May 6 demonstrations against the Republican "Contract With America," which served as a platform for Democratic Party politicians. We fight to forge a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed. Against the drive toward police-state repression, it's necessary to mobilize the proletariat, independently of and in opposition to the capitalist state and its parties. To eliminate the economic immiseration which is the breeding ground of the fascist terrorists, and to do away with racial and sexual oppression, requires sweeping away the capitalist system through socialist revolution. ■

Balkans...

(continued from page 3)

nationalisms. Anxious to avoid any American casualties in the Balkans, the policy of U.S. ruling circles is to arm and incite the Muslims and Croats against the Serbs. The *New York Times* (15 April) reported that: "The Clinton Administration has chosen to ignore a series of weapons shipments from Iran to the Muslim-led Bosnian Government that in the last year has added considerably to its military firepower."

The three-sided war in the northern Balkans could easily spread beyond its current confines, drawing in the rival imperialist powers on different sides. The Balkan Wars of the early 20th century were a prelude to World War I. During World War II, the resistance to the German Nazi occupation, led by Tito's Communist Partisans, was also a civil war against the murderous nationalists of the fascist Croatian Ustasha and the Serbian monarchist Chetniks. Today, the sharp policy differences among the NATO powers which have come to the fore during the present Balkan war point toward future interimperialist conflicts in this tinderbox region.

Only under workers rule can this bloodsoaked region of interpenetrated peoples cease to be a killing field, because only on the basis of a collectivized planned economy can the nationalist antagonisms bred by the capitalist system of nation-states be transcended. But although Tito's Partisan forces succeeded in forging a pan-Yugoslav movement, the workers state which resulted from their victory was bureaucratically deformed, and the Stalinist perspective of "socialism in one country" prevented the national question from being fully resolved.

Only extension of proletarian revolution to the advanced capitalist countries of West Europe could provide the economic basis for genuine national equality in the relatively impoverished Balkans. As it was, Tito's "market socialism," which opened Yugoslavia to increasing imperialist economic penetration, reinforced disparities among the various regions, fueling nationalist fissures within the bureaucracy. The bloody conflict in Yugoslavia underscores the need for Trotskyist parties, built in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International, to lead the fight for a socialist federation of the Balkans in a socialist United States of Europe. ■

Haiti...

(continued from page 12)

cooperation." In Latin America, the AIFLD is so infamous for its anti-labor, pro-coup activities that its parent organization is widely known as the "AFL-CIA." AIFLD organizers went ashore with the Marines in Santo Domingo in 1965 and with Reagan's 1983 invasion of Grenada, while in Guyana in 1961 and in Chile in 1973 they played a key role in CIA "destabilization" efforts to bring down left-wing governments.

With unmitigated racism and anti-Communism, the Clinton administration announced earlier this month that the U.S. would admit the 20,000 Cubans at the Guantánamo naval base, but leave behind the 450 Haitian refugees there. Most will be forcibly repatriated to Haiti, including 230 unaccompanied minors. Following the wave of counterrevolution in East Europe and the Soviet Union—which directly influenced the 1989 ouster of the Sandinista government in Nicaragua and the disarming of the Salvadoran rebels—U.S. imperialist rulers are emboldened, carrying out a colonial occupation of Haiti and stepping up the drive to "roll back communism" in Cuba. And as the Castro regime makes concession after concession to the dollar economy, mass layoffs are now posed, which can only aid the forces of capitalist counterrevolution in the Cuban deformed workers state.

The left was virtually unanimous in hailing Aristide's electoral victory in December 1991, while we uniquely warned that in power he could only be a puppet of U.S. imperialism. The leftist *Haïti-Progrès* at first deliriously hailed Aristide, but was sharply critical of his support to U.S. intervention. Today, *Haïti-Progrès* (19 April) calls for "de-Macoutization of the institutions," "disarming of the paramilitary bands" and "ending the foreign occupation." In Haiti, on March 13 a speakout sponsored by the Solidarite ant Jen and Konbit Veye Yo groups echoed such demands, proclaiming: "President Aristide never stops saying, 'Hope makes you live,' but today, we realize that that kind of hope is only making the macoutes and bourgeoisie live. The American imperialists are mocking us. Organization and action for the liberation of Haiti!" But with a perspective confined by nationalism, they have no program to mobilize the power that can *defeat* imperialism and its domestic lackeys. Ultimately they do not go beyond impotent pressure politics.

The key to the liberation of Haiti lies in proletarian revolution throughout the hemisphere, in which the mobilization of the sizable Haitian proletariat *in the diaspora* can play an important role. In addition to the brutally oppressed Haitian sugar cane workers in the Dominican Republic, hundreds of thousands of Haitian workers now live in cities from Montreal to Miami. These workers can be a vital link to class struggle by the powerful North American proletariat. Communists in the U.S. must seek to win from among these workers the cadres for a Haitian Trotskyist party. We fight to mobilize the American workers in defense of their Haitian class brothers and sisters here and in Haiti against the U.S. protectorate, as part of the struggle for socialist revolution throughout the region. ■

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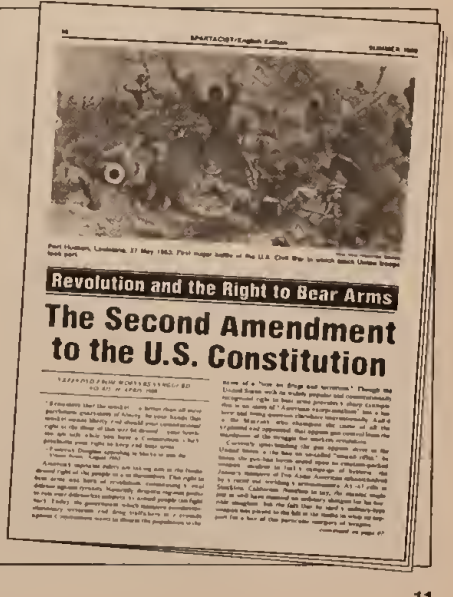

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WORKERS VANGUARD

U.S./UN Troops Attack Strike Support Rally

Haiti: CIA Protectorate

On May 9, U.S. and United Nations troops in Haiti brutally attacked a student demonstration in support of striking teachers, arresting several students and wounding more than two dozen, some seriously. The teachers, in the first major challenge to the U.S.-installed government of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, are demanding a 300 percent increase in their miserable wage of $53 a month. Their fight against budget restrictions on public education symbolizes for many the struggle against the Aristide government's IMF-imposed austerity program. When striking public school students in Port-au-Prince tried to spread their movement to a private junior high school, a fight broke out. After the police fired multiple rounds of tear gas at the students for over four hours, U.S. troops and UN "peacekeepers" moved in with their guns drawn.

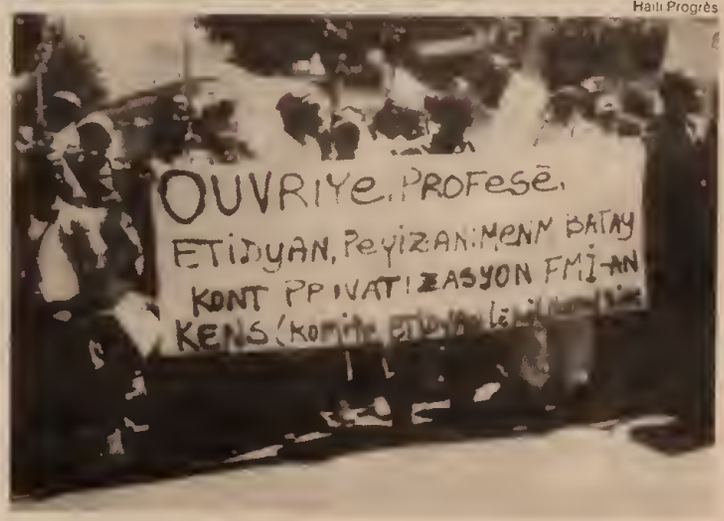
Defiant protests against the occupation force and puppet regime have grown apace in recent months as illusions that Aristide would bring a better life have evaporated. According to *Haiti Info* (25 March), on March 14, U.S. soldiers arrested peasants who had taken over land in Quartier-Morin, in the Cap-Haitien region. Six days later, several hundred people took to the streets of Cap-Haitien to protest the U.S. occupation, high prices and privatization of state enterprises. Signs proclaimed, "IMF = High Prices" and "Down with Smarck Michel," Aristide's pro-business prime minister. And on March 24, over 200 nursing students in Port-au-Prince held a sit-in demanding reforms and were sprayed with tear gas by UN troops.

The American invasion of Haiti last September was cynically presented as a "humanitarian" mission to rid that country of the brutal military regime, successor to the earlier dictatorship of "Papa Doc" and "Baby Doc" Duvalier. But, not surprisingly, the reality has been very different. While the top generals were sent into retirement, many of the sadistic killers in uniform were simply reassigned to the "new" police force set up by the U.S. occupiers. These gun-toting killers routinely patrol Haitian cities side by side with U.S. special forces, carrying out arrests together and brutalizing the population. While Washington's puppet president Aristide repeatedly calls for "reconciliation" with the hated Duvalierist "Tontons Macoutes" murderers, the paramilitary thugs and death squads continue to sow terror and death among the population with impunity.

The Haitian masses are dismayed to see their oppressors remain, now protected by the U.S. occupation force, while they yearn for justice for the thousands who were brutally killed under military rule. But all Aristide has offered is legal assistance to those who want to sue their former tormentors! Stung by popular criticism for not bringing a single prominent Duvalierist to justice, the Aristide government persuaded Washington to arrest Emmanuel Constant, founder of the paramilitary FRAPH. Constant, whose father was a military henchman of the Duvaliers, was on the CIA payroll after the 1991 coup, carrying out a wave of bloody terror against the population and setting up the FRAPH with the help of U.S. intelligence. This notorious mass killer was allowed to enter the U.S. last December after Haitian officials issued a warrant for his arrest. Now his former paymasters intend to deport him to Haiti so that Aristide can claim to have done something to combat the Duvalierist butchers.

Reuters

American soldier assaults Haitians seeking work at government office in January (left). Banner of striking teachers in Port-au-Prince, May 3, reads: "Workers, Teachers, Students, Peasants, Same Fight Against IMF Privatization."



Haiti Progrès

Many leftists and liberals were taken in by Clinton's "humanitarian" pretensions and gave open or implicit support to the military occupation of Haiti. As with the U.S. military intervention in Somalia two years ago, allegedly to combat starvation, many reasoned that things are so bad in Haiti that they could hardly get worse. But U.S. imperialism is the most powerful force for reaction in the world. Nowhere is this clearer than in Haiti today, where the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere is being further ground under the boot of racist colonial oppression. This is the inherent logic of imperialism, which is driven by the need to export capital in the inexorable search for profits.

As we go to press, a U.S. officer, Captain Lawrence Rockwood, has been court-martialed at Fort Drum, New York for taking Clinton's "humanitarian" pretensions at face value. Shortly after arriving in Haiti, Rockwood was shocked to learn of the inhuman conditions in Haitian prisons, and, after unsuccessful efforts to get his superior officers to investigate, went on his own to inspect the National Penitentiary in Port-au-Prince. He has now been discharged for "conduct unbecoming an officer" and other charges. Rockwood should be defended by the workers movement. But we do not share illusions in this imperialist military fostered by those such as supporters of the Workers World Party, who organized an April 27 defense meeting for Rockwood in NYC. There the assembled leftists cheered virtually every statement by this 15-year counterintelligence officer, even as he declared the U.S. Army "the most effective enforcer of human rights this planet has ever known"!

The Clinton administration is using "human rights" as a cover to expand its global military operations, particularly seeking to reinforce its hegemony over the Western Hemisphere. Starting with the NAFTA rape of Mexico, Washington seeks a Latin American hinterland organized as a low-wage "free trade" sweatshop to compete with Germany and Japan. The Yankee imperialists want to make Haiti "safe" for U.S. exploitation by imposing a stable "human rights" puppet regime to keep down the already pitiful standard of living, as they have done in Grenada and elsewhere in the Caribbean. But there is a basis for common resistance. Last week, workers in the Dominican Republic, next door to Haiti, staged a general strike for higher wages, during which a worker was killed. The imperialist system, which imposes grinding poverty on its semicolonial subjects, must be swept away through international proletarian revolution.

The CIA's Invasion of Haiti

Following close on the heels of the U.S. military, an army of CIA operatives flooded the Haitian countryside, rapidly setting up the "infrastructure" for a high-tech, brutally efficient machine of repression and exploitation. They have been funneling money to "opposition" groups like the FRAPH, while seeking to buy off peasant leaders, politicians and popular organizations. Tens of millions of dollars have been allocated by the U.S. Agency for International Development (A.I.D.) to encourage the formation of a "moderate center" of Duvalierist leftovers for parliamentary and local elections scheduled for this summer. Tens of thousands of people have been given jobs on "development" projects as a way of organizing them under U.S. influence. Meanwhile, untold numbers of those who remain defiant continue to "disappear" in the night, faceless victims of the still-active death squads.

Funding for this vast operation flows from Washington through CIA conduits like A.I.D., the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) and the Center for Democracy. The key recipient of CIA funds in Haiti is the Integrated Program for the Reinforcement of Democracy (PIRED), led by a U.S. anthropologist with close ties to the former military leaders. PIRED accumulated a data base containing extensive personal details on 60,000 Aristide supporters and other activists by helping the INS conduct interviews of those seeking political asylum in the U.S. Another vast hit list was compiled by the Centers for Development and Health (CDS), funded by A.I.D. and employing a number of prominent FRAPH goons.

Also active in Haiti has been the AFL-CIO's notorious American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). AIFLD chief William Doherty came to Haiti on October 12 shortly after the U.S. invasion. According to *AFL-CIO News* (31 October 1994), AIFLD is seeking to sponsor a federation of Haitian trade unions and to form a "tripartite organization" with U.S. and Haitian businessmen to "improve labor-management

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 624

2 June 1995

Oppose Japan-Bashing Protectionism

AP

Peter Meyer

Clinton with Japanese prime minister Murayama last year. Now U.S. declares trade war against Japan, cheered by Detroit auto companies and protectionist labor tops.

Clinton Heats Up Trade War

On June 28, the U.S. government is threatening to impose "punitive" sanctions on $6 billion worth of Japanese imports supposedly in order to open the Japanese domestic market to American autos and auto parts. Tariffs on Japanese luxury cars—Lexus, Infiniti and Acura—will be raised by 100 percent. This sharp escalation of trade war is accompanied by Washington officials denouncing Japan for exploiting the American people. Clinton's top gun on the trade front, Mickey Kantor, a self-styled "bureaucratic thug," declared that Japanese manufacturers have benefited "at the expense of American workers and American companies. This must end." In turn, Tokyo's transport minister Shizuka Kamei says he imagines Americans saying to themselves: "There are very diligent Japanese whom you can use as slaves and produce very good results."

The stage is set for an interimperialist economic tug of war. For many years, the U.S. and Japan have engaged in constant rows over trade, routinely accusing each other of economic wrongdoing. Washington would threaten higher tariffs or quotas; Tokyo would threaten to retaliate, for example, by pulling Japanese financial investments out of the U.S. Yet despite tough talk and diplomatic brinkmanship, in the end some kind of compromise was always worked out. But not this time around. Today, American officials are ostentatiously dismissing the "suggestion" of "using our military presence there as a tool of trade" (*New York Times*, 14 May). The implication is that the U.S. could use its "security relationship" with Japan that way in the future.

During the Cold War, U.S. imperialism was willing to subordinate its economic conflicts with Japan to their mutual goal of destroying the Soviet Union. But now that the Soviet Union has been destroyed through capitalist counterrevolution, the rulers of Washington and Wall Street see Japan Inc. as the new Enemy No. 1. Kantor pretty much says this straight out: "The Cold War is over. In the past, trade was a tool of our foreign policy, advancing political and strategic interests.... Now that policy has run its course" (*Los Angeles Times*, 18 May). Japan too, no longer has any incentive to make economic concessions to its former Cold War ally.

Remember that before the Cold War there was a hot war between the U.S. and Japan. The Pacific War, as it's called in Japan, arose out of an escalating trade war. Faced with increasing protectionism in North America, West Europe and the European colonies in the Far East, Japan moved to carve out its own exclusive colonial empire, the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." But U.S. imperialism, too, was determined to exploit this region and decreed an embargo of pig iron and then oil shipments to Japan. This provoked a war which ended with one of the greatest atrocities in history—the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. So one shouldn't dismiss anti-Japanese protectionism and Japan-bashing rhetoric as a tempest in a teapot.

The *Wall Street Journal* (1 May), which for its own reasons disapproves of Clinton's anti-Japanese measures, ran a column titled "Trade Isn't War; Repeat, Trade Isn't War." But the entire history of world capitalism, from its origins in the mercantilist era—beginning with the 16th-century war between Elizabethan England and Hahsburg Spain—demonstrates that at some point conflicts over trade are resolved by military means. The Prussian military theorist Karl von Clausewitz defined war as "a continuation of political relations, a carrying out of the same by other means." One can also define war as a continuation of economic relations by other means.

Falling Dollar Sinking Japanese Economy

Clinton's "punitive" sanctions are, in fact, the second and lesser blow struck by U.S. imperialism against the Japanese economy this year. The first and bigger blow has been the free fall of the dollar—down 22 percent against the Japanese yen and 13 percent against the German D-mark since New Year's. This means that American goods are that much cheaper in world markets and Japanese and German goods that much more expensive in the U.S. market.

The fundamental underlying cause of the dollar crash is the huge trade and government budget deficits which

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Down with U.S./NATO War Moves in Bosnia!

Frustrated by its inability to impose a U.S.-dominated "New World Order" in the Balkans, Washington—along with its NATO imperialist allies—has embarked on a policy of murderous military escalation. Following up on the Croatian and Bosnian Muslim offensive against Serb minorities, Clinton launched air strikes under "UN" cover against Serb forces near Sarajevo. This backfired as the Serbs then seized over 400 UN "peacekeepers" and are holding many hostage against further air attacks. In recent days NATO has been moving in a substantial assault force, including airborne commandos and U.S., French and British aircraft carriers in the Adriatic. As we go to press, the stage is set for bloody imperialist "reprisals."

The Western media routinely assigns the blame for the nationalist "ethnic cleansing" to the Serbs, although the *all-sided* fratricidal slaughter resulting from the nationalist breakup of the former Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia was greatly accelerated by German and later U.S. backing for the Croatian and Bosnian Muslim separatist regimes. With American messianic imperialist hubris, Washington is prepared to see a generalized bloodbath, provided it's somebody else's blood. But Britain and France, whose troops are on the ground, may not be prepared to take heavy losses for German D-mark domination of the Balkans.

While taking no sides in the ethnic civil war, we have opposed all forms of imperialist intervention, from economic sanctions to UN "peacekeeping" and NATO air strikes. Now, even while talking of possible "withdrawal" of UN troops, they are beefing up ground and sea forces in the area, which is changing the character of the war, subordinating the Croat and Bosnian Muslim armies to an imperialist war against the Serbs. We say: *U.S./UN/NATO, Hands off the Balkans!*

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Young Spartacus Film Review

Hollywood's Tame Panther

SEE PAGE 8

Bridgestone-Firestone

Anti-Japanese Racism Kills Rubber Strike

Bridgestone rubber strike was sabotaged by union tops' program of anti-Japanese protectionism and support to capitalist Democrats.

WV Photo

On May 23, the International leadership of the United Rubber Workers (URW) called off the union's strike against the Bridgestone-Firestone tire manufacturer. Ten long months of sacrifice and struggle by some 4,000 URW members were washed down the drain in this unconditional surrender, which left most of the strikers with no guarantee they would ever get their jobs back from the scabs who replaced them. Rubber workers fought hard to defend their union and their jobs. But at every step of the way they were bound and gagged by a leadership committed to capitalist legality and anti-Japanese chauvinism. URW officials *prevented* angry strikers from stopping the scabs who flocked through the plant gates, so as not to disturb the union tops' groveling "alliance" with the capitalist Democratic Party from Clinton on down.

The strike started to unravel after key URW Local 713 in Decatur, Illinois voted—with International sanction—to go back to work without a contract on May 7. Even though the Decatur strikers had received not one cent of strike pay since February, at least a third of the local opposed the capitulation. So far only 60 strikers out of 700 who held tight in Decatur have gotten their jobs back—working alongside hundreds of Bridgestone's scabs—and Local 713 faces a near-certain decertification election. "It's a sad day for the URW," said one of the angry unionists who gathered outside the Local 713 union hall after the meeting. Now the International has ordered union members in Des Moines, Oklahoma City and Noblesville, Ohio back as well. Having run the union into the ground, the URW tops are now hoping to merge their 98,000 members into the United Steelworkers.

The URW International paved the way for this defeat from the get-go, calling out only five of the nine unionized Bridgestone facilities in North America while leaving the large non-union plant in Wilson City, North Carolina completely untouched. But in Decatur, the heart of the Illinois "war zone," the strike thrust rubber workers into battle alongside locked-out Staley corn processing employees and striking Caterpillar workers. As we wrote last summer: "With 7 percent of Decatur's entire workforce either on strike or locked out in bitter conflicts, the road to *victory* lies in pulling together these forces in a common strike front...the urgent task is to *stop the scabs—mobilize the entire labor movement in mass picketing*" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 604, 5 August 1994).

URW misleaders managed to squelch any such militant action through flag-waving appeals to the U.S. government to intervene against Bridgestone's Japanese ownership. Virtually every URW sign or banner blamed "Japan" as the enemy. This patriotic begging of American bosses and their government to take action against Japanese bosses is a recipe for disaster for the union movement. It fosters racist divisions among workers internationally, and at home, when we should be seeking common action against the "multinational" corporations which exploit workers around the globe. We warned against this pro-Democratic Party protectionist poison in our article, "Japan-Bashing Aids Union-Busting" (*WV* No. 617, 24 February), saying: "A workers party would put short shrift to the racist anti-Japanese propaganda that is killing the Bridgestone-Firestone strike, instead appealing for solidarity *action* to Bridgestone workers in Japan, who will be next on the chopping block if the URW goes down in defeat."

Even as they moved to kill the strike, Local 713 officials were handing out flyers showing the American flag being eclipsed by the Rising Sun and calling on workers to complain to Labor Secretary Robert Reich about "how the Japs are treating the American workers." Eager to seize on the strike as ammunition in the Clinton administration's deepening trade conflicts with Japan, Reich hypocritically attacked Bridgestone for employing the *American-made* practice of scabherding: "We don't want the industrial equivalent of rookies and minor leaguers making tires for our next Desert Storm" (*Chicago Tribune*, 28 April). This protectionist sucker bait only underscores the fact that trade wars lead to imperialist wars.

The labor misleaders' support for the foreign interests of American *capitalism* means justifying exploitation and racism at home. Several weeks before the URW debacle, AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland came to Decatur to present a paltry $40,000 to the struggling unions—an insult that only underlined the AFL-CIO tops' indifference to the interests of their own membership. Now, as the URW moves toward fusion with the Steelworkers, the leaders of these and other unions are campaigning to oust Kirkland at the federation's next convention. Both gangs are sellouts and the whole lot of them must be given the boot—along with their flunkeys—if the unions are to be revived and turned into organizations of labor struggle! The bitter lesson of this catastrophe is that protectionism and support for the Democrats kills unions. Driving this home must be a focal point for forging a class-struggle workers party and a union leadership committed to an *internationalist* program to *win* the class war through common struggle by working people everywhere. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Capitalist Repression and Socialist Revolution

The U.S. government's COINTELPRO war against the Black Panther Party and other radicals shows the true face of the capitalist state as an instrument of repression against the workers movement and minorities. Today, seizing on the horrendous bombing in Oklahoma City, both capitalist parties are pushing for a new COINTELPRO, massively reinforcing the government's arsenal of police surveillance and terror. But as cosmopolitan revolutionary Victor Serge noted in his book, What Everyone Should Know About State Repression, *even the seemingly all-powerful secret police of the tsarist autocracy ultimately proved incapable of stopping the revolutionary movement of the working class. Serge's book was based on an examination of the files of the tsarist Okhrana which were opened by the victorious Bolsheviks after the Russian Revolution. It will take a socialist revolution expanded from one like October 1917 to put the capitalist state's spies and hangmen out of business for good.*

The police had to see everything, know, understand and have power over everything. The strength and perfection of their machinery appears all the more terrible because of the unsuspected resources they dragged up from the depth of the human soul.

But nonetheless they were powerless to prevent what happened. For half a century they vainly defended the autocracy against the revolution, which grew stronger every year....

In 1917, the autocracy fell without the legions of informers, provocateurs, hangmen, policemen, civil guards, Cossacks, judges, generals and priests being able to deflect the unswerving course of history. The reports from the Okhrana, written by General Globachev, *affirm* that the revolution is close at hand and offer the Tsar vain warnings. Just as the most knowledgeable doctors called to a deathbed can only observe, minute by minute, the progress of the disease, the omniscient police of the Empire watched impotently as the world of Tsarism plunged into the abyss.

For the revolution was the outcome of economic, psychological and moral causes outside their reach. They were doomed to resist helplessly and then succumb. Because it is the eternal illusion of the ruling classes to think that they can remove the effects without getting to the causes, legislate against anarchy or against syndicalism (as in France and the United States), against socialism (as Bismarck did in Germany), or against communism, as they strive to do more or less everywhere today....

Repression can only really live off fear. But is fear *enough* to remove necessity, thirst for justice, intelligence, reason, idealism, all the revolutionary forces which express the formidable, profound impulse of the economic factors of a revolution? Relying on intimidation, the reactionaries forget that they will cause more indignation, more hatred, more thirst for martyrdom, than real fear. They only intimidate the weak: they exasperate the best forces and temper the resolution of the strongest.

—Victor Serge, *What Everyone Should Know About State Repression* (1926)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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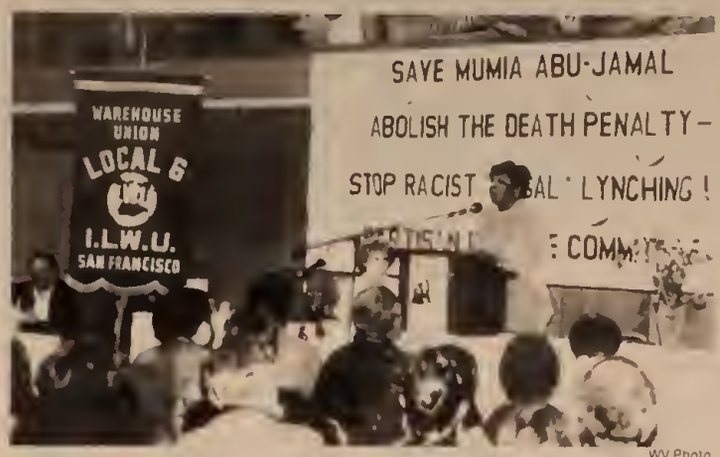
Join the Campaign to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

International Labor Support for Jamal Growing

The campaign to save death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is mounting, not only in the United States but also internationally. Jamal, a leader of the Black Panthers in Philadelphia in his teens, later a supporter of the Philly MOVE group and an award-winning journalist, was framed in 1982 for the murder of a Philadelphia cop. Jamal is the only political prisoner on death row in the U.S. And now the drumbeats for death are getting louder. Around the country, the rate of executions has sharply increased: 24 since the beginning of the year. In Pennsylvania, Governor Tom Ridge has been carrying out his election campaign theme of speeding up the state's assembly line of death. Meanwhile, the police have been mounting a national campaign seeking to silence Jamal—whose book, *Live from Death Row*, has just been published—in order to kill him.

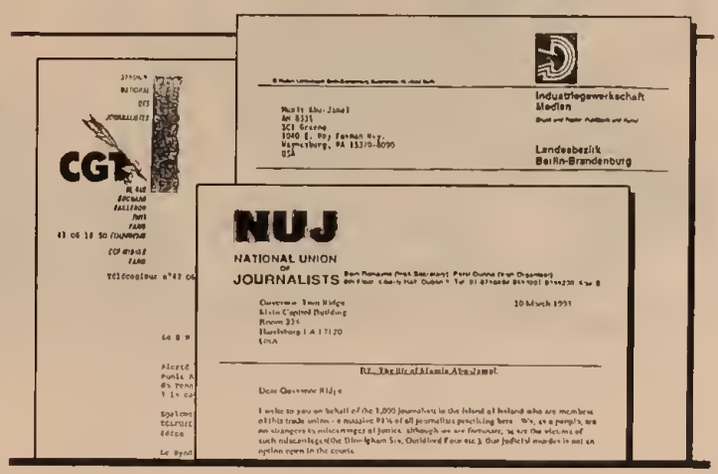
What infuriates the racist forces who want to see Jamal dead is the broad support he is receiving around the world. Particularly significant is the involvement of labor behind Jamal's case. Seeking to mobilize the power of the trade-union movement is central to the strategy of the Partisan Defense Committee in defending victims of racist, capitalist repression. The PDC initiated united-front rallies in Philadelphia in defense of Jamal in 1989 and 1990, which included speakers from **RWDSU Local 1034** (retail clerks) and the **Pennsylvania Social Services Union, SEIU Local 668**. Internationally, the campaign to save Jamal launched by the PDC and its fraternal organizations in other countries has won support from trade unions representing several million workers. In 1990, the French **Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT)**, the country's largest union federation, joined the campaign, while the **International Organisation of Journalists** based in Czechoslovakia and journalists unions in France, Germany and Britain added their voices on behalf of Jamal.

Jamal is up against the whole legal system of capitalist injustice. The death penalty is rooted in the history of American slavery, when blacks were considered subhuman chattel. In the 1987 *McCleskey* case, it was clearly demonstrated that the death penalty is biased against blacks and Hispanics, yet the U.S. Supreme Court, admitting the fact, ruled this irrelevant. While making use of every judicial process available, *we place no faith whatever in the "justice" of the bosses' courts*, which along with the police and prisons exist to maintain capitalist rule over working people and minorities. To defeat this racist legal lynching, it is necessary to bring to bear the social power of labor. Reeling under two decades of union-busting and give-backs, presided over by the pro-capitalist labor bureaucrats, this power has been sorely damaged. As part of the struggle to reinvigorate the labor movement, it is necessary to translate the evident sentiment for Jamal's cause into mass protest and struggle.



WV Photo

Mumia Abu-Jamal's sister, Lydia Wallace (above) addresses rally in Oakland, February 25. Campaign to save Jamal has won significant labor support, including from journalists unions in France, Germany, Ireland and elsewhere.



United-Front Rallies Draw Labor Support

A recent series of rallies around the U.S. were noteworthy for the participation of trade unionists. In *New York City*, over 400 death penalty abolitionists gathered on February 11 in a united-front rally hosted by renowned actor Ossie Davis. Among those speaking were Jan Pierce, vice president of the Communications Workers of America, representing District 1, as well as speakers from AFSCME Local 215, the New York chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and Local 1199 hospital workers.

In the *San Francisco Bay Area*, the **International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union** has for years given significant support to the campaign to save Mumia. As early as 1989, **ILWU Local 6** wrote to Pennsylvania's then-governor Casey protesting Jamal's death sentence. In 1991, the ILWU International, along with **ILWU Local 10** issued protest letters. This February, ILWU International president Brian McWilliams sent a letter to Governor Ridge, stating, "The questionable circumstances surrounding Jamal's arrest, trial and conviction have persuaded us that justice demands commutation of his death sentence." The ILWU *Dispatcher* (10 February) ran an article on Jamal along with his column, "The War on the Poor."

On February 25, a rally in defense of Mumia was held at the ILWU Local 6 hall in Oakland. **AFSCME Local 444** (Oakland) participated in the rally and sent a letter to Ridge. Ben Visnick, president of the Oakland Educational Association, spoke at the Oakland rally. The **Northern California Newspaper Guild** placed an article in its newsletter and delivered a statement to the gathering noting the union's "special duty to prevent an activist journalist from becoming the first U.S. political execution...since the Rosenbergs." **Bay Area**

continued on page 12

South African Unions Join Campaign to Save Jamal

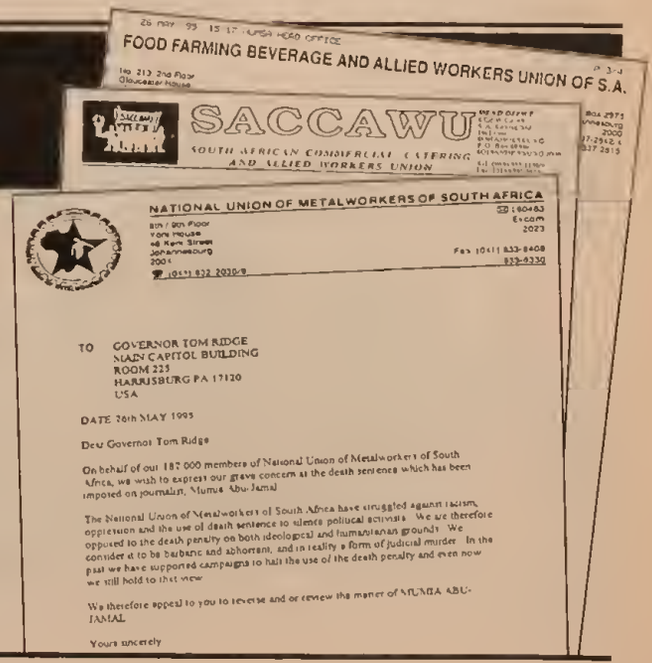
SACCAWU: "Your system of justice is on trial. MUMIA ABU-JAMAL must not die."

Taking their place among a growing number of labor organizations around the world, four South African unions have added their names to the struggle to save the life of American death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. In recent weeks, the South African Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union (SACCAWU), the Food Farming Beverage and Allied Workers Union (FFBAWU), Turning Wheel Workers' Union and the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) have joined the international campaign.

The struggle to save Mumia has touched a chord in South Africa, where the hand of the executioner has been stayed as a result of years of anti-apartheid struggle. Thousands of former Robben Island and other political prisoners faced the threat of the gallows as they fell into the grip of the huge repressive apparatus. Like the U.S., South Africa is one of the few industrialized countries which retain the barbarous death penalty. In both countries, capital punishment is the legacy of racial subjugation which denied to whole peoples fundamental rights, reducing man to a beast of burden.

The struggle against apartheid has been intricately linked to the fight to stop "legal lynching." For years, Pretoria held the title of "hanging capital of the world." According to the Johannesburg *New Nation* (17 February), during the ten years between 1979 and 1989, at least 1,212 people were hanged in South Africa. In the early '80s, railway strikers of the

continued on page 6



Fourth Reich in the "New World Order"

50 Years After Red Army Smashed Nazi Regime

The following article is adapted from Spartakist *No. 118, May-June 1995, published by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD). Part One was printed in our last issue (*WV *No. 623, 19 May).*

For the capitalist countries involved, World War II was without exception an interimperialist conflict over the redivision of the world, in which the working class had no side. The "Allied" imperialists sought to sell their war on the "Axis" powers as a war for democracy against fascism. In reality, their aim was to check the ambitions of German imperialism while seeking to redivide the colonial spoils and subjugate the

PART TWO OF TWO

oppressed nations, as was shown by the reinvasion of Indochina by the Western imperialists. For the proletariat of the imperialist countries the "main enemy was at home," in the words of Karl Liebknecht about the First World War. This was true in France, Britain and the U.S. no less than in Germany and Italy. The workers internationally had only one country to defend: the Soviet Union, which bore the main burden of the war—with 27 million dead after nearly four years of fascist invasion. Hitler's war of extermination was the most barbaric expression of the goal the capitalists pursued since 1917: overturning the proletarian property forms in the Soviet Union.

The Stalinists' policies contributed to the devastating losses the Soviet Union suffered. Stalin trusted his pact with Hitler and even turned German Communists over to the Gestapo. He rejected the warnings of the impending attack by the Red Orchestra spy ring under Leopold Trepper in West Europe and the Soviet spy Richard Sorge in Japan. The Red Army was beheaded and robbed of its most capable and experienced officers in a bloody purge which decimated the general staff. Thousands were murdered, among them Marshal Tukhachevsky, in order to extinguish a whole layer which remembered the October Revolution and to smother all remaining and potential opposition to bureaucratic rule. Even the most important strategist of World War II, Zhukov, had been purged, only to be reinstated due to the lack of capable officers.

During World War II, the policy of the Stalinist-run resistance movements in the West was one of nationalist class collaboration. The Stalinist line—an anti-Hitler "coalition" with the "democratic" Western imperialists—led their comrades in the U.S. and Britain to break strikes and sign "no strike" pledges with the bosses and their governments. The French resistance operated under the chauvinistic slogan "à chacun son boche" (everybody get a Kraut), making fraternization and the tasks of organizing inchoate opposition within the German armed forces more difficult than necessary. The French Trotskyists sought to appeal to the class consciousness of the German soldiers, carrying out at a great cost a policy of fraternization. There were not a few spontaneous acts of solidarity with the resistance on the part of German workers in uniform. One should not forget that the Nazi authorities shot or hanged some 80,000 German soldiers for insubordination or desertion during the war.

Despite Stalin's policies, and his temporary collapse following the June 1941 German invasion, the Soviet workers repelled "Operation Barbarossa." The superiority of the planned economy on the basis of socialized means of production was evident in the war against Nazi Germany, as whole production plants were transferred far beyond the Urals and retooled for arms production in order to hold the front. Above all, it was the determined will of the Soviet people in defending the homeland of the October Revolution which made such courageous struggle possible, as in Leningrad, for example. In the bloody house-to-house and factory-to-factory battle of Stalingrad, the Soviets finally took the offensive and forced the surrender of Wehrmacht general von Paulus. After the victory at Kursk six months later, the Red Army stormed farther westward, liberating almost all of East Europe by October 1944.

The PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism) and a good part of the German left hail the "anti-Hitler coalition" as the forces that ostensibly decided the outcome of the war; they solidarize with the *imperialist* Allies. Thus they share the rulers' lies that World War II was a war for "democracy," reflecting the anti-Soviet hostility of their own rulers. Yet in West Germany, Italy and Japan, after the war the imperialist Allies installed "democratic" governments whose state machinery was composed of officials from the former fascist and militarist regimes. The course of the war shows clearly it was the advance of the Soviet Union that the imperialist Allies were most hostile to. As Winston Churchill, then British prime minister, said, they feared that "we have butchered the wrong pig." Concerned that a German power vacuum could be filled by the Soviets, Churchill already in 1942 called on the Western powers to "after the war put up a barrier against Communist barbarism."

The policy of the Western Allies was to bleed the Soviet Union white, looking on as the Wehrmacht massively slaughtered Soviet citizens, three million in the

Redkin/Bilderwelt

Berlin, 9 May 1945: Soviet soldiers celebrating victory over German Third Reich. Red Army liberated Europe from nightmare of Nazism.

Der Spiegel

Spartakist

Capitalist reunification has fueled murderous attacks on immigrants and asylum-seekers in Kohl's Fourth Reich (left). Spartakist banner reads: "Stop the Nazis Through Workers United-Front Action! Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrant Workers!"

first months of the German invasion alone. Despite continuous Soviet pressure, the U.S. and Britain delayed the Second Front, promised to Stalin in 1942, until mid-1944. Britain was considering an invasion of the Balkans—that is, the areas which were already being occupied by the Red Army—instead of Normandy. American military aid to the Soviet Union began only slowly and never filled more than 10 percent of the Soviet needs. The Western Allies' advance on Schleswig-Holstein in April 1945 was justified explicitly with the intention of stopping the Red Army. It was in order to drive back the influence of the Soviet Union that they finally established the Western Front, and the race to Berlin began. On 6 June 1944, U.S. troops landed in Normandy. Up to that time the Germans had been able to concentrate 95 percent of their divisions in the East, and the Red Army never faced less than 65 percent of the Wehrmacht strength.

The British and American command staunchly *refused* to bomb the rail lines, crematoria and SS settlements around the death camps. Instead, they engaged in carpetbombing of the civilian population. In the reunified Germany of today, the spokesmen of the Fourth Reich used the February anniversary of the bombing of Dresden by the Allies as an occasion to orchestrate a disgusting German nationalist media spectacle. The bombing has long been a topic exploited by the fascists. In the official exhibition in the Dresden Church of the Virgin, there is even a videotape with propaganda by Nazi-lover David Irving! To be sure, this was an imperialist war crime against the civilian population, but it was not so much directed against the fascists as against the advancing Soviet Army. As our comrades in the U.S. noted, in an article on "The Hidden History of U.S. Terror Bombing" (*WV* No. 521, 1 March 1991), the firebombing of Dresden, along with the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, were aimed at intimidating the Soviet Union. Eisenhower's deputy chief of air staff was quoted as saying that the bombing of Dresden would "add immeasurably" to the strength of U.S. air forces, "or rather to the Russian knowledge of their strength."

Many youth are today drawn to the "anti-nationalist" current which has staged demonstrations under slogans like "Germany shut your trap" and "Never again Germany" because they are deeply repelled by German nationalism, which is also widespread in the left and workers movement. Jürgen Elsässer, until recently editor of the newspaper *Junge Welt*, acts as spokesman of the "anti-nationalists." He justifies the imperialist bombing of Dresden with the slogan "no tears for Dresden": "Whoever uses the bombing of Dresden as proof of the senselessness of war instead of underlining the justification of the Allied war strategy aimed at 'the unconditional capitulation of Germany' is supporting the falsifiers of history" (*Junge Welt*, 11 February). Elsässer shares with the "democratic" imperialists the "collective guilt" thesis, which proceeds from the assumption that there is only a "German people."

Deutsche Fotothek Dresden

February 1945 firebombing of Dresden was war crime of British and American imperialism. Allied terror bombing was directed not so much at defeating collapsing Nazi regime as intimidating the Soviet Union and demoralizing German proletariat.

The "collective guilt" thesis is *counterposed* to revolution in Germany. The Nazi regime, which grew out of a mass movement of enraged petty bourgeois, was installed by powerful capitalist interests who called upon the fascists to head off the threat of proletarian revolution by the most powerful working class in Europe. It was this same spectre that haunted the "democratic" imperialists and was behind their policy of mass terror bombing with the aim of demoralizing the German population. During the war, only the Trotskyists criticized these arbitrary terror attacks, because they understood that the "war for democracy" was a lie. But those who complain about the bombing of Dresden while standing on the political terrain of German imperialism are alibiing the Hitler regime.

Anti-Hitler Coalition: Pact Against Workers Revolution

The character of the "anti-Hitler coalition," which today is again held up by the PDS as a model, was shown most clearly after the end of the war: it was an alliance between the "democratic" imperialists and the Soviet workers state—class collaboration on an international level. While Stalin was only granted in Yalta what the Red Army had already liberated, he in turn guaranteed to the imperialists the maintenance of the bourgeois order in the rest of Europe. This popular front served as a guarantee against insurrectionary workers, who saw the Red Army's advance as an enormous encouragement and as the harbinger to fight for their own interests.

As the Trotskyists of the Comite van Revolutionaire Marxisten (CRM) of the Netherlands warned in their August 1943 political declaration on World War II, while emphasizing the necessity to defend the Soviet Union:

> "If one seeks the victory of the Allied camp, one accepts the victory of Allied—British and American—imperialism, its oppression and exploitation.... In reality these 'left Social Democrats' hide their pro-English stand behind 'leftist' phrases, just as the Social Democrats in the previous war justified their 'defense of the fatherland' by mendacious 'leftist' phrases."

For their principled opposition to imperialist war, Trotskyists in the "democratic" imperialist countries were imprisoned. In the U.S., 18 leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the Minneapolis Teamsters union were thrown into federal prison for this reason.

At the end of the war, pro-socialist sentiment was widespread, and a pre-revolutionary wave swept Europe. In Greece, the Communist-led partisan and workers resistance against the Wehrmacht and its Greek collaborators culminated after liberation in an insurrection against the British imperialists. In Italy, there was an uprising in 1944 against the German occupying forces in Naples, and there were uprisings in a number of cities in the north after the landing of the Allies. In Genova, the Germans surrendered to the partisans. In Paris, the workers armed themselves to settle the score with the totally discredited bourgeoisie who had collaborated with the Nazis. But these uprisings were betrayed by the Stalinist leaderships who forced the workers to turn in their arms. The popular-front line meant a "democratic," i.e. *capitalist*, "new beginning" and the *strangling of proletarian revolution*, which was on the agenda in France, Italy, Greece and even Germany.

The fact that all of Europe did not go red was directly responsible for millions of victims in the wars of liberation in the colonies, particularly in Algeria and Vietnam, and in the last analysis laid the basis for counterrevolution in East Europe four and a half decades later. The lying policy of the "anti-Hitler coalition" was the expression of the Stalinist conception of "socialism in one country." To spell it out, this means no revolution in any other country. Thus reliance on the anti-Hitler coalition guaranteed that racism, fascism and militarism would rise again with the rotten capitalist social system that breeds them. But the masses of working people in Germany and all over Europe wanted anything *but* the restoration of capitalism. Stalin knew that, and—with good reason—worried about the "danger" of proletarian uprisings, particularly in Germany, after the war.

Stalin's opinion was that "socialism fits Germany like a saddle fits a cow" (Isaac Deutscher, *Stalin*), and to this day, the ex-Stalinists-become-Social-Democrats claim that a proletarian revolution was not possible in the West. But the facts speak a different language. All of Germany was in chaos after liberation: the bourgeoisie went underground or was in flight. In the East and West, workers' anti-fascist committees sprang up which began caring for the forced-laborers and survivors of the concentration camps and de-Nazifying the plants and offices. Many Nazis were arrested and turned over to the Allies.

In the West, Gelsenkirchen was only one of the cities where the militant miners' committee drove the fascist managers from the mine. In the Ruhr basin delegations of miners presented to Allied officers plans to nationalize basic industry under workers control. In early 1947 there were massive demonstrations, involving hundreds of thousands of workers in the Ruhr, the industrial heartland of Germany. The workers demanded the expropriation without compensation of the mining, steel and chemical industries and popular control over food distribution, which was in the hands of the Allied occupation forces. When the strikes spread beyond the Ruhr, the French, British and American commands outlawed all strikes and protest actions, under threat of the death penalty.

The Kremlin originally intended to build an "anti-fascist democratic," i.e. *capitalist*, state apparatus east of the Elbe. The line, as Ulbricht taught the Communist Party (KPD) cadre, was that "the German people, above all the working class" had "no class consciousness," was "infected with fascism and reaction," "incapable of independent thought," much less action. Thus Stalin/Ulbricht aided the imperialists in maintaining the lie of "collective guilt."

But it was difficult to control the workers' actions, directly aimed against capitalist property forms. Blue-collar and white-collar workers on their own initiative took over plants and started production. They formed plant committees or councils which in many cases took

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UPI

La Repubblica

Churchill and Truman with Stalin at Potsdam, 1945, where Kremlin reaffirmed commitment to maintaining capitalist rule in postwar West Europe. In Italy, Stalinist Communist Party disarmed anti-fascist resistance fighters (right), quelling workers' revolt.

Fourth Reich...

(continued from page 5)

over management of the plants. The anti-fascist committees which spontaneously arose conceived of themselves partly as popular fronts, partly as trade-union committees, but partly as revolutionary soviets on the local level. Their actions rapidly went in an anti-capitalist direction. Because of their partially independent political action, the KPD leadership urged the liquidation of the anti-fascist committees. It was only later, as a defensive response to the pressure of the imperialist Allies and its new "cold" war, that the Stalinists were forced to establish a deformed workers state in the East.

Only the Trotskyist cadre maintained a revolutionary-proletarian perspective. In the face of overwhelming repressive forces and despite episodic disorientation, they were animated by the spirit and program of revolutionary internationalism. The 1945 Saigon uprising led by the Vietnamese Trotskyists; the publication of *Arbeiter und Soldat* by French Trotskyists; the cell built in the German armed forces at Brest in France; the participation of the Indian Trotskyists in the "Quit India" movement; the participation of the British and American Trotskyist parties in strikes and other trade-union struggles which objectively cut across the imperialist war effort; all these are ample testimony to the courage and even audacity of the small Fourth Internationalist forces in the face of almost incalculable odds.

The Trotskyist International Communists of Buchenwald in their declaration of 20 April 1945, i.e. about a week after their liberation, spelled out a program for proletarian revolution in all of Germany, including "Immediate free elections of workers and peasants councils throughout all of Germany and a convocation of a general congress of these councils!... Expropriation of the banks, heavy industry and the large estates! Control of production by the unions and the workers councils!"

The Fourth Reich of German Imperialism

The West German state was the Cold War creation of the U.S., the strongest of the "democratic" imperialists, and it was built specifically as a bulwark against communism. Bonn declared itself the "legal successor" of Nazi Germany as part of its anti-Communist crusade against the DDR (East Germany),

ARBEITER und SOLDAT

NIEDER MIT DEM KRIEG
NOTORTIGER FRIEDEN !

French Trotskyists put out clandestine press appealing to German soldiers on the basis of proletarian internationalism.

to which it denied any legitimacy. We call the now greater imperialist Germany the "Fourth Reich" because the federal republic represents the continuity of Kaiser Wilhelm's Second and Hitler's Third Reichs—not only legally (the present German abortion law, for example, goes back to Bismarck's time), but also in terms of personnel and German imperialism's aims, even though the latter remain partially unfulfilled. Today the rulers of the Fourth Reich, with the energetic aid of the Social Democrats, want to solidify German national identity in order to whip up new patriotism. Even after the collapse of Stalinism, "prosperity" and anti-Communism are the pillars of the federal republic, as they have been from the beginning.

The continuity of German imperialism can be seen in its leading personnel. Just as the Weimar Republic took over wholesale the laws and state machinery of the Hohenzollern monarchy, in the federal republic under Adenauer there was considerable continuity of personnel from the Third Reich. Under American auspices, "former" Nazis slid into key positions after "de-Nazification." Hitler's war industry chief, Friedrich Flick, who had gouged huge profits from forced-laborers and concentration camp victims, was released from jail in 1950 and soon became known as Bonn's "uncrowned finance minister." Hans Maria Globke, the secret service coordinator known as the "gray eminence" of the Adenauer era, substantially contributed to writing the Nuremberg race laws, and in the Reich ministry of the interior until January 1945 he handled all administrative measures concerning the disenfranchisement of Jews, "half-breeds" and "Rheinland bastards" (Globke's term for the children of German mothers and black World War I soldiers).

Hitler's anti-Soviet military espionage apparatus, "Fremde Heere Ost" (Foreign Armies East) led by Wehrmacht general Reinhard Gehlen, was absorbed by the CIA to continue espionage and sabotage against the Soviet Union. The Gehlen organization was taken over in 1955 as West Germany's spy apparatus. German jurisprudence was left intact, so that the overwhelming majority of the judges who sat on the bench after 1948 were blood-drenched Nazi judges (*Blutrichter*) who had served under Hitler. There was old-time Nazi party member Kurt Kiesinger, elected as West German chancellor in 1966 and head of the "grand coalition" with the Social Democrats (SPD). Josef Ahs, after an interruption of only eight weeks in prison, remained until his death last year one of the heads of the Deutsche Bank.

And make no mistake, Helmut Kohl is no "man of the center," spared all guilt by "the grace of a late birth." He is the creature of the most vicious revanchist elements of the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz. He was raised to the post of chancellor by powerful circles of big industrialists who made their fortunes from IG Farben "extermination through labor" slave labor industries.

Capitalist reunification of a greater Germany made possible the Fourth Reich's contending for world-power status. The fact that we say this openly enrages the social-democratic "left," who are intent on whitewashing German imperialism to hide their own capitulation to it. How else could the PDS tops today excuse the fact that they sold out the DDR; they are forced to paint German imperialism as a "democratic state of laws."

Neither the imposters of the BSA (Socialist Workers League, followers of David North) nor the tiny "Gruppe Spartakus" (GS) grouplet (part of the "Bolshevik Tendency") can bring themselves to write the word "liberation" in their May 8 propaganda. Instead the GS headline reads, "No Tears on May 8!" To whom is this headline directed? Who is supposed to be consoled about the victory of the Red Army? It is no accident that in the same issue the GS froths about the SpAD's ostensible "4th Reich Psychosis." The GS want to present German imperialism stripped of its past in order to prettify its racist face. Thereby these anti-Soviet pseudo-Trotskyists want to hide their support for the Social Democracy which was in 1989-90 the Trojan horse of counterrevolution in the DDR. Then the GS cried, "The main enemy is Modrow." The Stalinophobic Northites of the BSA, who constantly try to outdo the SPD witchhunters in going after ex-Stalinists, explicitly refused to participate in commemorations of the liberation of the concentration camps.

Crisis of Leadership—Then and Now

Our heroes are the soldiers and workers who stemmed the counterrevolutionary tide at Stalingrad, along with the defenders of Leningrad, the Jewish and Communist partisans and the fighters of the Red Army and Soviet people who sacrificed 27 million dead. We also honor the martyred French Trotskyists who practiced revolutionary fraternization and organized revolutionary cells in the German armed forces.

Whereas the slogan of Emil Carlebach's Buchenwald KPD Manifesto was "Long live the German Peoples Republic!" the declaration of the Trotskyists and Trotskyist sympathizers of the International Communists of Buchenwald (4th International) of 20 April 1945 stated:

> "All theories and illusions about a 'peoples state' or a 'peoples democracy' have led the working class to the bloodiest defeats in the course of the class struggle in capitalist society. Only irreconcilable struggle against the capitalist state—up to and including its destruction and the construction of the state of workers and peasants councils—can prevent new defeats. The bourgeoisie and the uprooted petty bourgeoisie brought fascism to power. Fascism is the creation of capitalism. Only the successful, independent action of the working class against capitalism is capable of eradicating the evil of fascism, along with its root causes.... For pan-German socialist revolution! Against a dismemberment of Germany! Revolutionary fraternization with the proletarians of the occupying armies! For a Germany of workers councils in a Europe of workers councils! For world proletarian revolution!"

Today a revolutionary, authentically Leninist party is urgently needed to unite the working people and oppressed under the banner of proletarian internationalism and embark on the road to power in the struggle for a soviet workers Germany in the Socialist United States of Europe. It is that party the Spartakist Workers Party seeks to build in the struggle of the International Communist League to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International. ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 3)

SARWHU union were executed. The high point was during the township revolts of 1983-87. The *New York Times* (1 December 1988) reported, "Hangings Now Routine at Pretoria Prison." But when the white-supremacist regime decided to open negotiations for a "power sharing" deal with the African National Congress, "unbanning" it along with other anti-apartheid groups in February 1990, a moratorium on the death penalty was simultaneously declared.

Now the question of capital punishment is being debated at the top levels of the "power sharing" regime. In February, the new Constitutional Court, which includes President Nelson Mandela, heard its first case, on whether South Africa's death penalty violates a broadly worded "right to life" clause in the 1993 interim constitution. The fate of 337 prisoners on death row is immediately at stake. Of the condemned prisoners, 268 are blacks, 36 are "coloureds" (mixed-race), 28 are whites and five are Asians.

Just as black Americans saw in apartheid rule a mirror of their own oppression, South African leftists and workers organizations are taking up the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal. In April, SACCAWU became the first South African union to enlist in the cause. This militant union, which waged a hard-fought struggle last year against the Pick 'n Pay grocery store chain, wrote in a letter to Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge:

> "In South Africa we have long struggled against racism and oppression and the use of jails and death sentences to silence political protest. In this regard we drew strength from millions of activists and other citizens of countries throughout the world who protested against the Apartheid state's attacks on the lives of black people and democrats of all communities. We know from bitter experience how a state criminalises the activities of political activists in order to silence them. The case of our first democratically-elected President is but one such example."

Now, in a statement dated May 25, the Food Farming Beverage and Allied Workers Union of S.A. have added their voice:

> "Comrade Mumia is a victim of imperialist and capitalist racism. He is not only on the wrong side of the colour-line, but he has also dared to challenge the *status quo*.... He incisively dissected and revealed the brutality of [the] ruling classes of the U.S.A particularly in Philadelphia. In short, he had become the voice of the voiceless in his community and the society at large. He, therefore, became a threat to the racist rulers and had to be silenced.
>
> "FFBAWU and its entire membership calls upon the Governor of Pennsylvania to stay comrade MUMIA ABU-JAMAL's execution forthwith.
>
> "The death penalty is not only racist and barbaric, but it is also chronologically totally outdated. It belongs to pre-historic times as [a] form of human revenge and must go.
>
> "Our Union expresses its total disgust at this barbaric and outmoded practice—the death penalty. SET COMRADE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL FREE NOW!"

And on May 26, one of South Africa's most powerful industrial unions, NUMSA, sent a protest letter to Governor Ridge, declaring:

> "On behalf of our 187,000 members of National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, we wish to express our grave concern at the death sentence which has been imposed on journalist, Mumia Abu-Jamal."

This union, which organizes the combative auto workers from Port Elizabeth to New London to Durban and Johannesburg, is at the very heart of the power of the South African black proletariat. Former union president, now Member of Parliament, Moses Mayekiso faced the death penalty when he was jailed as part of the "Alexandra Five." Mayekiso and his comrades were released in part through an international campaign of solidarity in their behalf.

In the huge class battles to forge the South African black unions, the black proletariat came to the fore of the anti-apartheid struggle. It was their social weight which rocked the racist regime and the system of capitalist oppression. But while tens of thousands of black workers and township youth fought under the banners of socialism and revolution to sweep away apartheid rule, their aspirations were betrayed by the "power sharing" deal aimed at preserving South African capitalism for the Randlords and the Jo'burg stock exchange.

From South Africa to the U.S., the campaign against the racist death penalty is part of the fight to smash the whole chain of repression of the capitalist state in the struggle for international proletarian revolution. ■

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* will skip alternate issues in June, July and August.**

Our next issue will be dated June 30.

Trade War...

(continued from page 1)

the U.S. has been running for many years. As a result, *over $2 trillion* in U.S. government debt has piled up in foreign central and commercial banks—and they don't want it. The immediate cause of the dollar's collapse was the Mexican peso crisis and the resulting $50 billion bailout engineered by the Clinton gang. While Washington may not have deliberately manipulated the dollar's fall, Clinton & Co. welcomed it as a de facto competitive devaluation.

Not all sections of the U.S. capitalist class were happy about this development. While manufacturers may benefit in the short term, the medium- and long-term consequences for Wall Street banks are not so good. One, they're being paid back in money that's worth less than when it was borrowed. Two, foreign financiers are far more likely to pull their financial investments out of the U.S. before the real value of these assets depreciate even more. And three, American investors have less real purchasing power to buy property abroad—for example, factories in East Asia—in competition with the Japanese.

But if Wall Street is worried about the long-term effects of the dollar's fall, its immediate effects are damaging to Germany and devastating for Japan. The German economy has been on the upswing, fueled by export growth, after a couple of years of severe recession. But now the appreciation of the D-mark threatens this recovery. According to one calculation, every 10 percent rise in the D-mark against the dollar means a 30 percent drop in the profits of automaker Daimler-Benz. Small wonder German chancellor Kohl growled at Clinton a few months ago "not to let the dollar drown."

Unlike the United States and to a far greater degree than Germany, Japan's economy depends on exporting manufactured goods in order to import raw materials, including almost all of its vital oil. For a number of years, the Japanese economy was at a standstill. Now a fragile recovery has been stopped dead in its tracks by the sudden massive appreciation of the yen. Washington has been encouraging this as part of a strategy of economic blackmail to force Japan to lower interest rates and increase auto imports from the U.S. Not only has the de facto dollar devaluation cut into Japanese exports, but cheaper imports are making it harder for Japanese firms to operate profitably in their own home market despite all kinds of cartel arrangements.

For the first time in decades, a major capitalist economy is experiencing a deflationary spiral. The Japanese call it *kakaku hakai*—price destruction. This means that many firms can sell their products only at prices below the cost of production. Throughout corporate Japan profits are plummeting, loans cannot be repaid and firms are going bankrupt or sharply retrenching. For the first time since World War II, a few months ago a Japanese automobile factory, a Nissan plant near Tokyo, was permanently shut down. Now Toyota, the country's biggest auto company, is planning to do the same. And this was *before* Clinton threatened "punitive" sanctions against Japanese auto imports—which account for 60 percent of Japan's balance-of-trade surplus with the U.S.—unless Toyota, Nissan and others give up part of their domestic market to Detroit's Big Three. So it's hardly surprising that the Japanese ruling class is not budging on this one while screaming bloody murder at the Americans.

Toward Another Pacific War?

One angry Lexus dealer in Florida declared, "This isn't about fighting Japan. It's about getting Bill Clinton re-elected." Actually, it's about both. For years, Democratic Party politicians and labor bureaucrats have blamed the massive decline in the living standards of

Economic protectionism during 1930s culminated in interimperialist war between U.S. and Japan: (above) U.S. firebombing of Tokyo in 1945. Today, U.S. and Japanese capitalists again push trade war propaganda.

American working people on "unfair" Japanese competition. Determined at all costs to avoid class struggle by the workers against the Big Three auto bosses, the UAW tops have pushed protectionist poison for decades. In the 1970s and '80s, auto-union officials organized violently anti-Japanese "Toyota-bashing" rallies, inflaming racist attacks on Asian Americans. More recently, the labor bureaucrats have been ranting about another "Pearl Harbor." Following the announcement of the latest trade sanctions, UAW chief Owen Bieber was practically beside himself, crowing, "Three cheers for the Clinton Administration." And "Lame" Kirkland's AFL-CIO "hailed" the trade sanctions (*AFL-CIO News*, 22 May).

Meanwhile, the Clinton White House has joined with Gingrich's Republicans in Congress to dismantle the whole complex of social programs dating back to Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal in the 1930s. Medicare, for example, is being gutted. So as they go after minorities, poor and working people, the Clinton Democrats are using Japan-bashing protectionism to posture as economic populists. One White House adviser chortled, "So we lose the Lexus vote in Greenwich," the Connecticut suburban home of the filthy rich.

However, it's not just the dealers of Japanese autos who are up in arms over Clinton's "punitive" sanctions. While Chrysler's president is predictably 110 percent for it, the *Wall Street Journal* (18 May) denounces the Clintonites for "macho politics." In an editorial titled "Auto-da-fe," this house organ of American financiers lectures the president like a schoolmaster scolding a wayward student: "The Clinton Administration should be heeding its efforts to upholding international trading rules, and insisting that others do so as well, rather than violating them itself through unilateral actions."

Divisions within the U.S. ruling class over Clinton's actions reflect the different—and to a certain degree conflicting—interests of industrial and financial capital. U.S. banks make hundreds of billions extending trade credit to both importers and exporters. They also have hundreds of billions in loans to South Korean, Taiwanese and other East Asian manufacturers, loans that cannot be repaid if these firms are cut off from the American market. Much of Wall Street's financial assets, especially short-term certificates of deposit and commercial paper, are in the hands of foreign (including Japanese) money men. Basically, the big U.S. banks and other financial institutions export dollars which, despite the huge depreciation over the past decade, remain the principal medium of world trade. Wall Street is rightly worried that Clinton's Japan-bashing protectionism will lead to the creation of closed regional trading blocs, foreign-exchange control and the national fragmentation of the world market such as occurred in the 1930s.

In fact, despite Washington's talk of a "New World Order" following the end of the Cold War, increasing interimperialist rivalries have been heading toward a division into regional economic blocs for some time. This is the meaning of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the (halting) moves toward European monetary integration.

Clinton's "punitive" sanctions against the Japanese have also come under fire from spokesmen for European capital such as Sir Leon Brittan, trade commissioner of the European Union, and Renato Ruggiero, the Italian head of the newly formed World Trade Organization. The Europeans don't give a damn about the Japanese economy. But they are worried that if Washington can do this to Toyota and Nissan today, it can do it to Daimler-Benz, Fiat and Rolls Royce tomorrow. The Clintonites have lashed out at their European critics with Under Secretary of Commerce Jeffrey Garten accusing them of hypocrisy: "They allege that we are managing trade, while they have concluded their own quota arrangements with the Japanese" (*New York Times*, 19 May). Thus the escalating trade war between the U.S. and Japan is spilling over into Europe.

But right now the main battle is between Washington and Tokyo, which is threatening to retaliate in kind. "The fact that American farm exports depend heavily on our market can be a powerful weapon for obtaining concessions, if we want," declared Yoshifumi Sakamoto, a top official of the powerful Ministry of International Trade and Industry (*Financial Times* [London], 18 May). However, the Japanese economy is fundamentally more dependent on manufacturing exports to the U.S. than the U.S. economy is dependent on agricultural exports to Japan. Japan uses the trade surplus gained by selling autos, office equipment, TVs, VCRs, etc. in the U.S. to pay for its oil imports from the Near East, oil owned and marketed by the Anglo-American Seven Sisters cartel. Thus increasing trade protectionism in the U.S. threatens the fundamental structure of Japan's industrial economy.

That's exactly what happened in the 1930s. Japan then moved to carve its own self-sufficient colonial empire centered on China and including the oil fields of the Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia). Influential sections of the Japanese ruling class are once again talking about adopting this kind of economic and ultimately military strategy. Bank of Tokyo chairman Toyoo Gyoten warns that "Some hawkish politicians recommend the creation of a yen bloc and suggest selling off some dollars to scare American authorities. But those people...are not aware of the risks" (*Los Angeles Times*, 9 May).

Today, just as in the 1930s, U.S. imperialism will not concede East Asia as Japan's exclusive sphere of influence. There's a lot of American money invested in South Korea, as well as over 30,000 U.S. troops. But the main battle between Washington and Tokyo for control of East Asia will be fought, as it was in the Pacific War of 1941-45, over China. The decrepit and totally corrupt Beijing Stalinist bureaucracy has brought the People's Republic of China to the brink of capitalist counterrevolution. While Japanese investment in China is growing rapidly, Washington and Wall Street are also determined to regain China which they "lost" to Mao's Red Army in 1949.

The main victims of the escalating interimperialist conflict will be the working people of North America, Japan, China, Korea and the rest of East Asia. The American working class, having suffered a 20 percent fall in living standards over the past generation, is now facing the dismantling of those social programs designed to prevent them from falling into abject poverty. Japanese workers are facing mass layoffs and wage cuts for the first time since the 1950s. The combative South Korean working class has for decades confronted a brutal military dictatorship—open or disguised—backed by both Washington and Tokyo. Chinese working people, already exploited to a considerable extent by Japanese and other multinationals as well as a growing layer of bureaucrats-turned-entrepreneurs, now face looming capitalist counterrevolution and neocolonial enslavement.

Twice before in this century, conflicts between major capitalist powers over markets and spheres of exploitation have led to world war. The last time, U.S. imperialism developed and used nuclear weapons of unprecedented mass destruction, as well as flattening Tokyo with firebombs. Today nuclear weapons are capable of destroying civilization and even annihilating humanity itself. As the rulers seek to inflame American and Japanese workers against each other, we have to overthrow the rapacious capitalist system they represent before they destroy us. ■

Young Spartacus

Hollywood's Tame Panther

By J.D. Williams

In racist America, it is a rare event to see a Hollywood movie reopen a chapter of black struggle that has long been distorted, hated and feared by the capitalist rulers. The movie is *Panther*, which opened across the country on May 3. Screenwriter Melvin, and director Mario, Van Peebles rescue the Black Panther Party (BPP) from their demonization by the media as nothing but "thugs" and "gangsters." But to make them a saleable legend that can now safely be embraced by those who wouldn't have touched the BPP with a ten-foot pole 30 years ago, the Van Peebles have to tame the Panthers. The young black radicals who courageously stood up to the racist ruling class and its kill-crazy cops are depicted in this film as, at bottom, little more than concerned community activists who later become the inner-city "vanguard" of the war against drugs.

Young Spartacus

Film Review

Where the movie does touch some of the real history of the Panthers, the effect is palpable. When we saw the movie at a theater in Oakland, where the Panthers were born, the scenes of armed patrols of Black Panthers confronting the notoriously racist Oakland cops electrified the audience. This isn't surprising in today's America, where the only thing unusual about a gang of L.A. cops beating Rodney King to within an inch of his life was that it was captured on videotape.

Today, Democrats and Republicans on Capitol Hill "debate" the most cost-effective ways to starve black welfare mothers and their children, to pour more cops onto the streets of the inner cities, to build more prisons to warehouse black and minority youth, to more quickly kill death row inmates who in their overwhelming majority are black and Hispanic. With this brutal reality as the backdrop, the movie's depiction of Ronald Reagan and other legislators in Sacramento, California running for cover in the face of the armed march of Panthers into the state capitol building in 1967 is met with cheers.

Panther has provoked a predictable howl from the capitalist media, incensed that anyone would dare salute the courage and idealism of the early Black Panther Party. "Newton was no choir boy," they cry. To offer "the Panthers as idealists and objects of veneration to today's youth" is branded as "criminal naiveté" by *Time* magazine. David Horowitz, ex-New Leftist editor of *Ramparts* magazine turned right-wing ideologue, slammed *Panther* as a "two-hour lie"—because it is negative toward the cops! Calling for pickets of the movie, Horowitz said it must be opposed as it would "incite" black youth and "breathe new life into the Panther corpse."

This is all designed simply to fan the flames of racist reaction against *any* black struggle. Mario Van Peebles responded that his movie "is not a call to arms, but a call to consciousness." But what consciousness? *Panther* has reduced the history of the BPP into a marketable morality play. The Panthers occupy center stage not for their fight against the racist status quo, but instead as combatants in the "war against drugs." This *war against blacks* today legitimizes the occupying army of the capitalist state, the police in the ghettos.

Reynaldo Jackson

Panther **shows Black Panther Party founders Bobby Seale (played by Courtney B. Vance) and Huey Newton (Marcus Chong) guarding Oakland offices.**

For young militants who want and need to learn from the radical movements that preceded them, we recommend the Partisan Defense Committee video, *Live from Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*. From this former Black Panther who is now on death row in Pennsylvania, framed up on charges of killing a cop, you get a real idea of some of the history of the Panthers and the vicious state vendetta that destroyed them. The film *The Murder of Fred Hampton*, which is about the leader of the Chicago Panthers who was murdered in his bed by the police, also stands in sharp contrast to the message of *Panther*.

Panther is the story of the BPP as distorted through the prism of Nancy Reagan's "just say 'no'" to drugs campaign in the 1980s and written for the Booker T. Washingtons of the '90s, the Louis Farrakhans et al., who see "empowerment" in controlling and exploiting their "own" communities through promoting black capitalism and black cops.... These "wannabe" black power-brokers want to sit comfortably in the balcony and not disturb the Bill Clintons and Newt Gingriches on the main floor of the theater.

This is a far cry from what animated the early Panthers. In his book, *This Side of Glory*, David Hilliard recalls a speech by Bobby Seale: "We're revolutionary nationalists.... We don't fight exploitative capitalism with black capitalism. All of us are laboring people—employed or unemployed, and our unity has got to be based on the practical necessities of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Yet despite their radicalism and the personal courage of many militants, the Panthers' conception that armed groups of ghetto youth could change society stood as a barrier to finding the only road that could lead to black freedom. The black population locked in the ghettos must be mobilized behind the power of the factories, as a united working class fighting in defense of its own interests and the interests of all the oppressed in the struggle for socialist revolution.

The Rise of the Black Panthers

In his 1964 speech, "The Ballot or the Bullet," Malcolm X lucidly remarked: "I'm one of the 22 million black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy.... They get all the Negro vote, and after they get it, the Negro gets nothing in return. All they did when they got to Washington was give a few big Negros big jobs.... That's camouflage, that's trickery, that's treachery, window-dressing...put the Democrats first and the Democrats put you last."

Malcolm X's uncompromising opposition to the racist American rulers—Republicans and Democrats—made him the voice of the angry black ghetto. He understood that the right to armed self-defense was necessary in the fight for black equality. The Southern-based civil rights struggle for formal equality, whose leadership looked to the Democrats and the federal government as the agencies for redressing racist segregation, could not achieve freedom for black people in capitalist America.

Jim Crow—the legal system of racial segregation in the South—joined its predecessors, the Black Codes and Slave Codes, in history's dustbin. But the economic and social relegation of blacks, as a race-color caste, to the bottom of the American capitalist order remained intact. The civil rights movement hit a wall of racist reaction as it moved North, the "land of opportunity" and formal equality. Young civil rights activists pondered, "What good is it to integrate a lunch counter if you can't afford to buy lunch?"

The authority of the pacifist leadership under Martin Luther King Jr. was shaken as civil rights demonstrators fought back against Birmingham police chief Bull Connor's cops in 1963. Young black

AP

Black Panther Party defended right to armed self-defense, in demonstration against Mulford gun control bill in Sacramento, May 1967.

radicals in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), who organized voter registration drives in the Deep South, split from King and advocated "black power." They had run smack into the inability of the liberal civil rights movement to address the systematic racial oppression inherent in this capitalist system. The 1966 march for fair housing in the Chicago suburb of Cicero was viciously attacked by a raging racist mob, exposing the deficiencies of pacifist leadership. After Cicero, there were no more liberal integration marches; the official civil rights movement collapsed. Packed into ghetto housing, the first fired and the last hired, relegated to the lowest-paying, dirtiest jobs and humiliated daily by capitalist society's contempt, the black masses were simmering with rage against this racist system.

The long hot summers of ghetto explosions began—Harlem 1964, Watts 1965, Newark, Cleveland and Detroit, 1967. In many cases, these ghetto revolts were touched off by protest against specific instances of police brutality. As one Watts resident remarked in 1965, "A man may be willing to swallow his pride and eat humble pie if he thinks it's going to get him somewhere. But what's the use of going hat in hand if it doesn't get you nowhere no way?" (R. Conot, *Rivers of Blood, Years of Darkness*, [1967]). In 1966, the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense was born out of the frustration and fury of youth in the northern ghettos as a movement that had generated high expectations failed to deliver.

In 1966, Malcolm X's autobiography had just recently been published. David Hilliard relates a conversation with Huey Newton who announces that he's forming a new organization, "Malcolm X talked about the right to defend ourselves.... We're gonna be the personification of Malcolm X's dreams." That the Panthers were first founded in Oakland was also a reflection of the burgeoning student struggle in nearby Berkeley in solidarity with the civil rights movement. This mushroomed in the 1964 Free Speech Movement and was linked to a more general radicalization that took place among youth starting in the mid-1960s over the fight against racial oppression and especially against U.S. imperialism's war in Vietnam.

Thousands of young radicals solidarized with the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants, whose struggle would eventually defeat the U.S. military behemoth. Looking for a way to bring revolutionary struggle to the heartland of imperialism, they rejected what they saw as the "old left"—particularly the stodgy, reformist Communist Party. But many of the "New Left" radicals also rejected the U.S. working class, looking instead to peasant guerrilla movements and Third World Stalinist regimes like Mao's China, then on the outs with U.S. imperialism, or Castro's Cuba. Groups like the Black Panthers saw themselves as the domestic analogue of the Vietnamese National Liberation Front (Viet Cong). Little of this political radicalization is captured in the film.

Ebony

1960s demonstration for integrated schools. Inability of liberal civil rights movement to challenge capitalist bedrock of black oppression in the North led to rise of radical nationalist Black Panthers.

In *Panther*, the jumping-off point is a peaceful neighborhood protest demanding a traffic light. After the third black youth in a short time span is run down at a busy intersection, a group of blacks march from their church for a prayer vigil at the intersection. A young Huey Newton (Marcus Chong) and Bobby Seale (Courtney B. Vance) round up a few friends to become legal observers at the demonstration. The cops respond with racial slurs and finally a baton-swinging attack to disperse the demonstration. The Panther legal observers are stymied when the cops cover their badges; the Panthers then rush in to defend the demonstrators with their bare hands.

Scores of protesters are beaten and thrown in jail. Panther members start to fight back against this brutality. More young black men decide to join them after learning that "turn the other cheek" only gets you a face bloodied on both sides. Armed with law books and shotguns, the Panthers are seen gaining respect from the ghetto masses for boldly asserting their democratic right to bear arms and challenging racist cop terror. In one scene in the film, a Panther patrol stops several cops who are working over a "suspect" outside a black nightclub. Panthers leap from their car, weapons at the ready. A crowd gathers and watches in awe as the cops stand down.

This is followed by a scene depicting the Panthers' well-defended rally protesting the police murder of a young black man, Denzil Dowell, in racist Richmond, California, which the cops ran like a small Southern town. Again they heroically face the cops down. Next comes the spectacular armed Panther march into the state capitol building in Sacramento to protest the Mulford bill. This bill (named after a white politician from a wealthy Oakland enclave) was drafted specifically to disarm the Panthers, who were exercising their legal right under California's then-liberal gun laws to carry loaded weapons in public as long as they were not concealed.

These few sharp scenes recreate the spirit that inspired the Black Panthers' early growth. They are also a powerful indictment of liberal "gun control" laws. These laws disarm blacks and working people, seeking to ensure that the cops monopolize the means of violence together with their fascist and criminal counterparts. At the same time, the scene outside the nightclub where an armed gang of Oakland cops backs away in fear of armed Panthers reciting from law books is hard to believe. Particularly today, the notion that holding a gun on a cop while reading from the Constitution will save you from getting unmediately vaporized in a hail of police gunfire is more far-fetched than any Hollywood special effects.

Although initially Newton's armed patrols in Oakland went unmolested, as did the Panthers' armed rally in Richmond, this period proved to be very short-lived. At the start, the cops were taken aback by the Panthers' flamboyance and also unsure of how much support they had in the ghetto. But beginning with the arrest of Huey Newton in 1967, followed by the murder of Bobby Hutton and arrest of Eldridge Cleaver in 1968, local police in conjunction with the FBI launched a bloody campaign to wipe out the BPP, with no respect for constitutional niceties.

The Panthers—Reality and Myth

Panther does powerfully portray the government's systematic, murderous campaign to exterminate the Panthers, codified in FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover's Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO). But the chilling effect of this serves to enhance the main message of the film—that is, if you struggle against the all-powerful police state you will only lose. To be sure, driving the cops out of the ghetto could not, and cannot, be accomplished solely through the actions of black militants, however heroic. The police are the armed fist of the capitalist state and they cannot be defeated this side of a socialist revolution that destroys the whole system of racist American capitalism. As we wrote in our article, "End of the Black Power Era" (*WV* No. 4, January 1972), analyzing the 1970-71 split in the BPP:

> "The cops are an essential part of the armed force of the state; if defeated locally, they came back with the National Guard or Army. To drive the cops out of the ghetto and keep them out was equivalent to overthrowing the American state.... Adventurous black youth joining the Panthers did not see themselves as building a successful social revolution, but anticipated 'leaving the Party in a pine box' with a dead cop to their credit, having done their share to avenge the centuries-old oppression of their people."

The Van Peebles' *Panther* softens the harsh reality of black social struggle against the racist oppressors by collapsing into one convenient package the contradictory phases of the Black Panthers' evolution. Their rhetorically adventurist challenge to the white establishment and later emphasis on social work in the face of bloody repression are melded together. This is hardly surprising since for the black petty bourgeoisie the preferred image is that of the Panthers feeding hungry children.

With the rulers of this country now snatching school lunches even out of the mouths of white kids, the idea of providing breakfast for hungry children must look pretty good to black youth. Yet, while the Panthers organized a lot of their own food and health programs, in the 1960s the government threw a lot of money at poverty programs for the inner cities. This was certainly not out of the "goodness of their hearts," but because they wanted to pacify the black ghettos after a string of upheavals. They needed black youth as cannon fodder for their dirty war against Vietnam, and didn't want to fight a full-scale war on two fronts.

Today, American imperialism's moribund economy has reduced blacks in the inner cities to a "surplus population." By every misery index the conditions of black life are worse than in the 1960s. A policy of genocide, which the Panthers talked about in the '60s, is the reality of the '90s. The social programs and democratic pretensions have been replaced by more jails and more cop terror. "Life" for the black poor in America is increasingly a nightmare of death by starvation, "hypothermia" (freezing to death), AIDS as well as curable diseases of poverty like tuberculosis, not to mention racist murder on death row.

COINTELPRO Through the Lens of the "War Against Drugs"

The movie twists the role of the state's campaign of death and repression against the Panthers with its anti-drug theme. *Panther* asserts that the feds hooked up with the Mafia to plot the "ultimate contingency"—to neutralize the base of the BPP by dumping heroin in the ghetto. This is supposed to be at the heart of the demise of the Black Panthers. And

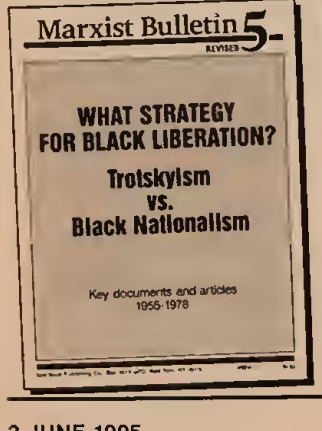
AP

"Black Power" salute by U.S. athletes at 1968 Mexico City Olympics.

it is the springboard for the ultimate message of the movie, that what is needed is a new Black Panther Party to fight the "war on drugs." But what that would mean is serving as an auxiliary to the cops.

The idea that the feds would collaborate with the Mafia in drug deals has been met with a sneering chorus from the capitalist press, who describe such a notion as completely "preposterous." Yet the collaboration of the FBI and CIA with the Mafia, and the involvement of the agencies of U.S. imperialism in the drug trade, is hardly news. How about Ollie North's guns-for-drugs trade with the contras in Nicaragua, for one? The

continued on page 10



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Panther...

(continued from page 9)

CIA's drug-running was a central component of the "war against Communism" abroad, with a long and stinking trail extending from Cambodia to Afghanistan to Central America.

But the concoction of a drug conspiracy theory to explain the destruction of the Panthers only serves to mystify and alibi the whole system of racist capitalist oppression. The Panthers were destroyed by police terror and murderous internal factionalism inflamed by the FBI. Coincident with the launching of the COINTELPRO campaign against the BPP, L.A. Panther leaders Bunchy Carter and John Huggins were murdered by members of Ron Karenga's US (United Slaves) organization.

The movie *Panther* hints at the intense political rivalry between the BPP and right-wing "cultural nationalists" such as Karenga's organization, who opposed social struggle against racist police terror and glorified "African heritage." At the beginning are scenes of another Black Panther Party in San Francisco, whose members are dressed in long white robes and come across as loathsome armchair "revolutionaries" and downright pigs. After arranging a joint defense squad to defend Betty Shabazz, the widow of Malcolm X, in the movie Huey Newton hits the roof when he later finds out that SF "Panthers" had come with guns that weren't loaded. In the next scene, Newton goes over to SF and physically attacks the leader of this outfit.

This all comes off as simply some kind of macho turf fight. But to make it more than that would cut too close to the bone of today's black nationalist hustlers who preach "empowerment" through schemes like black-owned businesses. The Panthers were scathing in their derision of such programs. In an interview from prison, Huey described what he called "pork chop nationalism":

> "Many times cultural nationalists fall into line as reactionary nationalists. 'Papa Doc' in Haiti is an excellent example of reactionary nationalism. He oppresses the people but he does promote the African culture. He is against anything other than black, which on the surface seems very good, but to him it is only to mislead the people. He merely kicked out the racists and replaced them with himself as the oppressor. Many of the nationalists in this country seem to desire the same ends."

As Hilliard notes in his book, Newton also declared, "We're especially intransigent about black cops.... The cultural nationalists defend them. We don't." Yet in *Panther* Van Peebles outrageously puts the call for more black cops into Bobby Seale's mouth!

At the same time, the movie contrasts the cultural nationalists lording it over their women recruits with the supposed equal treatment given to women recruits to the Black Panther Party. In reality, the Panthers were hostile to the fight for women's liberation. As late as 1970, their nationalist ideology led to opposition to birth control, calling the pill "another type of genocide that the power structure has poured into the Black Community." Using the language of anti-abortion bigots, they argued that "a true revolutionary...would never think of killing his [*YSp*: what about her?] unborn child."

A number of young, radicalized black women were active in the organization. While many were discussion leaders at Panther political education classes and several were party leaders, phrases like "pussy power" were thrown around, reflecting the sexual degradation of women in the BPP. This was not simply vulgar talk but came out of the Panthers' lumpenproletarian base and macho quasi-militarism which made for a brutal internal life, particularly for women. This attitude toward women was more pronounced in the Panthers, with its lumpen base, but it was pervasive in the petty-bourgeois New Left which refused to recognize the oppression of women. It was in reaction to this that the first women's liberation groups arose. Liberation for triply oppressed black women must include a forthright fight for free abortion on demand, free 24-hour day care, and jobs and quality education for all.

The Fall of the Black Panthers

Panther features a scene where former SNCC chairman Stokely Carmichael (today known as Kwame Toure) is shown at a "Free Huey" rally in Oakland. It is apparent that Carmichael's race-hating of whites causes discomfort. The Panthers' attempt to regroup with remnants of SNCC was stillborn, as Carmichael's hard anti-communist nationalism was running at odds with the Panther Party's connections to the Berkeley left. This cleavage became evident at a Black Congress conference in Los Angeles, a talkfest of militant and moderate black activists. As David Hilliard writes in his book:

> "Right off, things go badly. Karenga, who hosts the conference and styles himself a revolutionary, has invited the Los Angeles police—white and black cops—to help with security. Their presence is of course unacceptable.
> "Even more troubling are our dealings with SNCC. We expect a power struggle with US; important differences divide our two groups. But SNCC, presumably, is our ally."

Yet while they spoke out against the racism of the cultural nationalists, the Panthers' alliances with various white radical and liberal groups, like the Peace and Freedom Party, were not motivated by any realization that American society could be revolutionized by an integrated working-class movement. Rather, they were driven by the need to gain the broadest material and other support for their legal defense. Hundreds of Panther militants were jailed on trumped-up charges as COINTELPRO repression sought to break the BPP financially with bails mounting to $5 million at one point.

The reformists of the Communist Party led the Panthers into the popular front—the shackling of the workers and oppressed to the Democratic Party with pie-in-the-sky promises. In 1969, the Black Panthers, in alliance with the CP, launched the United Front Against Fascism (UFAF) on a program of community control of the police and other mild appeals for liberal reform of the capitalist state. Under CP tutelage, the Panthers picked up on bourgeois public relations (i.e. groveling). They laid down the gun, dropped the militant talk and armed street patrols.

Beaten down by the rulers' iron fist, and looking toward liberals for support, the BPP went through a murderous split centered around the personalities of Eldridge Cleaver and Huey Newton. The Cleaver group (many of its leading figures then in exile) talked of "urban guerrillaism," but particularly given the massive state repression against the Panthers, this was basically a rhetorical posture. The Newton wing moved to Democratic Party liberalism and social work programs, and by 1973 Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown were running with the Democrats in Oakland city elections. In the film, this division is quietly treated as an outgrowth of the 1968 assassination of Martin Luther King. The split actually came much later, in 1970-71, and was marked by violent internecine battles.

Despite the idealism and heroism of the early Panthers, this split reflected the problems of trying to build an organization based on the glorification of lumpens, seeing the "most oppressed" as the "most revolutionary." Discipline was physical, not political. Leadership came to reflect "hero worship," rather than hard work and patient political discussion or even harsh debate. Those who have no interest in building a revolutionary workers party that can lead the fight for genuine black freedom can find solace in the drug conspiracy theory peddled by *Panther*. But militants looking for a road to struggle must seek out the truth that is concrete.

Facing a dead end politically, their early victories against cop brutality long behind them, the popular-front alliance with reformists and liberals going nowhere, the Panthers were broken by bloody state repression and COINTELPRO "dirty tricks," which fed into the internal factionalism. The murder of 17-year-old Bobby Hutton, shot in the back by Oakland cops, was the first in a campaign of state-sponsored murders that would take the lives of 38 Black Panther militants. Of those who weren't murdered by the cops, some escaped through accommodation with the powers that be. Others are locked in jail cells to this day, framed up for daring to challenge the rule of racist American capitalism.

Toward the end of *Panther*, a still photo is shown of a Panther militant with a body of water as the backdrop. Left unsaid is who he is. It's Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) at San Quentin prison. Having failed to kill Geronimo in a cop raid on Panther headquarters in Los Angeles, the state framed him for the 1968 murder of a white woman in Santa Monica. At the time of the murder Pratt was 400 miles away at an Oakland Panther meeting, which the FBI well knew because they had wiretapped the meeting (those records have conveniently been "lost"). Pratt has spent the last 25 years behind bars, repeatedly denied parole because he will not "confess" to a crime the government knows he did not commit.

WV Photo

Los Angeles Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), framed by the FBI's COINTELPRO, has spent 25 years in prison.

Pratt was also caught up in the bloody split between the Cleaver and Newton wings of the BPP. Newton chose to believe the COINTELPRO lie that Pratt, who was in the Cleaver wing, was out to kill him and criminally refused to testify at Pratt's trial with evidence that would prove his innocence. Only recently have some prominent ex-Panthers come out to testify on Pratt's behalf. But they have done little in his defense. Writing of David Hilliard's book, *This Side of Glory*, from his cell on death row in Pennsylvania, another former Panther, Mumia Abu-Jamal, remarks, "While Hilliard glorifies ex-prisoners who became Panthers, he largely ignores ex-Panthers who became prisoners, as well as political prisoners and POWs who have been down for decades."

Jamal currently faces the threat of execution as the recently elected governor of Pennsylvania signs one death warrant after another. Framed for the 1981 killing of a Philadelphia cop, Jamal is on death row because he was a Black Panther, because he is an award-winning journalist renowned for his searing indictments of American racism and because he is a supporter of the MOVE organization. Jamal continues to expose America's racist injustice system. A selection of Jamal's columns has recently been published in the book *Live from Death Row*. Speaking of the Panthers, Mumia writes: "The very conditions that gave rise to the party in the 1960s—brutal cops, racist courts, ineffective education, joblessness, and the like—still plague our people to this day. A few black, largely powerless politicians pose no solutions. We still have far to go."

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

As the Spartacist League wrote in "Rise and Fall of the Panthers: End of the Black Power Era" (reprinted in our *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5 [revised]): "It is important to note the significance of *how* the Panthers were defeated. That the Panthers were defeated *physically* by the state rather than *politically* through the intervention of the vanguard party means, in effect, that many of the lessons of their demise will surely be lost." That is more than evident in the sanitized script of *Panther* which turns the Panthers into the soulmates of everyone from Jesse Jackson to Louis Farrakhan—the man who wanted Malcolm X dead. Their insidious message of "hope not dope," "pull yourself up by your bootstraps" and "black capitalism for the

AP

Thousands of demonstrators fill L.A. Hall of Justice in December 1969, demanding freedom for Geronimo and other jailed Panthers.

Spartacist

Flax Hermes

Opposition to Martin Luther King's liberal "turn the other cheek" pacifism and to U.S. imperialist war against the heroic Vietnamese people were key to black radicalization in the 1960s.

black community" are splashed all over the silver screen. This agenda has utterly failed to change the lives of the black masses.

Meanwhile on the left, echoing their role in the '60s, members of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) soapbox outside showings of *Panther* enthusing over the "armed struggle" supposedly initiated by the Panthers. But this rehash of the New Left notion that the ghetto was a base for "urban guerrilla warfare" was a myth then and is now. The Panthers were outstanding in their willingness to face jail and even death in defense of this theory. But radical-posturing cheerleaders like the RCP's "Chairman Bob" Avakian never did anything but play-acting. Avakian's clanking-bullet necklace that he wore during a TV interview from "exile" in France sums up his politics.

With a materialist understanding of black oppression in capitalist America, the Spartacist League has uniquely fought for a program of revolutionary integrationism: for black liberation through socialist revolution. Blacks are a race-color caste forcibly segregated at the bottom of the American social and economic order. They are oppressed by a system rooted in slavery and now enforced with racist police-state terror. A successful struggle for black freedom requires an integrated working-class fight for an egalitarian socialist society—in opposition to all forms of nationalism and liberal reformism.

With the betrayal of Reconstruction following the Civil War, which left unfulfilled the promise of black equality, blacks were the rural labor that held intact the antiquated Southern economy. Fueled by war, the U.S. capitalist economy began incorporating blacks into the industrial working class and "reserve army of unemployed" in the North, beginning with the mass slaughter of World War I through World War II to U.S. imperialism's war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants. Although driven out and back in the deindustrialization of the 1980s, blacks still constitute important battalions of organized labor in this country. Here lies the key to linking the social power of the working class to the defense of the inner cities.

At its height, the Black Panther Party had 4,000 members in 35 chapters. A number of these young black militants could have been won to revolutionary Marxism. Fighting in the unions as well as among radicalizing youth, they could have been instrumental in breaking the brittle stranglehold of the racist, anti-Communist AFL-CIO tops over organized labor, in defeating the black Uncle Toms in the ghettos and their capitalist patrons in the racist Democratic Party. This would have laid the basis for a multiracial revolutionary workers party—acting as a tribune of the oppressed and fighting for a workers government—that could forever bury the capitalist exploiters and their system.

The Black Panther Party rejected the working class as the key revolutionary force. Instead, they theorized that all employed workers, black and white, had been bought off by the racist rulers. Seeing chronically unemployed, lumpen-proletarian black youth as the "revolutionary vanguard" they particularly subscribed to the idea that organized labor was a reflection of "white skin privilege."

It is true that the U.S. ruling class has effectively used anti-black racism among white workers to politically retard the American working class, blinding it to its own oppression and to its common interests with the oppressed black masses. But the same class contempt the bourgeoisie displays toward a black welfare mother is today directed at striking workers fighting against assaults on their unions. Even during the heyday of the Panthers, striking white oil workers in Richmond, California took up the BPP's cry of "pig" against cops attacking their picket lines.

Historical experience shows that heroic fighters for the revolutionary cause can be won from the lumpenproletariat, but this will require a sharp *break* from their background. This can happen on a significant scale only when this layer is concretely led by the social power and discipline of the proletariat. Revolutionary *communist* consciousness will come through direct participation in social struggle alongside white and Hispanic workers in a common fight to transform the hellish conditions of American capitalist society. But the Black Panther Party had a blinkered nationalist perspective that prevented them from seeing beyond the ghettos. Despite having members working in the factories near Oakland, and even putting out a few issues of a plant newspaper at Fremont GM, the BPP politically turned its back on the multiracial working class, ceding the terrain to the reformist black misleaders and the labor lieutenants of capital.

The Panthers sought in the lumpenproletariat a substitute for revolutionary working-class struggle. Inspired by Frantz Fanon's book, *The Wretched of the Earth*, they defined this class as "the brother on the block." Fanon, a West Indian intellectual who championed the Algerian independence struggle, saw revolutionary violence as playing a cathartic role in throwing off the shackles of a colonial mentality. The Panthers made an analogy to the old plantation system of the brutally exploited field slave and the privileged house slave. But the subjects of colonial rule and of racist oppression in the U.S. could not achieve freedom simply by changing their mentality. What was and is necessary is a struggle for *power*, to overthrow the world system of imperialist domination by a revolution of the wage slaves without whom capitalism cannot function.

If the labor movement in this country is flat on its back today, and there is an absence of black struggle as well, it is centrally due to a question of *leadership*. *Panther*'s message is that what is needed is black cops, some "black faces in high places" and a new Panther party to act as their youth auxiliary. But this has already been tried and failed. Following the demise of the Panthers, in the 1980s every major city in America was ruled by a black mayor and a number had black police chiefs, too. The Spartacist League forthrightly described this layer as "the black overseers on Ronald Reagan's plantation." More recently the bourgeoisie doesn't even consider it necessary to have black front men to enforce their rule. Most of this layer have been swept aside, some the victims of dirty FBI sting operations.

In the promo piece for *Panther*, Mario Van Peebles writes that "Hoover and the FBI knew that the most dangerous weapon the Panthers had was not a few guns. Obviously, they would never be able to take on the National Guard or the United States Army. The BPP's ideology was what the establishment feared most, the psychological effect of people feeding their own, empowering themselves." What the "establishment" feared most was not the phony "empowerment" rhetoric of the Jesse Jacksons, but black militants becoming "reds." In 1968, J. Edgar Hoover declared, "The Negro youth and moderate[s] must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries."

Hoover was a truly deranged anti-Communist, who could find a red under just about any bed. Nonetheless his fear and loathing of "Bolshevism" reflected that of the entire American ruling class (including the liberal icon, John F. Kennedy). The racist rulers shook in their boots at the possibility of angry black masses linking up with communist leadership.

A lot of scams have been tried—cultural nationalism, liberal integrationism, Booker T. Washingtonism, Democratic Party constituency politics, urban "guerrillaism," New Left sectoralism. But when the working class overthrew capitalist rule in the Russian October Revolution of 1917, this was a beacon for black people and the oppressed around the world. Despite the subsequent degeneration of the Russian Revolution under Stalin and its ultimate destruction by capitalist counterrevolution, the road of Red October remains the road to black liberation today. The answer lies in building a party like Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks, a party based on uniting the ethnically diverse working class around the revolutionary program as a tribune of the people.

As the SL wrote more than two decades ago, following the demise of the Black Panther Party, "there will always be plenty of hustlers and romantic rebels to attempt endless repetition of the old mistakes and betrayals. But the intervention of Leninists among radical blacks can stimulate the understanding that the liberation of black people will be both a great driving force of the American proletarian revolution, and a great achievement of the revolution in power" ("End of the Black Power Era"). A successful revolution against America's racist rulers would echo around the world, inspiring the masses from U.S. imperialism's neo-colonial Latin American "backyard" to South Africa and the industrial powerhouses of Japan and Europe. ■

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Young Spartacus Correction

In "Cops Riot Against UCLA Students" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 621, 5 May 1995), Michael Zinzun, who organized the Coalition Against Police Abuse, was erroneously referred to as a lawyer.

Labor Support...

(continued from page 3)

Typographical Union Local 21, which sent a protest letter in 1991, recently sent a statement to Ridge.

In addition, **SEIU 1877** in San Jose, which organizes the Justice for Janitors campaign in the area, has endorsed the call for an emergency demo in Oakland the day after a death warrant against Jamal is signed, which the PDC, Refuse & Resist, Committees of Correspondence and other organizations are coordinating. **SEIU Local 535** (California health care workers), which first called for saving Mumia in 1989, has issued a new protest letter to Governor Ridge. Other area unions protesting the railroading of Jamal include **SEIU Local 250** (hospital workers), SEIU's **United Public Employees Local 790** and the **Inlandboatmen's Union of the Pacific**.

In *Los Angeles*, **SEIU Local 399** donated its hall for a rally on March 4. This is the union that held a militant demonstration last September outside L.A. district attorney Gil Garcetti's office demanding freedom for framed-up Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt). Already in 1990, **National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 2200** in Pasadena passed a resolution and issued a statement protesting Jamal's death sentence.

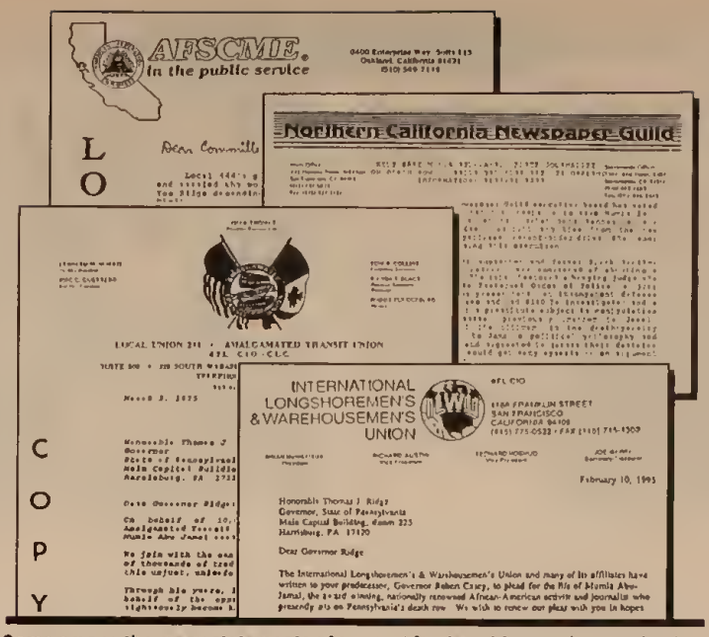
In *Chicago*, a rally to save Jamal was held March 4 at the United Electrical Workers' hall, featuring a wide range of speakers from labor and civil rights groups. **Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 241** endorsed and sent a strong protest letter to Ridge declaring, "Jamal has given voice to those who did not always use it. We intend to use our voice, to add it to the chorus until it becomes a deafening crescendo that shakes the very foundation of this society." An article entitled "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!" appeared in the March issue of the Chicago **AFSCME Local 3506** newsletter, *Take Charge*.

Support for Mumia among trade unionists in other areas of the U.S. is also growing. **ATU Local 732** in Atlanta has recently sent a letter to Governor Ridge, as have the **South Central Federation of Labor** in Madison, Wisconsin and **UAW Local 2322** in Northampton, Massachusetts. Other unions which have come out in defense of Mumia beginning as early as 1990 include **ILA Local 1414** in Savannah, Georgia and the **Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Region VI** (Milwaukee). A number of unions have sent contributions to Jamal's legal defense, notably **ATU Local 308** (Chicago), SEIU Local 1877 and ILWU Local 10.

"An Injury to One Is an Injury to All"

Throughout the history of the labor movement in the U.S., the state has resorted to execution against many of the finest union militants. But there is also a long record of international workers' struggle against the death penalty. The 1887 execution of the Chicago Haymarket martyrs gave rise to the international day of workers struggle, May Day, which is celebrated just about everywhere around the world *except* the U.S. After the 1917 workers revolution in Russia, the Communist International formed the International Red Aid to assist workers and Communists facing right-wing terror in East Europe. Pioneer American Communist and Trotskyist James P Cannon and "Big Bill" Haywood, a militant Wobbly (IWW) leader who was saved from execution in the early 1900s through mass working-class protest, launched the International Labor Defense (ILD) to carry out this work in the U.S. The ILD's principles of united-front, non-sectarian defense of class-war prisoners were pioneered by the IWW with its slogan that "an injury to one is an injury to all." Today the Partisan Defense Committee continues this tradition.

The ILD brought the campaign to save anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti (who were framed up and sentenced to die by the state of Massachusetts) to the international working class. Millions of workers joined strikes and protests from coast to coast in the U.S. and around the world. Mass demonstrations took place in Europe from Britain to Bulgaria, from Havana, Cuba to Buenos Aires, Argentina and Cape Town, South Africa. Cigar workers in Tampa and miners in southern Colnrado carried out protest strikes in defense of Sacco and Vanzetti. Citywide strikes took place in major cities like Berlin, Paris and New York, where in July 1927 some 250,000 joined a one-day strike. Although Sacco and Vanzetti were executed, the ILD's proletarian defense strategy laid the hasis for the successful fight to save the Scottshoro Boys—nine hlack youths framed for the rape of two white women in Alabama—from legal lynching in the 1930s. International workers' protests were key in saving their lives and eventually winning their freedom.



Some among the many statements of support for Jamal from unions and union officials around the U.S. Labor's power must be mobilized in the fight against the racist death penalty.

Mobilize International Labor Support

Today, more and more workers around the world have learned of the frame-up of Mumia Ahu-Jamal and come to see his cause as their own. In *Britain* in the last few months alone, trade unions representing millions of workers have joined the campaign to save Jamal. This support is reflected in a resolution against the execution of Jamal signed by 51 Members of Parliament. Lahour Party MPs Tony Benn and Bernie Grant, a prominent black spokesman, have sent protest letters to Ridge. Mumia's case has intersected widespread outrage in Britain over the April 8 execution in Georgia of Nicholas Ingram, a dual citizen of Britain and the U.S.

In March, the **Southern and Eastern Regional Council of the Trades Union Congress** in London called on Ridge to commute Mumia's death sentence. Bill Morris, the general secretary of the powerful **Transport & General Workers Union**, wrote on behalf of the union that the death penalty is "harbaric and ahhorrent, and in reality a form of judicial murder." Tony Dubbins, general secretary of the **Graphical, Paper & Media Union** wrote to Ridge: "On behalf of over 200,000 printing and paper workers in Great Britain, and the Republic of Ireland, I urgently appeal to you to show clemency to Mumia Ahu-Jamal." The Scottish Branch of the union has sent its own protest letter and placed an article on the international campaign in the May issue of the *GPMU Journal*.

Other unions in Britain which have sent protests to Ridge include the **Bakers, Food & Allied Workers**, the **London North District Committee, Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union, Engineering Section**; **UNISON** (public workers), **West Midlands Region**; the **Scottish Regional Committee** of the **Fire Brigades Union**; and a teachers union at Ealing Tertiary College. Representatives of the **National Union of Journalists**, which first joined this battle in 1990, and the **Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers** were among those addressing the March 29 London rally to save Jamal organized by the Partisan Defence Committee.

Jamal's searing commentaries on the brutal race and class oppression of U.S. society, written from the howels of death row, have won him international recognition as an eloquent, militant journalist. In *Ireland*, the **National Union of Journalists** has sent protests to Ridge, U.S. ambassador Jean Kennedy-Smith and Ireland's foreign affairs minister Dick Spring. It notes in the letter to Ridge that "the people of this country are no strangers to miscarriages of justice." Pointing to the Birmingham Six and Guilford Four, jailed for years hy the British imperialists on trumped-up charges of "IRA terrorism," the letter continues: "We are fortunate...that judicial murder is not an option open to the courts" in Ireland.

In *France*, in addition to the CGT lahor federation, its affiliated **Syndicat National des Journalistes** and **Syndicat Général du Livre** (printing workers) also issued protest letters to then-governor Casey in 1990. This year, the **CGT dnckers union** in Marseille has sent a protest statement to Governor Ridge. In *Canada* in 1990, a Toronto demonstration calling to save Jamal's life was endorsed by, among others, **United Transportation Union Local 483**, the **Canadian Union of Postal Workers**, **Vancouver local**, the executive council of **Telecnmmunicatinns Workers Union Local 1**, and individual union officials. The **Metro Vancouver District Council** of the **Canadian Union of Public Employees** sent a letter to Casey. This year, the **Prince Rupert Lahour Council** (British Columhia) sent a letter to Ridge and sent a contrihution for Jamal's defense.

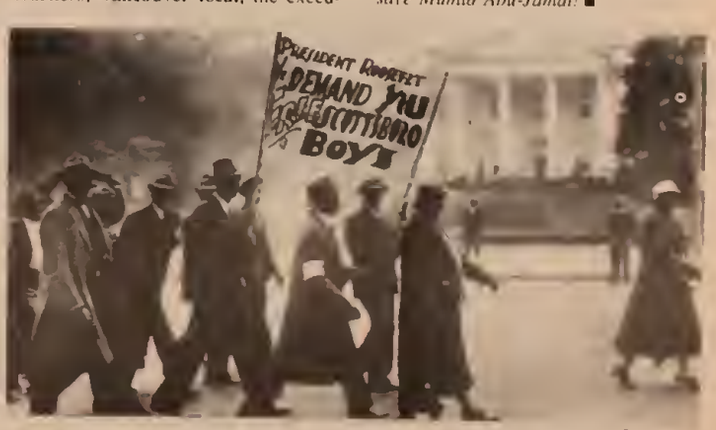
In *Australia*, the **Firemen & Deckhands' Union of New South Wales** and **TAFETA** (teachers union), New South Wales, issued protests in 1990. Recently, the **Public Transport Union** in Melbourne has circulated petitions calling for saving Mumia's life. In *Mexico*, Sectinn 10 of the SNTE teachers union (Mexico City) has come out for Jamal's defense. Aholition of the death penalty was one of the achievements of the Mexican Revolution of 1910-17, and there has been widespread outrage in Mexico over the execution of several Mexicans in the U.S. Jamal's case has resonated in particular in *South Africa* (see page 3), where racist executions were a key component of apartheid state terror.

In *Germany*, the **IG Medien** media workers union has extended its earlier support for Jamal. In a noteworthy act of solidarity, the Berlin-Brandenburg branch of the union voted in February to make Mumia an honorary member of its executive committee. Recently, IG Medien's youth organization printed 10,000 postcards addressed to Governor Ridge opposing the execution of Jamal and disiributed them to its membership around the country.

The campaign to save Jamal has found broad support among anti-fascist militants in Germany, where the death penalty is widely identified with the Nazi Third Reich. On April 9, our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party and the KfsV (Committee for Social Defense), fraternal organization of the PDC, attended the 50th anniversary commemoration of the Soviet Red Army's liberation of the Buchenwald concentration camp. Hundreds of signatures were gathered on petitions for Mumia, including from numerous Buchenwald survivors. Several of these victims of Nazi terror poignantly signed the petitions with the camp identification numbers tattooed on their arms.

Today in the U.S. the fight to save Jamal has become a focal point of struggle against the all-sided intensification of racist repression and capitalist attacks on the working people. As the urgency mounts with every death warrant signed, the task is to widen and deepen the support for Jamal, particularly in the organized labor movement, with the aim of pulling thousands upon thousands into the streets in mass protest.

The aim of the racist police/government pro-death campaign is clear: to silence forever this powerful spokesman for the oppressed. It has never been more urgent for *everyone* who opposes the barbaric death penalty, for *everyone* who opposes racist injustice, for *everyone* who sides with working people against the exploiters, to *join the campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal!* ■



UPI/Bettmann

International working-class mobilizations saved the Scottsboro Boys from legal lynching in Alabama in the 1930s. Above: Demonstration in front of the White House.

COINTELPRO...

(continued from page 16)

the Philadelphia Police Department—particularly its Civil Disobedience Unit (CDU) and Intelligence Division "red squads"—extending to at least four other security agencies, including the Naval Investigative Service Office, Military Intelligence, Office of Special Investigation and the Secret Service.

Using its wiretaps, its informants and police spies, the government tracked the teenage Jamal's every move, relentlessly pursuing him at demonstrations, newspaper sales, political meetings and fundraisers—even at picnics. They knew when he was to leave town and when he was to return, intercepting him as he boarded a flight and engaging in "physical observation" of returning flights. They interrogated school officials, contacted employers, harassed Jamal's mother. And the FBI records are only the tip of the iceberg. During the 1960s and '70s, the Philly cops kept their own voluminous files—none of which have been made available—on some *18,000 people*. What story do they tell?

Even these expurgated FBI files show that Jamal was targeted for far more than surveillance. His name was placed on two government hit lists: the FBI's Security Index (SI) of those deemed a "threat" to "national security" and the Administrative Index (ADEX) of those to be rounded up and thrown into concentratinn camps in case of a "national emergency." Many of the documents bear the file notation "Smith Act," the notorious "thought crime" legislation under which first Trotskyists and then Communist Party members were sent to prison for "advocating" revolution.

The files prove that, years before he was framed in the death of a Philadelphia cop, the feds repeatedly tried to set Jamal up on serious felony charges—including murder—without any basis. This was S.O.P. (standard operating procedure) in the government's COINTELPRO war on black militants, as the FBI instructed its agents that since the "purpose...is to disrupt...it is immaterial whether facts exist to substantiate the charge" (Brian Glick, *War at Home* [1989]). The lies range from the absurd—the photo appended to the files is not of Jamal—to the outlandishly sinister. When the governor of Bermuda was assassinated in 1973, the feds tried to link the killing to Jamal, who had never been anywhere near Bermuda. They also falsely sought to paint him as an "urban guerrilla" associated with the Black Liberation Army, marking him to be assassinated by the cops the way BLA leader Zayd Shakur was.

Ligato/Philadelphia Bulletin

Philadelphia Panthers were dragged out on the street, forced to strip and searched at gunpoint by Rizzo's racist cops in 1970 raid.

Jamal came of age politically as 38 of his Panther comrades were gunned down and hundreds of others jailed on frame-up charges in the FBI's deadly vendetta. He himself was clearly a major target in this murderous crusade. The files repeatedly noted that Mumia was an effective and articulate spokesman and writer for the *Black Panther* newspaper, who "made the BPP look good because his approach was very positive." Indeed, nnt one among the steady stream of reports to FBI headquarters nn Jamal's Panther activities, which were compiled at the rate of virtually one a week, indicated that he was ever engaged in anything other than public speaking and writing. Yet despite the FBI's acknowledgement that Jamal "has not displayed a propensity for violence" and was not once found with a gun throughout this period of intense surveillance, the files regularly labeled him "Armed and Dangerous"—a license for the cops and G-men to shoot first and ask questions later.

And they finally did shoot him, on the night of 9 December 1981. The subsequent trial, conviction and death sentence was a political frame-up pure and simple—like the Haymarket martyrs, Sacco and Vanzetti, the Rosenbergs—the culmination of years of efforts to "neutralize" Jamal. To send Jamal to death row, prosecutor Joseph McGill told the nearly all-white jury that Jamal's Panther past showed that he had been planning to kill a cop "all the way back then." Even in their skeleton form, these documents reveal that since "all the way back then" the state has been out to get Jamal. In them you can see the threads leading to the 1982 frame-up which sent Jamal to death row.

FBI's Racist Vendetta

Of 293 COINTELPRO operations against black groups, 233 were against the Panthers. Vast resources, at every level of government, were expended in a ruthless effort to smash this group which adamantly proclaimed the right of armed self-defense against racist terror and attracted young militants with its revolutionary rhetoric against the racist capitalist system. Even with all their deletions and omissions, the files on Jamal offer a glimpse of the overwhelming arsenal of state repression which was deployed against the Panther Party and its members.

The feds decided to open a dossier on the young Jamal when he participated in a 1 May 1969 demonstration at the Pennsylvania State Office Building demanding freedom for imprisoned BPP leader Huey Newton. From that day on a steady stream of "airtels," "nitels," memoranda and letters between FBI headquarters and its field agents tracked Mumia's every political move. For example, in one typical four-week period in the summer of 1969, the FBI files include: a memorandum dated August 11 reporting that Jamal spoke at a Hiroshima Day rally in Philadelphia; a CDU report on the same rally, also dated August 11; two "Airtels" to the FBI director, dated August 14; an August 14 "FBI Notice"; an August 19 "Government Memorandum," again on the Hiroshima Day rally; and a September 4 FBI report on a Socialist Workers Party campaign rally where Mumia "spoke against the 'pigs'" followed by a cover note dated September 5 specifically identifying "Wesley Cnok, aka Wes Mumia."

The files are replete with clippings of *Black Panther* articles written by Jamal and reports of his public speeches. It was Jamal's noticeable talent as a young revolutionary journalist and propagandist which attracted so much FBI attention. Such skills made him particularly dangerous in the eyes of the capitalist authorities. From the days of the slavocracy, the racist rulers have always feared literate and articulate black people as a challenge to their power. A 24 October 1969 FBI report on Jamal urged that he be placed under high-level surveillance because:

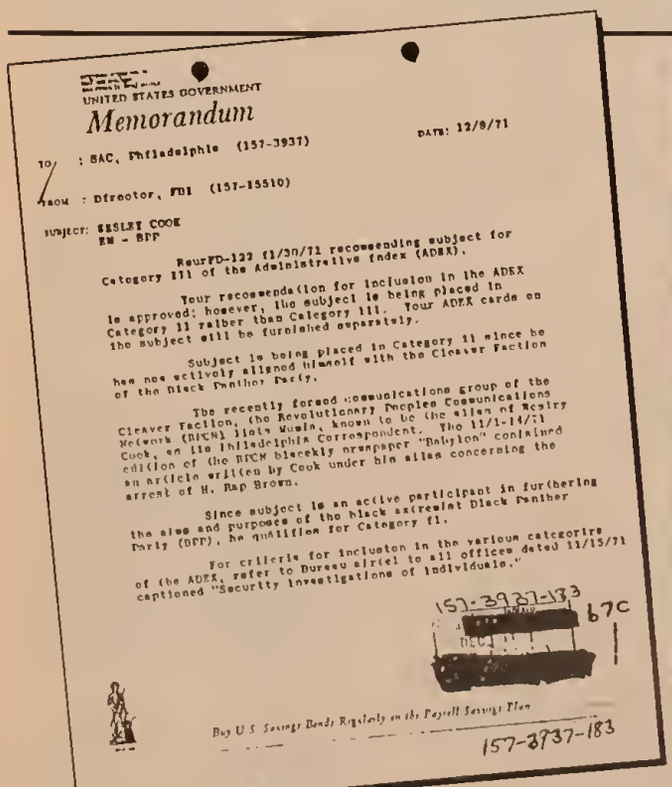
> "In spite of the subject's age (15 years), Philadelphia feels that his continued participation in BPP activities in the Philadelphia Division, his position in the Philadelphia Branch of the BPP, and his past inclination to appear and speak at public gatherings, the subject should be included on the Security Index."

Already by then, the young Panther activist knew firsthand what it meant to be on the receiving end of the state's murderous "counterintelligence" operations. A 6 October 1969 "airtel" reported on "simultaneous hits" several weeks earlier by FBI and Philadelphia CDU and "Intelligence Squad" agents on the Philly Panther offices and the nearby Webb's Bar, which was frequented by BPP members. In an autobiographical memoir included in his new book, *Live from Death Row*, Jamal recalls how he found himself at the time facing "a .38 special close enough to touch," while a cop screamed: "If you fuckin' blink, I'll blow your black goddamn head off your shnulders!"

Seven months later, Jamal was set up for another attempted "hit," as he boarded a flight for San Francisco in March 1970 to work at the Bay Area BPP headquarters. According to a 2 April 1970 report, Assistant U.S. Attorney Tony Lombardio "advised he would authorize the arrest of Cook for violation of the Crime Aboard Aircraft statute." More than one Panther activist was shot dead by the cops with the subsequent claim that they had been armed and "resisted arrest." But in this instance, the FBI was frustrated in its attempt to get Jamal, as the report concluded: "Cook was searched by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation prior to boarding Trans World Airlines, Flight 15; however, no weapon was located."

By 1970 the BPP was being torn apart through a combination of government terror and internal factionalism between the Huey Newton wing and Eldridge Cleaver, who espoused a militant-sounding guerrillaist strategy from his exile in Algeria. Jamal left the Panthers shortly after the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention held at Philadelphia's Temple University in September 1970, but he remained in the government's cross hairs. That fall, Mumia was arrested along with seven other high-school students for demonstrating and distributing literature calling for "black revolutionary student power." Hearing that Jamal had started a publication called *National Black Liberation News*, FBI headquarters instructed its

continued on page 14



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: SAC, Philadelphia (157-3937) DATE: 12/8/71

FROM: Director, FBI (157-15510)

SUBJECT: WESLEY COOK
EM - BPP

ReurFD-122 (1/30/71 recommending subject for Category III of the Administrative Index (ADEX).

Your recommendation for inclusion in the ADEX is approved; however, the subject is being placed in Category II rather than Category III. Your ADEX cards on the subject will be furnished separately.

Subject is being placed in Category II since he has now actively aligned himself with the Cleaver Faction of the Black Panther Party.

The recently formed communications group of the Cleaver Faction, the Revolutionary Peoples Communications Network (RPCN) lists Wesley, known to be the alias of Wesley Cook, as its Philadelphia Correspondent. The 11/1-14/71 edition of the RPCN biweekly newspaper "Babylon" contained an article written by Cook under his alias concerning the arrest of H. Rap Brown.

Since subject is an active participant in furthering the aims and purposes of the black extremist Black Panther Party (BPP), he qualifies for Category II.

For criteria for inclusion in the various categories of the ADEX, refer to Bureau airtel to all offices dated 11/15/71 captioned "Security Investigations of Individuals."

157-3937-183

67C

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

157-3937-183

FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover masterminded war on black militants which killed 38 Panthers, imprisoned hundreds and placed thousands of radicals, including Jamal, on government ADEX roundup list.

COINTELPRO...

(continued from page 13)

field agents to determine "if the paper is to be published in Philadelphia" and to submit "complete details concerning its staff, printing, distribution, financing and other pertinent details" ("Airtel," 19 November 1970).

A 9 December 1971 memorandum from FBI headquarters reported the decision to include Mumia on the ADEX list: "Subject is being placed in Category II since he has now actively aligned himself with the Cleaver Faction of the Black Panther Party." Again it was Jamal's writing that particularly irked the feds, as they noted that he was Philadelphia correspondent for the pro-Cleaver newspaper *Babylon* and "that Cook in the past has made public speeches and has written ultramilitant articles on the BPP." The following year, the cops tried to put Jamal away on a weapons charge, as the CDU reported to the FBI that he "was arrested while in the possession of a six inch bladed Exacto knife." The charges were dropped. Jamal was working as an artist at the time, and had carried the Exacto knife with him from work to attend the trial of another black militant.

Among the most spectacular revelations in Jamal's FBI files is a clumsy plot—foreshadowing the later frame-up in 1981—to stick him with the double murder of Bermuda governor Sir Richard Sharples and his aide. This was based solely on Jamal's presence in 1972 at Vermont's Goddard College—where he was taking courses in the Third World Studies Department—while it had supposedly been visited by "a leading black extremist in Bermuda." A 13 March 1973 letter from the FBI Acting Director sought to link Jamal to the murders:

> "Because of Cook's black extremist background, his possible involvement in the urban guerrilla activities of the Black Liberation Army, and his attendance at Goddard College which attracts black extremists from Bermuda, the investigation to locate him should be intensified and efforts should be made to determine if he had been out of the country over the weekend of March 9-11, 1973."

James/Philadelphia Inquirer

Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1969 as Minister of Information for Philadelphia Black Panther Party.

This report was a tissue of lies and innuendos from beginning to end. The feds well knew that Jamal was a journalist and public speaker, not an "urban guerrilla." He had no connection to the BLA. Yet were it not that his employer at Bell Telephone in Philadelphia confirmed that Jamal had been at work during that time, the state might have sent him up for murder long before the 1981 killing of Philly cop Daniel Faulkner.

Paper Trail of a Frame-Up

Mumia Abu-Jamal survived the rulers' onslaught against the Black Panther Party in the late '60s and early '70s. He was not assassinated in his sleep in the dead of night like Chicago Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. He was not then railroaded into a prison hellhole like Los Angeles Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), who has spent the last 25 years of his life buried alive for a crime that the government knows he did not commit—because they had wiretaps proving his innocence. But the feds and the Philly cops did not call off their vendetta against Jamal with the demise of the Panther Party. They continued to hate him for his eloquent and impassioned defense of black rights, and particularly because he remained defiant and unbowed in the face of state repression and racist oppression. The FBI files indicate time and again that they could entertain no hopes that Jamal would turn informant and desert the cause for which he fought. As one such report remarked: "Although he is only 16 years old and has no informant potential, he possesses much intelligence and evidentiary information if he will talk."

There was clearly extensive collusion between the FBI and Frank Rizzo's Philadelphia Police Department. One notable entry in the FBI files is a reference to Jamal's arrest at the age of 14 at the 1968 Wallace protest. The FBI report noted that "Cook was 14 years of age and, therefore, not criminally charged." Indeed, because Jamal was a minor at the time and the charges were dismissed, any record of his arrest was supposed to have been destroyed. Clearly Rizzo's thugs were keeping tabs on the young, articulate opponent of racist and cop terror even before he joined the Black Panthers and were sharing that information with the feds. Without doubt Jamal, identified in the FBI files as one of the top three leaders in the Philadelphia BPP, was a prime target of Frank Rizzo's racist thugs in blue. Document after document in the FBI files lists as its source unidentified cops from the CDU or Intelligence Division. According to S.A. Paolantonio, biographer of Philly police commissioner and, later, mayor Frank Rizzo, the Philadelphia CDU led by George Fencl:

> "had a steady stream of informers paid by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In fact, when the FBI began its counter-intelligence program (COINTELPRO), the agency used Fencl's CD squad as a model. Before Rizzo was sworn in as police commissioner, the Philadelphia Police Department was working closely with his hero, J. Edgar Hoover. Rizzo accelerated that relationship."

And Rizzo and his cops had it in for Jamal. The FBI files are replete with references to Jamal's denunciations in speeches and articles of the notoriously racist Philly cops and Rizzo in particular. Jamal incurred their wrath yet again in 1978, when as a prominent black radio journalist he came to the defense of the MOVE organization after a mammoth police siege of their Powelton Village home, in which one of the cops ended up being killed by a bullet from another cop's gun. At a press conference, then-mayor Rizzo ominously looked at Jamal as he blamed the officer's death on the "new breed of journalism," warning:

> "They believe what you write, what you say. And it's got to stop. And one day, and I hope it's in my career, that you're going to have to be held responsible and accountable for what you do."

Four years later, on 9 December 1981, Jamal was shot in the chest by the cops on a Philly street and left nearly bleeding to death. An officer found wounded nearby died an hour later. The police, having failed to get Jamal so many times before, concocted a frame-up and railroaded him onto death row. Jamal's FBI files are filled with references to the BPP's use of Mao Zedong's *Little Red Book* and especially of the quote "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." This citation, uttered by Mumia in a 4 January 1970 interview in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (which is conspicuously *missing* from the 700 pages of FBI files, despite the inclusion of numerous other newspaper clippings), was the prosecutor's key argument a dozen years later in demanding that Jamal be sentenced to die on the basis of his political beliefs.

Another notorious travesty in Jamal's trial was the cross-examination of character witness Sonia Sanchez, a renowned poet. Pointing to an introduction Sanchez had written for a book about BLA activist Assata Shakur, who narrowly escaped an execution attempt by New Jersey state troopers only to be framed for the killing of one of her would-be assassins, the prosecution labeled Sanchez a "friend of cop killers"—suggesting that Jamal must be a "cop killer" as well. What led the prosecution to make a connection between Jamal and Shakur? A 26 September 1973 FBI report said that Jamal's name and phone number had been "located among names and telephone numbers found in notebook number 1 which was obtained from BLA member (deleted) at the time of her (deleted) arrest by NJ State Police."

These files tell only a small part of the story of the government's vendetta against Mumia Abu-Jamal. We do know that despite FBI protestations that COINTELPRO ended in the mid '70s, state harassment of leftist political activists has continued unabated, not to mention the deadly workings of the Philadelphia police. (In fact, the FBI continued to spy on Jamal even on death row; a 1991 entry absurdly sought to link a prison visit to Jamal by a German human rights activist with a "machine gun attack of American Embassy" in Bonn!) In the 1970s, when Jamal was active as a journalist, Rizzo's cops were gunning down unarmed "suspects" at a rate 37 times higher than even New York's cops. And the collusion between the FBI and the racist Philly cops did not stop with Jamal and the Panthers. When the Philadelphia police dropped a bomb on the MOVE home in 1985—killing eleven men, women and children and destroying an entire city block—it was the FBI which supplied the explosives.

The fight to save Jamal and to abolish the racist death penalty is part of the struggle for black equality in America. It will take a workers revolution to put the capitalist state's machinery of death out of business once and for all and bring to justice the hired thugs who have committed untold crimes against the working class and minorities in the name of "law and order." Only then will the records of the government's secret police agencies be opened for all to see. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty! ■

Jamal to File Appeal for New Trial

In the coming week, legal papers seeking a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal and the reversal of his death sentence are to be filed in the Court of Common Pleas in Philadelphia. After the filing, Jamal's attorneys and supporters will hold a press conference outside the courthouse. These papers, based on extensive new investigation, research and review, demonstrate unequivocally that Mumia, who has proclaimed his innocence from the very beginning, was the victim of a politically motivated, racially biased prosecution in which evidence of his innocence was suppressed.

Funds are urgently needed! To get a new trial and overturn the death sentence could cost over a million dollars. The forces that seek to silence Jamal forever have the vast resources of the state at their disposal. Mumia's life depends on the political action and material support of working people of little means, but it is precisely upon such support that a worldwide campaign has been built. **Make a contribution today** to the Bill of Rights Foundation (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense") and mail it to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

The Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) have dramatically escalated their campaign to silence Jamal. On May 21, a fund-raiser for Jamal in New York City was picketed by 50 racist cops screaming for his execution. The FOP is particularly rabid over the publication of Mumia's book, *Live from Death Row*. His searing indictment of racist capitalist injustice has made this powerful collection of writings a hot seller—and a valuable tool in the fight for his freedom and against "legal" lynching. Get your local bookstore to order *Live from Death Row* from publisher Addison-Wesley now!

Significant support for Mumia continues to pour in. PEN American Center issued a statement in April protesting the attempts to challenge Mumia's First Amendment rights as a writer and questioning the irregularities of his original trial. The Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal received a check for $5,000 from the Human Rights Watch Free Expression Project for victims of political persecution made possible by the legacies of Dashiell Hammett and Lillian Hellman.

Prepare for emergency protests: If a death warrant is signed, emergency demonstrations will be held the next day in cities around the country. Get on the Partisan Defense Committee phone tree and help organize a militant outcry against the racist death penalty! To get petitions and arrange video showings of the PDC video, *From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal*, contact the Partisan Defense Committee: P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, or call (212) 406-4252.

Send protests to: Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120; fax (717) 883-1396, phone (800) 932-0784.

Write to Jamal to express your solidarity: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090. ■

Spartacist League Public Offices

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From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

A Jaundiced "Eye on America"

The urbane Dan Rather, sitting as the sole anchor of the evening's newscast, premised the segment coming up as one which would deal with a case of a criminal "who profited from his crime," a theme seconded by correspondent Anthony Mason, and sounded by the subjects of the segment.

Viewers were left with the unmistakable opinion that the man depicted in the segment, was getting "rich" off of the killing of a cop in Philadelphia.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

That edition of "Eye on America" is Exhibit A of "How to produce a biased, prejudicial and non-objective report." It was an attack on the writer, by appearing to be an attack on a book; a book that deals with many things, but *not* the crime for which the writer has been convicted—a fact obvious to anyone who can, and does, read.

It is undisputed that the writer was convicted of a crime, and yes, the book—*Live from Death Row*—does deal with crime—but it deals with the crimes committed by this system, this government, members of the Philadelphia Police, and the Pennsylvania Department of Corrections—crimes that no court has condemned! It illustrates that some crimes are punished, and others are not. That is the real reason why this system, and its media mouthpieces (themselves huge multinational corporations) are attacking this book.

Isn't it ironic that the very entity that claims its lifeblood is the First Amendment to the Constitution attacks someone for daring to practice the identical claimed constitutional guarantee!

What is more important, however, is the case that wasn't mentioned in that segment that claimed to deal with "those who profited from crime," and why.

Who recognizes the name "Stacey Koon"?

If you say, "one of the cops who almost beat Rodney King to death," you would be half-right. He is also the author of the book, *Presumed Guilty: The Tragedy of the Rodney King Affair* (Regnery Gateway, 1993). Mr. Koon is also a beneficiary of the Koon Defense Fund which has collected, as of 4-5 months ago, an estimated $4.6 million dollars—**million!**

In his letter soliciting funds for the support of his legal efforts on appeal, and his wife and five kids, the call for financial support is under the title: Sgt. Stacey C. Koon, L.A.P.D.

Sgt.? L.A.P.D.? Isn't Koon a convicted criminal?

Further, isn't he, by writing a book about the crime for which he was convicted—"profiting from his crime"?

Apparently, to the editors at CBS, not so, for who among the readers who are reading this column, has not seen the brutal **videotaped** beating of Rodney King—for the crime of being a "big nigga"? In his letter soliciting funds, Koon writes "Rodney King, a musclebound, 6 foot 4 inch, 240 pounder, had attacked LAPD police officers before the famous video tape was made."

"At one point," Koon adds, King "exhibited superhuman strength."

When is a criminal not a criminal? When they are cops convicted of crimes? How many of the cops across the country contributed to this convicted criminal?

You would not learn this from "Eye on," for this was not, apparently, "news." In truth, it isn't news when white cops beat, kill, or torture black men, women and children: that is the status quo.

At the night before the event at the law enforcement memorial in Washington, D.C., over 100 cops (mostly from the New York Police Dept.) wrought havoc upon the Washington Regency Hotel, by acting like a squadron of drunken louts—they ran through the hotel buck naked, sexually harassed innocent women who lodged therein, they sprayed fire extinguishers into the air conditioning system, and beat on doors, shouting "Open up! Federal Police!"

What constitutes crimes for average people, becomes "boys getting a little steam off."

Who profits from crime?

Don't the cops?

Doesn't the media?

21 May 1995

© 1995 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Greene state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

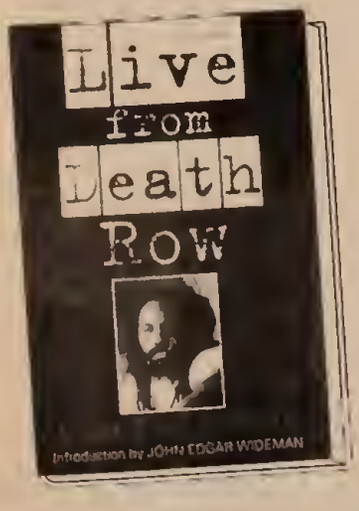
To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

Vendetta...

(continued from page 16)

where he grotesquely equated leftist protesters of the '60s with fascist terrorists reveling in the slaughter of innocent people in Oklahoma City. Emboldened by the "law and order" drive, the racist cops act as if they stand above the law, as demonstrated by last week's rampage by drunken cops in Washington, D.C. The Philly cops showed their idea of the law ten years ago this month when they bombed the MOVE commune, with explosives provided by the FBI, setting off a firestorm that killed eleven black people, including five children, and consumed an entire city block.

Just as Clinton seeks to smear all political opposition to the government as "terrorism," so those who oppose Jamal's execution are now being painted as "cop killers" or their apologists. A few years ago, the head of the Philadelphia FOP called for the electric chair for Jamal and an "electric couch" for his supporters. What drives the cops and their allies into a frenzy is the wide and growing support for Mumia Abu-Jamal around the world. Tens of thousands of petitions and telegrams for Jamal have poured into the Pennsylvania governor's office. Trade unions representing millions of workers have called to save Jamal, including the French CGT labor federation, the British TGWU transport workers, South African commercial workers, ILWU longshoremen and a host of local unions and labor officials in the U.S. In particular, newspaper unions in Britain, France and Germany have rallied to Jamal's cause.



Jamal's new book of prison writings has thrown the racist pro-death forces into a frenzied campaign to silence him and to intimidate his supporters.

Without exception, the media campaign to assassinate Mumia Abu-Jamal has cynically trotted out the dead police officer's widow, Maureen Faulkner, claiming that this innocent man must die so that she will again be able to get a peaceful night's sleep. Do any of them inquire how the wife and children of Mumia Abu-Jamal sleep, knowing that their husband and father is targeted for death? As Mumia's wife, Wadiya Jamal, said in response to this vindictive propaganda offensive: "Sleepless nights? For 13 years, my children and I have been separated from father and husband. I lie awake each night wondering if tomorrow is the day an order for Mumia's execution will be signed—for a crime he did not commit."

With all the "truth" that can be expected from Rupert Murdoch's gutter journalism, the *New York Post* screams that "Jamal was found guilty on the basis of overwhelming evidence," rehashing the baldfaced lie that Jamal smiled at Maureen Faulkner when the hallistics expert held up her husband's bloody shirt in evidence. Jamal was not even in the courtroom when this happened, because the judge excluded him from much of his own trial! Jamal's "trial" was a travesty from beginning to end presided over by the notorious hanging judge, Albert Sabo, who has sentenced more people to death than any sitting judge in the U.S.; with a jury from which black people were peremptorily excluded; with no defense counsel to speak of; convicted on the basis of the government's bought "witnesses," while evidence of Jamal's innocence was suppressed. Finally, *Mumia Abu-Jamal was sentenced to death on the basis of his political beliefs.*

The only "crime" Jamal is "guilty" of is his outspoken defense of the rights of black people and others in this deeply racist country, for which he became known as the "voice of the voiceless." Mumia Abu-Jamal was in the cross hairs of the FBI and its notorious "Counter-Intelligence Program" from the moment he appeared on the Philadelphia political scene as a 15-year-old spokesman for the Black Panther Party in 1969. COINTELPRO architect J. Edgar Hoover vowed that black youth who "succumb to revolutionary teachings will be dead revolutionaries." Some 38 Panthers were killed in the deadly FBI campaign. As 700 pages of recently released FBI/COINTELPRO files on Jamal make clear, the feds and cops had tried to set him up on more than one occasion before they finally shot him on the streets of Philadelphia in December 1981—and when that failed to kill him, they sent him to death row on bogus charges.

The racist vendetta continues to this day in the attempt to silence Mumia Abu-Jamal—and the many thousands of trade unionists, leftists, writers, artists, political figures and other opponents of the racist and barbaric death penalty around the world who fight to save the life of this lifelong opponent of racist oppression. It is precisely because Jamal's voice resonates so powerfully on behalf of the downtrodden, precisely because he has attracted such widespread support internationally, that the powers that be seek to silence his voice in order that they can more easily silence him forever.

The Partisan Defense Committee, which has long fought to mobilize support to demand freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal, will not be intimidated. Nor will the countless others who have heard in Jamal a powerful and moving expression of their own opposition to this racist, capitalist system. Oppose the campaign of censorship and intimidation—Join us in the fight—Save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Cops/Media Escalate Vendetta to Kill Mumia Abu-Jamal

COC Productions

Mumia Abu-Jamal, death row political prisoner.

The following statement was issued by the Partisan Defense Committee on May 20.

For 13 years, Mumia Abu-Jamal has been imprisoned on Pennsylvania's death row, an innocent victim of a grotesquely racist frame-up, on charges of killing a Philadelphia cop in December 1981. Now, as newly-elected Republican governor Tom Ridge signs one death warrant after another, the forces who want to see Mumia Abu-Jamal dead have escalated their sinister campaign. They want to make Jamal—the award-winning black radio and newspaper journalist, former Black Panther Party activist and supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE group—the first political execution in the U.S. since Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. They have seized on the publication of Jamal's new book, *Live from Death Row*—a collection of his intensely compassionate writings about the horrors of racism, injustice and prison life—to rev up this frenzied drive for the legal lynching of this powerful spokesman for the oppressed. Now they're trying to whip up a clamor for Jamal's immediate execution—and to intimidate the countless thousands who have raised their voices to save him—even as his legal team is working to file papers as soon as possible for a new trial.

During the last week, there has been an orchestrated and ever-louder drumbeat for death coming from the media. In a lead editorial worthy of witchhunter Joe McCarthy, today's *New York Post* railed that "The Left Fetes a Cop-Killer," denouncing Jamal's defenders and in particular those who will be participating in public readings from *Live from Death Row* on Sunday. On Friday night, the "Eye on America" segment of Dan Rather's CBS-TV national evening news featured an equally vile smear job, preceded the day before by a lengthy article in the *Washington Post* and earlier pieces in the *Boston Globe* and the Philadelphia *Daily News*. The crusade to kill Jamal moved into high gear last year in a successful attempt by the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) and others to cow National Public Radio into canceling a series of commentaries by Jamal.

There is clearly a concerted effort to manufacture "public opinion" aimed at railroading Jamal to the death chamber. Mumia Abu-Jamal has become the focal point of the fight against the racist death penalty, and that is why the forces of death seek to vilify him. They want to portray the nearly 3,000 prisoners on the country's death rows as nameless, faceless "brutes"—and Mumia's eloquent, compassionate writings expose this lie. The speedup on death row comes in the context of a bipartisan assault on every social program from welfare to Medicare, particularly targeting the black ghetto population. The American ruling class wants a compliant and "disciplined" populace. Mumia stands as a symbol of defiance against this racist oppression.

Spearheading the crusade against Jamal are the Philadelphia cops, tied to the highest levels of government. The capitalist state is standing by its hired thugs, the police. At the beginning of last week, President Clinton attended the national FOP's annual gathering in Washington, and later met with FOP leaders

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MUMIA ABU-JAMAL:

THE COINTELPRO FILES

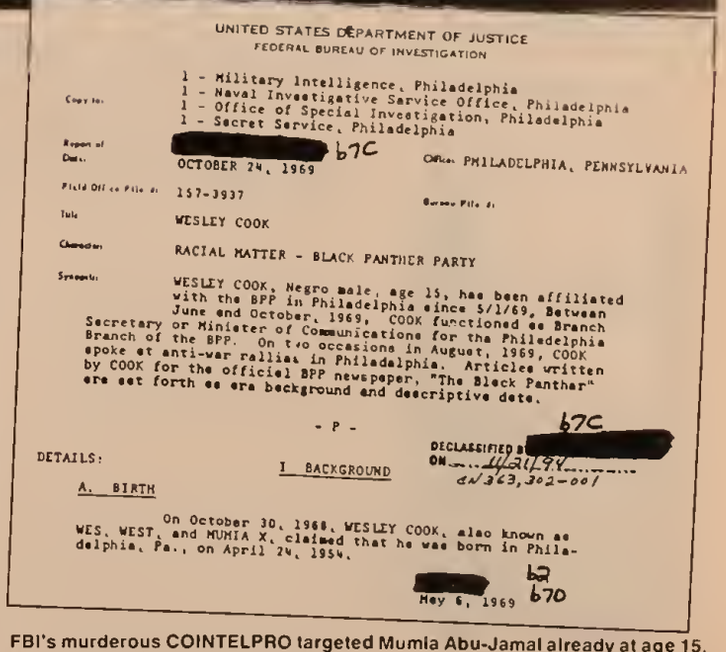
As death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal fights for his life in the Greene "supermax" isolation facility in Pennsylvania, the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) and its allies in government and the media are accelerating their bloodthirsty campaign to execute this powerful spokesman for the oppressed. Governor Tom Ridge has been signing death warrants at a feverish pace since his inauguration in January, and the cops and their mouthpieces clamor for Jamal to be placed at the top of the list. They want to drown out the many thousands of voices around the world who demand, "Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!" To do so, they have orchestrated a cynical propaganda barrage in recent weeks aimed at painting this compassionate and articulate black man as a vicious "cop killer." Never mind that Jamal is innocent of the crime for which he was sentenced to die, the killing of a Philadelphia cop in December 1981. *This lynch mob wants to see Jamal dead for what he stands for: the cause of black emancipation.*

The sentence of death was passed on Mumia Abu-Jamal long before he ever appeared in a courtroom. At the age of 14, he was brutally beaten by racist thugs, including cops—and then arrested—for daring to protest at a Philadelphia election campaign appearance by Dixiecrat segregationist George Wallace in 1968. That same year, fanatical FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover declared, "The Negro youth and moderate[s] must be made to understand that if they succumb to revolutionary teachings, they will be dead revolutionaries." From the moment the young Mumia Abu-Jamal (then named Wesley Cook) joined the Black Panther Party, the chief target of Hoover's notorious "Counter-Intelligence Program" (COINTELPRO), he became, in the eyes of the FBI and Philly cops, a dead man on leave. As the Partisan Defense Committee wrote in a special Jamal campaign issue of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* (No. 10, April 1989):

> "The death sentence for Mumia is the long arm of COINTELPRO terror reaching into the courtroom. This time they got him. Mumia has been sentenced to death because of his political beliefs, because of what he wrote, because of what he said, because of who he 'associated' with—and because of who he is."

The racist state vendetta against Jamal has now been confirmed by 700 pages of FBI files he recently obtained after almost three years of fighting for them. Even with much of the text blacked out and many documents withheld outright, these files make it clear that the FBI and cops were on a mission to use any "dirty trick" in their arsenal of extralegal terror to silence the man who would become known as the "voice of the voiceless" for his journalistic exposure of racist cop terror and oppression. From the moment Jamal appeared on the Philadelphia political scene as a 15-year-old spokesman for the Black Panther Party, the cops, FBI and who knows which other government agencies had him in their gunsights. These files prove, beyond the shadow of a doubt, wide-ranging collusion between the FBI and

continued on page 13



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - Military Intelligence, Philadelphia
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1 - Office of Special Investigation, Philadelphia
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Report of: [redacted] b7C
Date: OCTOBER 24, 1969
Office: PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

Field Office File #: 157-3937
Bureau File #:

Title: WESLEY COOK

Character: RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Synopsis: WESLEY COOK, Negro male, age 15, has been affiliated with the BPP in Philadelphia since 5/1/69. Between June and October, 1969, COOK functioned as Branch Secretary or Minister of Communications for the Philadelphia Branch of the BPP. On two occasions in August, 1969, COOK spoke at anti-war rallies in Philadelphia. Articles written by COOK for the official BPP newspaper, "The Black Panther" are set forth as are background and descriptive data.

- P -

DETAILS:

I BACKGROUND

A. BIRTH

On October 30, 1968, WESLEY COOK, also known as WES, WEST, and MUMIA X, claimed that he was born in Philadelphia, Pa., on April 24, 1954.

[redacted] b7C b7D
May 6, 1969

DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted]
ON 11-21-94
dN 363,302-001

FBI's murderous COINTELPRO targeted Mumia Abu-Jamal already at age 15, as young Black Panther Party activist.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 625

30 June 1995

Death Warrant Signed, Protests Erupt

Mumia Abu-Jamal Must Not Die!

Jennifer Beach

The fight to save U.S. political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal has reached a critical hour. Late in the night of June 1, Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge signed four death warrants, including one for Jamal, who has been on death row since 1982, framed on charges of killing a Philadelphia cop. Ridge vindictively signed the order setting Mumia's execution for August 17 knowing full well that his defense attorneys planned to file papers on June 5 demanding a new trial, a stay of execution and the removal from the case of notorious "hanging judge" Albert Sabo, who presided over Mumia's frame-up trial and sentencing in 1982. The state has now taken a giant step in its longstanding campaign to silence Jamal, an eloquent journalist who years ago earned the title "voice of the voiceless" for his commentaries on the oppression faced by minorities and the poor in racist America.

Mumia was immediately moved from his cell in the Greene "supermax" isolation facility into more restrictive custody, which he called "a prison within a prison within a prison." In a telephone message, Mumia told his supporters that Ridge's action "was clearly political. He is at the call of those who are calling for my blood."

As we go to press, it was announced that the hearing for a stay of execution and to recuse Judge Sabo is being held in Philadelphia on July 12.

The signing of the death warrant was met with a wave of protests in over 40 cities in the U.S. and reaching around the world. In the last two weeks, Mumia's cause has been taken up at a workers demonstration in Johannesburg, South Africa of some 15,000 trade unionists and another in Rome, Italy drawing 60,000 to 70,000 workers and youth. Governor Ridge has already received over 20,000 faxes, letters and cards opposing Jamal's execution. One measure of the groundswell of support for Jamal is that Ridge's office has shut down his toll-free "800" number and has been changing his fax number virtually daily in a vain attempt to thwart the flood of messages demanding that Mumia must not die.

A leader of the Black Panthers in his teens and later a supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE group, Jamal was sentenced to die for his political beliefs. Jamal has continued to speak out even in prison, writing regular columns which have been published in *Workers Vanguard* and in the black press nationwide. His intensely compassionate writings on prison life, the death penalty and racist oppression have now been brought to a broader audience through his new book, *Live from Death Row*, published in May by Addison-Wesley.

The emergency demonstrations on June 5 were built by the Partisan Defense Committee, Refuse & Resist, Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, the Coalition to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal and others. The protests were kicked off with a press conference and rally of 600 people in Philadelphia, as Jamal's legal team, led by noted civil liberties attorney Leonard Weinglass, filed court papers unequivocally establishing his innocence. Weinglass told the crowd, "Mumia Abu-Jamal never had a trial." Evidence was suppressed, witnesses were coerced, black jurors were purged. The new legal papers document 19 constitutional violations in Jamal's "trial" and present new evidence based on eyewitnesses as well as a re-examination of medical and ballistics reports which tear apart the prosecution's bogus case. Mumia should not have spent a day in jail, and we must fight today to free him from the clutches of this criminal *injustice* system.

WV Photo

New York City, June 5: A thousand demonstrators rally in midtown Manhattan demanding, "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!"

Weinglass and PDC staff counsel Rachel Wolkenstein gave a full explanation of the case for Jamal's innocence and evidence that he was the victim of a racist, politically motivated frame-up. The Philadelphia event was the largest demonstration to date for Jamal in his hometown. This and other protests for Mumia coast-to-coast and internationally, together with the powerful legal brief, breached the media wall of silence and slander against Jamal. For the first time in memory, both Philadelphia daily newspapers wrote accurate articles on Mumia's defense case, covering many of the key points of the legal statement. As well, the black press nationwide has been flooded with front-page articles protesting Jamal's threatened execution. The *Wall Street Journal* (16 June), however, ran a front-page article which sneers at "radical-left groups," including the Spartacist League (described as "a group of 20 people"), who "have a new hero, Mumia Abu-Jamal." This is a clear attempt to denigrate and diminish the growing movement to save Mumia's life.

Even as protests for Mumia mounted, on June 6 South Africa's Constitutional Court abolished the death penalty in that country, where executions of black and leftist militants were a key prop of the brutal, racist apartheid system. This action throws into stark relief the bloody machinery of legal lynching in the U.S., which is rooted in the subjugation of black people under

continued on page 8

See Page 6

1982 Trial a Mockery of Justice

The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mobilize Labor Against Racist Cop Terror!

S.F. Police Beat Black Man to Death

SAN FRANCISCO—On the night of June 4, Aaron Williams, a 35-year-old black man, died after 12 SF cops viciously beat him in front of his apartment and family. News of this atrocity was met with outrage in the city. It was the second of three killings by cops in San Francisco in a matter of weeks, and provoked immediate comparisons to the 1991 videotaped beating of black motorist Rodney King by the LAPD. The 1992 acquittal of those cops led to a multiracial upheaval in Los Angeles that still haunts America's racist rulers.

The death of Aaron Williams is a tragic result of the racist "war on drugs and crime," the green light for brazen police-state rule in the ghetto. A parolee released last December following a minor drug conviction in 1987 and several parole violations, Williams was a marked man. He was indeed the classic faceless black man hunted down, jailed and executed by America's racist cops.

According to the cops' own story, they went to his apartment after a break-in several blocks away where a "black man" was supposedly seen running south—the opposite direction. Kimberly Williams, his sister, said the cops stood on the street and shouted, "Aaron Williams, we know you're up there. We know you're on parole. If you don't come out, we'll come in and get you" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 6 June). When Williams emerged, he was beaten with clubs and sprayed at least three times with pepper spray—including at least once while handcuffed. He was hogtied and a surgical mask placed over his mouth and nose. Witnesses saw several arriving cops acknowledge Williams and then kick him as he lay gagging and spitting blood.

Police terror is a fact of life in America's black ghettos. Aaron Williams lived and died in the Western Addition, recently nicknamed "lower Pacific Heights" as yuppie gentrification drives out black residents. His uncle, Bill Bowser, said, "It's getting to the point where every black man in this neighborhood is being harassed. Every time something happened here, they come to arrest Aaron or his brother, Darren" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 7 June).

Marc Andaya, the cop who began the pursuit of Williams, is a former Oakland cop who—in that infamous shoot-to-kill force—was suspended for 30 days and written up by a superior as a violent "cowboy." Moreover, pepper spray is potentially lethal: an ACLU study recently documented 27 deaths in California after its use by police. Yet SF coroner Boyd Stephens dismissed this and tried to blame the victim, announcing a "preliminary" finding of death due to cocaine-induced "excited delirium." The labor-hating *San Francisco Examiner* prominently displayed a "statement" by Kimberly Williams accusing her brother of attacking police. But then it came out that the statement was actually written by Andaya, and Kimberly said she was forced to sign it under threat of having her kids taken away!

As the cops and the local capitalist media were spreading the outrageous lie that Williams died from a "drug overdose," San Francisco's liberal establishment, from prominent black reverends and reformist misleaders to the Board of Supervisors, immediately moved to put the lid on angry protests. Black Democratic mayoral candidate and legendary Sacramento power broker Willie Brown has refused to say a word, while his chief opponent, Democratic mayor and former police chief Frank Jordan, has launched no less than three whitewash investigations...by the cops, the Police Commission, and the cop-friendly Office of Citizen Complaints.

Meanwhile, in the last week riot police have been converging daily on San Francisco's UN Plaza, brandishing billy clubs to disperse hungry people trying to eat food distributed by the activist group Food Not Bombs. While Clinton and other luminaries celebrate the 50th anniversary of the UN Charter, nearly 100 people have been arrested, including Food Not Bombs supporter Donald James Lanier, who was hospitalized.

The racist police are the armed fist of the capitalist state, and cannot be reformed. An army of cops mobilized when 50 protesters gathered to support the Williams family, who were meeting with Jordan at City Hall on June 7. Another protest at the Police Commission hearing was cleared out by a phalanx of riot police. The San Francisco labor movement, with the integrated Muni bus drivers and longshoremen in the forefront, must mobilize in defense of the besieged black community! ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Remember the Heroic Rosenbergs!

June 19 marks the anniversary of the chilling execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in 1953, at the height of the McCarthyite witchhunt. The Rosenbergs were railroaded to death in the electric chair for supposedly "conspiring" to pass the "secret of the atomic bomb" to the Russians. They went to their deaths heroically, denouncing the government's anti-Communist frame-up to the very end. The then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which came to the defense of the Rosenbergs, denounced their execution as "a deed of class hate and class vengeance." Today, Mumia Abu-Jamal is threatened with becoming the first political prisoner to be executed in this country since the Rosenbergs. In an editorial written before the execution of the Rosenbergs, the SWP emphasized the need for labor to rally to their defense and denounced the criminal passivity of the Cold War bureaucracy of the trade unions.

A terrible and irreversible injustice may soon take place in the Rosenberg case. Representatives of all sectors of the nation have rallied to the defense of the Rosenbergs, but labor has not yet been heard from. And the labor movement is the only power strong enough to stay the hand of the executioner.

The official leaders of the trade unions of America may feel that labor has no stake in this case. They may argue that only those who are sympathetic to "communism" or to the Soviet Union need be concerned about the fate of the Rosenbergs. They are wrong....

Labor must recall the fact that Sacco and Vanzetti were adjudged innocent years after their execution by Felix Frankfurter, who now sits on the Supreme Court which refused to give the Rosenbergs a chance to present new evidence. Labor must recall that Tom Mooney, also sentenced to death in a hysterical atmosphere, was saved by the protest of labor and also later found to be innocent.

Time is short! Labor must act at once. The top leadership of the AFL, the CIO and the independent unions have a clear duty to appeal for a stay of execution and for a new trial. If they fail in this duty, they may help the witch hunters to strike one of the greatest possible blows against labor.

—"Labor Must Fight This Injustice," *Militant* (8 June 1953)

S.F.: Protest Mass Arrest of Jamal Demonstrators!

On June 26, hundreds of San Francisco cops cordoned off a demonstration for Mumia Abu-Jamal and then brutally and wantonly dragged off nearly 300 people, including five children. In response, the Partisan Defense Committee initiated an emergency protest the next day against the arrests and issued the following statement to San Francisco District Attorney Arlo Smith.

The Partisan Defense Committee demands the immediate release and the dropping of all charges against nearly three hundred protesters who were rounded up and thrown in jail by the SF cops last night. This assault on a demonstration in defense of black death row prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, an innocent man who was framed up and sentenced to die for his political beliefs, is part and parcel of a sinister and frenzied national vendetta by the "Fraternal Order of Police" to have Jamal executed and to intimidate and silence his supporters.

With an ex-police chief as mayor, the SF cops increasingly act like they are a law unto themselves, marauding in the streets and assaulting the homeless, radicals, blacks and anybody who "gets in their way." Last night's mass arrest comes in the context of vicious cop attacks on the homeless and Food Not Bombs activists over the past week. The wanton brutality of Mayor Jordan's Operation Matrix, which has made homelessness and feeding the hungry a "crime" in San Francisco, has been brought home with a vengeance to "clean up" the streets for the United Nations "celebrations." Down with Operation Matrix!

The jailing of 274 people, many on frame-up felony charges (!), is the biggest mass arrest in San Francisco since 1992, when the police trapped and busted 575 demonstrators protesting the racist acquittal of the L.A. cops who beat black motorist Rodney King within an inch of his life. The comparison is hardly coincidental as the current mass arrest of anti-racist protesters comes on the heels of the killing of Aaron Williams, who was beaten to death by a sadistic gang of twelve SF cops.

Drop all charges against the anti-racist protesters!

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

The closing date for news in this issue is June 27

No. 625 **30 June 1995**

Spartacist Forums

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!
Down with the New COINTELPRO!

Mumia Abu-Jamal Must Not Die!

Speakers from the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee

- **Eyewitness Report from South Africa on the Fight for Jamal**

Thursday, July 6, 7:30 p.m.
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BERKELEY

NYPD on the Rampage

When New York City cops went berserk at a national police meeting in Washington, D.C. on May 15, ripping apart seven hotels and terrorizing guests, it was no joke. This was an ominous show of unrestrained cop power, as the enforcers of capitalist "law and order" flaunted, downtown in the nation's capital, the wild and wanton way in which they police the ghettos and barrios every day and night.

The yearly gathering of drunken, depraved police in Washington each May has more than a whiff of fascism about it. This year marauding cops banged on doors, pulled fire alarms, sprayed corridors with fire extinguishers and forced the evacuation of several Washington hotels at 3:15 a.m. Among those who experienced this chilling spectacle were trade unionists from the Letter Carriers and nurses, who were holding national gatherings in Washington.

Somebody called the cops, but the perpetrators *were* the cops. When the D.C. police arrived and discovered the rioters were the NYPD, they left without making arrests. The police "blue wall of silence" held solid as the scandal mounted in the following weeks. So far one *woman* cop from Queens has resigned as the designated fall guy, and two men were "suspended."

The drunken rampage was preceded by a mass meeting of uniformed police addressed by Bill Clinton. Attending as an honored guest was Maureen Faulkner, widow of Philadelphia policeman Daniel Faulkner, for whose shooting death in 1981 black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal was framed and is now facing execution.

New York's rulers didn't appreciate this unauthorized public display by their blue-uniformed thugs, but the NYPD soon staged some very official demonstrations of its armed might. Two weeks after the D.C. rampage, an army of hundreds of cops wielding submachine guns—supported by helicopters circling overhead and an armored assault vehicle clanking up East 13th Street—mounted an attack on squatters on the Lower East Side.

The massive police operation on May 30 was aimed at a couple dozen artists and anarchists who for the past ten years have been rehabilitating several abandoned buildings on Manhattan's Lower East Side. "We just can't allow people to not pay rent," intoned Giuliani as a die-hard defender of "property rights." So with police snipers on the rooftops, the bomb squad at the ready and the block sealed off by hundreds of riot cops with full-size bulletproof shields, black-suited ninja squads moved in. They came over the roofs with guns drawn, cut open the doors which had been welded shut by the squatters and dragged the residents through the darkened stairways. The NYPD's armored vehicle was poised to ram through the front doors of the buildings on command.

Then, on June 12, the Puerto Rican Day parade up Fifth Avenue erupted in Bronx cheers, as Giuliani was booed solidly along the march route. The mayor barely missed being hit with flying mangos at one point. So that night, the cops (or City Hall directly) decided it was payback time. As thousands of Puerto Rican families were sitting on their stoops and dancing in the streets in the late evening, police descended on the Bushwick neighborhood of Brooklyn.

The cops went block by block, stopping cars, cracking heads, spraying pepper gas and dragging people into the paddy wagons. They declared the Puerto Rican flags on sticks being carried home from the parade were "weapons." Windows and doors of apartment buildings were smashed as the cops busted in to gain "access" to the roofs. *More than 136 people* were arrested in the midnight roundup.

And from Brooklyn to the Bronx, the number of minority victims of racist cop terror steadily mounts. The cop in Sheepshead Bay who fired a 9mm semi-automatic at pointblank range into the back of 16-year-old Yong Zin Huang's head in March was cleared as a grand jury ruled the discharge "accidental." Outrage still burns in the South Bronx over the police killings in February. Anthony Baez was killed with a choke hold for the "crime" of tossing a football near a police car. Anthony Rosario and Hilton Vega were shot in the back, fourteen and eight times respectively. Margarita Rosario, Anthony's mother and Hilton's aunt, has been tireless in seeking justice for this crime. She is organizing a protest on July 7 outside the Bronx Supreme Court.

The increasingly bonapartist New York City police force is spurred on by Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who came to office as the "cops' candidate" after egging on a mob of 10,000 armed white cops as they stormed City Hall in a 1992 riot against the then mayor, black Democrat David Dinkins. Now the NYPD's swaggering, badge-toting bullies are the spearhead of Giuliani's frontal attack on minorities, workers, students, the homeless and the poor.

Jose Rosario/Courtesy El Diario-La Prensa

La Paz? San Salvador? No, it's the Lower East Side, New York City. Mayor Giuliani sent in NYPD armored personnel carrier to oust squatters as helicopters circled and submachine gun-toting cops moved in, May 30.

Bipartisan Capitalist Class War

In mid-June, a bipartisan budget agreement was worked out between the mayor and the Democratic-controlled City Council, including an $800 million spending cut and another $600 million to be coughed up by the municipal unions. The public school system will be especially devastated, with deep cuts to day care and "special ed" and eliminating summer programs. And now City University is carrying out a racist purge, further gutting open admissions, by jacking up tuition and slashing SEEK remedial programs, notably English-language courses which have allowed thousands of immigrant students to go to college.

Over the past several decades, New York City has lost hundreds of thousands of industrial jobs. Just since 1989, another 270,000 private sector jobs have been eliminated. Now Giuliani is seeking to cut tens of thousands of municipal workers. Against the menacing power of the racist cops, and the budget ax being wielded as brutally as the billy club, what is needed is old-fashioned class struggle. But the fight to defend jobs, hospitals, schools and social programs is sabotaged by a labor bureaucracy whose collaboration with the city rulers' class war on labor, minorities and the poor is destroying union strength in this city.

Last month it was documented (by Wayne Barrett in the *Village Voice*, 30 May) that five city union leaders, including Sandra Feldman for the UFT and Stanley Hill of AFSCME's DC 37, signed a letter drafted by Mayor Giuliani asking Governor Pataki to *cut* the state contribution to the city budget by hundreds of millions of dollars. Why? Since the city must put up "matching funds" to state contributions, cutting the state funds would allow the city to slash *its* Medicaid and welfare allotments. Behind this was the union bureaucrats' vile scheme to "protect" jobs by starving welfare recipients and slashing medical services to the poor!

But while this Old Guard of NYC labor officialdom is working hand in glove with Giuliani, trading in the human misery of the unemployed minority populations (and sacrificing their own members' jobs), the more activist union leaders like Dennis Rivera of Local 1199 still politically handcuff the workers' struggles to the Democratic Party. Whether it is Democrat Dinkins or Republican Giuliani in City Hall, it is the capitalist ruling class, from Wall Street to Washington, which dictates their moves.

There is a tremendous potential for class struggle in this city. From CUNY students to city workers to tenants rights activists, there are many thousands who are eager to be mobilized in struggle. What's needed is a leadership committed to class struggle instead of the class collaboration which has brought us Giuliani, Pataki and Clinton. A class-struggle workers party would fight for jobs for all; for free quality health care, including free abortion on demand, for free 24-hour day care; for open admissions, no tuition and living stipends for college students, and full citizenship rights for all immigrants. The city already pays almost one-fifth of its budget in debt service to the banks—so cancel the debt! But a real fight for such a program will soon see the debt collectors showing up looking suspiciously like the 82nd Airborne.

As we wrote in "Giuliani's Budget of Doom" (*WV* No. 618, 10 March): "In New York and everywhere, the fight to defend the unions, to beat back racist cop terror, for housing for the homeless and health care for the poor, must be part of a struggle to sweep away the profit system of the racist rulers and their state." ■

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Pro-Cop "Socialists" Substitute Fist for Brain...Again

ISO Goons Beaten Back

On June 17, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) assaulted members and supporters of the Spartacist League who were distributing a leaflet pointedly questioning the ISO's belated defense of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, particularly in light of their view that the racist cops can be won to the side of the working class and oppressed through "struggle." This leaflet and a protest statement are reprinted below.

The ISO's gangsterism is devastating evidence that their "support" to the campaign for Jamal isn't worth the paper it's printed on. For years, while the ISO maintained a stony silence, the Partisan Defense Committee, a legal and social defense organization affiliated with the SL, initiated mass rallies and protests on behalf of Jamal seeking to unite the broadest possible spectrum of political groups, unionists and others in this country and internationally for a common purpose while scrupulously maintaining the right of all participants to raise their own particular political viewpoints.

Who benefits from the ISO's slander, censorship and violence against us? Answer: the racist rulers and their cops who want to see Mumia dead. The FBI's "counter-intelligence program," COINTELPRO, used the same tactics—lies and "dirty tricks" aimed at fomenting disunity and violence—in their campaign against the left, particularly aimed at destroying the Black Panther Party. Wittingly or unwittingly, the ISO's gangsterism leaves them open to being used as the tool of more sinister agencies.

Our rebuff of the ISO's attack and our immediate full exposure of the incident stands in contrast to their guilty public silence and semiprivate and ever-twisting lies on the Internet. Finally, on June 24, the ISO "Steering Committee" came up with an "official" statement which, however, is not for public distribution! Here we find the following amalgam of slander: the SL's "actions, rather than helping to build our movement, are aimed at destroying it"; "among the Spartacist League's initiatives is the Partisan Defense Committee"; "the PDC has been heavily involved with the campaign to free Pennsylvania death row inmate Mumia Abu-Jamal." You don't need to read between the lines to get the message of this smear job—i.e., one of the main organizations fighting to mobilize in Jamal's defense are "thugs" who want to "destroy" the workers movement and therefore...you shouldn't get involved.

It will take more than a large bucket of clorox to make this wash. But again, *cui bono* (who benefits) from the ISO's slanders? The international outcry for Jamal is a thorn in the side of the capitalist rulers who want to press ahead with the first explicitly political execution in this country since the murders of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in 1953. Seizing on the heinous bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma, Clinton is ramming through a new COINTELPRO.

The ruling class understands, as do we, that a mass protest to free Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the racist death penalty strikes a blow against the whole system of capitalist repression. So do their media mouthpieces. The ISO's attack came on the heels of a front-page article in the 16 June *Wall Street Journal* which portrayed Jamal's supporters and the Spartacist League in particular as cultists. Recall the government's mass murder of the black men, women and children in the MOVE commune in Philadelphia or the 87 charred bodies of the Branch Davidians in Waco to understand the deadly impact of being declared a cult on the front page of a major capitalist newspaper.

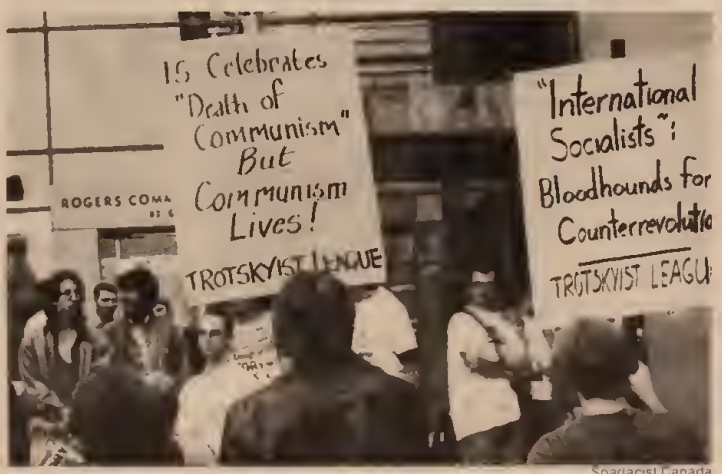
Beyond the lies, the ISO's statement reveals breathtaking contempt for their own membership. Hundreds of participants at their national gathering in Chicago saw SL supporters distributing literature and engaging in political discussion. Yet the ISO statement asserts that one of our sales teams "carried no literature and made no attempt to talk to any one arriving for the meeting." ISO members face the grim choice of corruption: either they must swear to a story they *know* is not true, or, if they are troubled by lies and violence, they will be driven out of the organization and perhaps give up on left-wing politics altogether. In this way, too, the ISO leadership does the bourgeoisie's dirty work.

Clearly the purpose here is for the ISO to control its membership by drawing a blood line. A number of ISO members *have* seen the fight to free Jamal as vital to the fight against racist American capitalism, and one which they rightly thought the ISO should be involved in. Finally their leadership responded with articles in defense of Jamal, but the fact that we have long been in the lead in the campaign for Jamal, mobilizing and cooperating with diverse groups and tendencies, gives the lie to the ISO leadership's satanic depiction of our organization as a bunch of crazed sectarians and "disrupters." Violence and slander is the way they resolve that contradiction.

The abject hypocrisy of the ISO's current stance of opposition to violence is revealed in the following news from South Africa. When a supporter of the ISO's affiliate, the International Socialists of South Africa (ISSA), was informed of the Chicago events, he boasted of his own participation in "gooning" Spartacist comrades in Britain and screamed at our comrade, "You are nothing! You are a peanut of an organization." Troubled by this response, an observer from the South African Communist Party (which claims 50,000 members) replied, "By your logic, then the South African Communist Party ought to do the same thing to *you*." Think about it.

On June 17 outside a publicly advertised gathering of the International Socialist Organization at DePaul University in Chicago, an ISO goon squad got a richly deserved lesson in what happens to people who mistakenly think they can physically assault the Spartacist League. All leftists who have witnessed and experienced the ISO's bureaucratic exclusions and violent gangsterism against communists and socialists should savor our defense of workers democracy and victory over their thuggery.

The ISO has a long history of intolerance to open political discussion or debate. Instead the ISO attempts to seal off its members by drawing a blood line against left-wing critics. Evidently, we hit a very raw nerve with our leaflet (see facing page) which questions how the ISO reconciles their new (and shamefully belated) defense of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal with their longstanding support to cops, prison guards, and their pervasive illusions in and support to the capitalist state. Or perhaps, as the ISO tries to worm its way into the Staley workers defense milieu, our exposure of ISO support to union-busting—from crossing picket lines to cheering the feds' takeover of the Teamsters—was too hot to handle?



Spartacist Canada

For years the International Socialists/ISO cowards have been infamous for their thug attacks on other leftists. Above: Trotskyist League of Canada protests I.S.' frenzied anti-communist attack on our comrades, August 1992.

The facts are these: Spartacist members and supporters distributed literature on Fullerton Avenue *outside* and well away from the public sessions of the ISO national educational. A distribution on June 16 went without incident, but on the next night, after an appearance by ISO leader Ahmed Shawki and his sidekick Joel Geier, the ISO amassed a large goon squad and began bumping and shoving our vastly outnumbered comrades as they prepared to leave the site. The grotesque sensibilities and cowardice of the ISO were consistently manifested in their proclivity to especially single out black people and women for their bully boy tactics.

An SL supporter who intervened to try and defuse the situation was jumped from behind and hit in the back of the head with a blunt instrument, sustaining a gash requiring five stitches. Then, every ISO goon was swept aside swiftly and effectively while their chief bully, one Joe Allen, was deposited on his ass. As Allen cried and wailed for an ambulance, panicked ISOers hacked away. Then they called over the campus cops.

Gangsterism is the trait which defines the ISO and its affiliates worldwide. Last fall at Boston University, the ISO assaulted Spartacus Youth Club members who were distributing literature advocating the abolition of the racist death penalty and the urgent defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal. In Britain, the *Socialist Organiser* group called for an official labor movement inquiry into the gangsterous violence directed at other political tendencies at the annual summer week of "discussion and debate" organized by the British Socialist Workers Party (the parent tendency of which the ISO is an abused child). In August 1992, the ISO's Canadian affiliate launched a brutal, misogynist assault on a small woman comrade of ours in Toronto, an outrage which prompted public protest by an independent witness.

It is the ISO's excruciating political contradictions which give rise to their lies and violence. As Trotskyists, we relish the clash of opinion in open political debate which is essential to distilling revolutionary class consciousness. This is perceived as a threat by the ISO which pursues a frenzied chase for "popularity" instead of political program. Attacks on the left are the corollary of their quest for "respectability" in the eyes of the capitalist state. Karl Marx's observation seems most apt when applied to the ISO: "The only antidote to mental suffering is physical pain."

The lesson in workers democracy delivered to the ISO on June 17 in Chicago ought to have some educational value for ISO members everywhere. As the founder of American Trotskyism, James P. Cannon, said of the early Trotskyists' militant defense of their rights against Stalinist gangsterism, the Stalinists saw the Trotskyists "not only stand their ground and give back blow for blow but also give the ignorant, misguided young hoodlums a propaganda speech and a tract for the good of their souls." And the Trotskyists recruited a few on the firing line.

The ISO and their cothinkers internationally are on notice: This is a political fight and we welcome it. If you want to distribute literature in support of racist cop "unions" outside our meetings in defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal, that's your right. If you want to come in and explain why you cross picket lines and support government union-busting, while we outline how to build a class-struggle workers party, that's your right too and we will scrupulously uphold it. The ISO leadership knows this. In fact, the ISO spoke along with many other participants at the PDC-initiated June 5th rally in Chicago to protest the signing of the death warrant for Mumia Abu-Jamal. But if you throw up your goon squad, if you try to silence our revolutionary message with fists, then you will do so at your own risk.

Chicago Spartacist League
18 June 1995

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The ISO, the Death Penalty and the Cops

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

For over a decade, Mumia Abu-Jamal has been entombed in a cell on death row in Pennsylvania for a crime he did not commit, sentenced to die for his political beliefs. A former Black Panther, supporter of the MOVE organization and an award-winning journalist who even on death row continues to use his searingly eloquent voice to expose the crimes of America's rulers, Jamal is the symbol of what the death penalty is all about in the racist, capitalist U.S.A. On June 1, Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge signed an execution warrant against Jamal.

The Partisan Defense Committee, a non-sectarian legal and social defense organization whose purpose is in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League/U.S., has long fought to mobilize the broadest social forces in the fight to save Mumia's life. This cause has been taken up in the U.S. and internationally by many thousands of trade unionists, leftists, writers, artists, political figures and other opponents of the racist death penalty.

After years of silence, the International Socialist Organization published an article in Jamal's defense in the June 9 issue of *Socialist Worker*. This is an about-face and we look forward to the ISO mobilizing its forces in the desperately needed united-front efforts to save Jamal's life. At the same time, taking up the cause of a man who the media, the government and the cops lyingly revile as a "cop killer" must pose some excruciating contradictions for the ISO to deal with (and perhaps this is the reason for their belated defense of Jamal).

The police frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal is stark testimony to the Marxist understanding that the cops are the armed thugs and enforcers for the racist rule of the wealthy few against any who would oppose them. But how does this jibe with the ISO's view that the police are "workers in uniform" whose strikes and demands for "union" rights should be supported? One of the baldest expressions of this position was made by John Molyneux, a leading "theoretician" of the ISO's parent organization, the British Socialist Workers Party. In his misnamed "Teach Yourself Marxism" column, Molyneux opined that "part of the struggle to smash the state may involve supporting rebellions of sections of the police against their officers and employers" (*Socialist Worker*, 28 August 1993)!

Cop "rebellions" are aimed at getting rid of any restrictions on their ability to terrorize the inner cities, smash strikes and exact vengeance against all other perceived "enemies." The Philadelphia police "union," the Fraternal Order of Police, has been on campaign footing to have Jamal put to death. With the backing of other police "unions" they have been mobilizing to silence Jamal and intimidate his supporters. *Socialist Worker* denounces the racism of the Philly cops but presumably the ISO would support them if they were "on strike" for better pay and working conditions i.e., more money to carry out their terror.

In its review of Jamal's book "Live from Death Row," *Socialist Worker* notes that the "most powerful essays in the book describe the barbaric and dehumanizing routine of prison life." The hands-on agents of this barbarism are the prison guards. Yet the ISO's mentors in the British SWP have happily bragged of prison guards setting up *Socialist Worker* readers' circles!

And what of other police agencies? Since the time he was a 15-year-old spokesman for the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Panther Party, Jamal was a target of the Philly cops and the FBI's COINTELPRO program. Thirty-eight Panthers were murdered and hundreds of others jailed on frame-up charges in this deadly FBI vendetta. Jamal is a supporter of the MOVE organization. In 1985, in a joint operation of the Philly cops, city administration, FBI and Reagan government, the MOVE household was firebombed, murdering 11 black men, women and children and incinerating an entire neighborhood.

Today, seizing on the hideous Oklahoma bombing, the Clinton administration has rammed through a new COINTELPRO, the "Omnibus Counterterrorism Act," which targets virtually the entire population of the U.S. In a leaflet at UC Berkeley the ISO responded by asking "Can we rely on the FBI to protect us?" That self-proclaimed socialists would even pose such a question, speaks volumes of the ISO's view of the state as a benign and in some cases even a benevolent force (particularly in its Democratic Party face).

That's why the ISO meekly submits control of anti-fascist protests to the racist police. Typically, the ISO waltzes its members and supporters into fenced-in police pens—surrounded by cops with their guns, their gas, their nightsticks and their horses—to impotently "protest" the fascists without ever mobilizing to *stop* them. That's also why the ISO appeals to the agencies of the U.S. government—anti-labor gangsters with state power—to rid the Teamsters of "mob influence." The whole demeanor and language of the ISO is that of housebroken "socialists" who take care not to "offend" the powers that be and the "public opinion" (i.e., bourgeois ideology) the capitalist rulers purvey.

The title of a recent *Socialist Worker* (12 May) article, for example, reads "Death Penalty Not a Deterrent to Murder." But the death penalty *is* murder, executed by the racist capitalist rulers. We are opposed to the death penalty on principle. We do not accord this government the right to say who lives and who dies. In racist America, the death penalty is the lynch rope of the Ku Klux Klan made "legal," embedded in a history going back to the slave codes which defined black people as chattel.

For the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth Club the fight to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal and to abolish the racist death penalty is an integral part of our fight for black freedom in a socialist America. *Now* is the time that all opponents of the racist death penalty—particularly the multiracial working class which has the social power to strike a real blow against this whole system of racist reaction—must be mobilized to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal. United-front actions, in which all participants can express their particular views, also allow for the exchange and clash of opinion which is vital to building a revolutionary workers party that can lead the fight for a socialist America. It is a good thing that the ISO has finally decided to take up the defense of Jamal. But the ISO's policy of slander, exclusionism and violence are antithetical to the cause of mobilizing mass social protest to save Mumia's life. Less than a year ago, several ISO thugs physically attacked three members of the Spartacus Youth Club outside a death penalty forum at Boston University. Petitions and literature for Jamal were ripped out of our comrades' hands, seized in stacks off our literature table, torn to shreds and thrown out on the street. Substituting the fist for the brain, the ISO leadership's tactics have long been to attempt to draw a blood line to seal off new members from political debate.

In a taped message from death row to a 1993 New York rally in his defense sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee, Mumia spoke powerfully to what is posed: "This government, which bombed babies in Philadelphia *and* Baghdad, which mows down babies in Somalia, is sowing the seeds of their own destruction. It is a time, not for confusion, but for opportunity, to transform what *is* into what must be." For us, to "transform what is into what must be" means a proletarian revolutionary fight to bring down the entire system of American capitalism which is predicated on racist exploitation.

To accomplish this task there can be no confusion over the nature of the capitalist state, its cops, prison guards and other agencies of repression. While the ISO leadership's belated defense of Jamal smacks of Oscar Wilde's statement that "hypocrisy is the homage that vice pays to virtue," those who genuinely want to fight for a socialist America would do well to at least ponder the evident contradiction between this goal and the political views of the ISO.

Spartacist League
16 June 1995

Angry Workers Protest Plan to Close L.A. County Hospital

Downs/L.A. Times

Over 1,500 hospital workers rallied to save the L.A. County-USC Medical Center on June 21. Joined by hundreds of workers from other SEIU locals, health care workers from SEIU Local 660 protested a proposal to close the largest public hospital in the country and slash as many as 18,200 jobs. The largely black and Hispanic workers angrily denounced the budget cuts at a raucous Board of Supervisors hearing at the County Hall of Administration.

County-USC provides crucial medical services for hundreds of thousands of minorities and immigrants, including 40 percent of the care to AIDS patients in the county. Closing this hospital would literally condemn these people to die in the streets. The proposal to close the hospital comes on the heels of the passage of the racist, anti-immigrant Prop 187 and Governor Wilson's recent elimination of all state affirmative action programs.

The fight to save County-USC and other public hospitals demands a response by all L.A. labor, from Teamster truckers to the powerful ILWU longshoremen, from SEIU's militant "Justice for Janitors" to the unionized public employees facing mass layoffs. The recent organizing drive by Mexican and Latin American carpenters in Orange County shows the deep roots of militancy which immigrant labor has infused into this historically open-shop city.

Breaking with the pro-capitalist union tops, whose only strategy is support for phony "pro-labor" Democrats, is critical. Bust the budget cutters! Keep County-USC open! For free, quality health care for all!

1982 Trial a Mockery of Justice

On Monday, June 5, Mumia Abu-Jamal's legal team, led by prominent civil liberties attorney Leonard Weinglass, filed some 500 pages of legal papers seeking a new trial and the overturn of Jamal's death sentence. Early the previous Friday morning, as he was preparing his case in the prison law library at Pennsylvania's Greene Correctional Institution isolation facility, Jamal was handed an execution warrant by prison authorities. He was immediately removed from there, deprived of his notes and other possessions and taken to a new cell in an even more restrictive area of death row where prisoners are held after warrants have been signed. Knowing full well that Jamal's lawyers were about to submit papers which unamhiguously demonstrated his innocence, on the night of June 1 Governor Tom Ridge had nevertheless gone ahead and signed Jamal's death warrant scheduling his execution by lethal injection for August 17. Ridge's aim, he cynically proclaimed, was "to fulfill a campaign promise." This vindictive act was but the latest chapter in the grotesque history of the racist state vendetta against Mumia Abu-Jamal.

For 13 years, Mumia Abu-Jamal has been imprisoned on death row, falsely charged and convicted for the killing of Philadelphia police officer Daniel Faulkner in December 1981. For 13 years, Jamal has proclaimed his innocence and indicted the system of racist injustice that seeks to kill him. He has powerfully accused his accusers of a politically motivated frame-up, a frame-up aimed at silencing forever his powerful voice on behalf of the oppressed. By the time of his arrest, Jamal was widely recognized as one of the most prominent young broadcast journalists in Philadelphia and president of the Philadelphia chapter of the Association of Black Journalists. For his fearless and incisive exposures of racism and police brutality, Mumia had earned the title the "voice of the voiceless"—as well as the undying hatred of the Philadelphia cops and their "law and order" allies in government and the media.

In many respects, Mumia was accorded the frame-up "justice" typically meted out to black people by this capitalist system, which regularly railroads ghetto youth into prison hellholes and has the highest rate of incarceration of any industrialized Western country. But in this case there was more. Mumia Abu-Jamal was not just an ordinary young black man who got ensnared in a racist nightmare by being in the wrong place at the wrong time. As a Black Panther Party activist, journalist, potential black leader and later supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE organization, Mumia was *targeted for death* by the forces of "law and order."

The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal

no credit

Jamal in hospital after being shot and beaten by Philadelphia cops, December 1981. Failing to kill him in the streets, the "justice" system framed him up and now threatens to execute this courageous fighter for the oppressed.

As 700 pages of FBI files recently released after a three-year battle show, from the time he emerged as a 15-year-old spokesman for the Philadelphia Panthers in 1969, he was subjected to constant surveillance, harassment and frame-up attempts by the FBI's COINTELPRO terror operation aimed at "neutralizing" black and leftist militants. A 24 October 1969 FBI report urging that Jamal be placed under high-level surveillance noted:

> "In spite of the subject's age (15 years), Philadelphia feels that his continued participation in BPP activities in the Philadelphia Division, his position in the Philadelphia Branch of the BPP, and his past inclination to appear and speak at public gatherings, the subject should be included on the Security Index."

When Mumia told MOVE's side of the story following a bloody 1978 cop siege of its Powelton Village home, then mayor and former police commissioner Frank Rizzo fingered a "new breed" of journalist, such as Jamal, which, he threatened, would one day "be held responsible and accountable for what you do." Three years later, on a dark Philadelphia street at four in the morning, the cops finally got the chance they'd been waiting for.

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal has come to symbolize what the barbaric and racist death penalty is all about, and the "law and order" reactionaries hate him for this as well. They seek to paint the 3,000 people—overwhelmingly poor, black or Hispanic—on the country's death rows as nameless, faceless sadistic killers. And Mumia's eloquent and compassionate voice puts the lie to that.

The Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) and its allies have waged a vicious and frenzied vendetta to silence Jamal and intimidate his supporters. Following a rally for Jamal in Philadelphia in 1990, FOP head Richard Costello screamed for the electric chair for Mumia and an "electric couch" for his supporters. When last year National Public Radio agreed to air a series of commentaries on prison life by Jamal, the FOP launched a noisy campaign of intimidation which was taken up by Republican Senator Dole and succeeded in censoring Jamal. And Democratic president Clinton has made a point of appearing at the FOP's annual Washington, D.C. rallies for cop power.

When a collection of Jamal's prison commentaries was brought out this May as a book by a major publisher, *Live from Death Row* (Addison-Wesley, 1995), the forces who want to see him dead orchestrated a high-powered media campaign seeking to drown out the passionate humanity expressed in his writings. The big media, ranging from the *Washington Post* to the *New York Post* and Dan Rather's CBS-TV *Evening News*, tried to demonize Mumia as a vicious and sadistic "cop killer" by cynically parading around the dead cop's widow. In account after nauseating account, Maureen Faulkner "recalled" how Jamal "smiled" at her while a criminalist held up her husband's bloodied shirt during the trial to display the bullet holes. *But, as the trial transcript shows, Jamal was not even in the courtroom when this alleged incident happened.*

The forces of death have also propagated the lie that Jamal was accorded "due process" of law and found guilty by a "jury of his peers." Thus, in a June 2 letter to actors Ed Asner and Mike Farrell and other prominent supporters of Jamal, on the official stationery of Philadelphia District Attorney Lynne Abraham, Assistant D.A. Arnold Gordon wrote:

> "From an evidentiary standpoint, the case against Mumia Abu-Jamal was overwhelming, one of the strongest I have seen in my twenty-five years as a prosecutor. A jury found him guilty and pronounced a justly deserved death sentence."

In fact, Mumia's trial was a mockery of justice from beginning to end, deeply tainted in every respect, as we will show in detail in examining the "overwhelming" evidence outlined by Gordon and presented by the prosecution in June-July 1982. As lead counsel Len Weinglass said at a June 5 press conference following the filing of the legal papers, "Mumia Abu-Jamal never had a trial." As these papers document, the "trial" was replete with violations of Jamal's constitutional rights and marked by widespread police and prosecutorial misconduct, including suppression of evidence of Jamal's innocence, coercion of witnesses and racist elimination of potential black jurors. In an article in *New York Newsday* (22 June), writer Terry Bisson captured the blatant miscarriage of justice at Jamal's trial:

> "Abu-Jamal's murder trial was a policeman's dream. Denied the right to represent himself, he was defended by a reluctant incompetent who was later disbarred (and who has since filed an affidavit detailing his delinquencies). Abu-Jamal was prosecuted by a district attorney who was later reprimanded for withholding evidence in another trial. Abu-Jamal was allowed only $150 to interview witnesses. "But best of all was the judge. A life-time member of the Fraternal Order of Police, branded a 'defendant's nightmare' by the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Judge Albert F. Sabo has sentenced more men to die (31 to date, only two of them white) than any other sitting judge in America. A fellow judge once called his courtroom a 'vacation for prosecutors' because of his bias toward convictions."

From the time the Partisan Defense Committee took up Jamal's case more than eight years ago, we have emphasized that the fight to save him cannot rely on the capitalist courts but rather must look to the mobilization of the masses, centrally the social power of the labor movement. Since then, trade unions representing millions of workers—in the U.S., Britain, France, Germany, South Africa and elsewhere—have spoken out for Jamal. Many tens of thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, have signed petitions or written letters to the Pennsylvania governor's office demanding that "Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!" Thousands have taken to the street, including in emergency demonstrations following the signing of the death warrant. Thousands must now be turned into tens and hundreds of thousands, bringing

Everly/Philadelphia Daily News

Mumia Abu-Jamal taken out of courtroom by sheriffs. Mumia wasn't allowed to defend himself or even to be present for much of the trial by notorious "hanging judge" Albert Sabo.

An Open Letter to President Mandela to Save the Life of Mumia Abu-Jamal

By Paul Trewhela

For Attention:

President Nelson Mandela
State President's Office
Cape Town
Republic of South Africa

Dear President Mandela,

I am appealing to you to use the respect in which you are held internationally to try to stop the execution in the United States of a black political prisoner, Mumia Abu-Jamal.

I am writing to you as a fellow *mugwenya* from the grim time in the early 1960s, when the shadow of the gallows hung over you too.

Abu-Jamal is due to be executed in Pennsylvania on 17 August. He has been involved in radical black politics in the U.S. since he was first arrested at the age of 14, in 1968, in a protest against the presidential campaign of the racist governor, George Wallace. The following year he supported the founder of the Black Panther Freedom Party, Huey Newton, then in prison.

His trial in 1982, following the death of a policeman in a shoot-out the previous year, was crowded with irregularities.

I have supported the campaign to save the life of Abu-Jamal since 1990, when I spoke at a meeting in London in his defence. I said then that in a society in which "the black 9 percent of the population of Pennsylvania gives birth to 56 percent of the population on death row, we are in the presence of truly South African conditions."

If South Africa can suspend the death penalty, that should apply at least equally for Abu-Jamal.

When I think about Abu-Jamal, my emotions go back to the time when my fellow co-accused and I were in the Fort Prison in Johannesburg, on trial, in late 1964. Our courageous solicitor, Joel Joffe, was also the attorney representing the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe heroes Vuyisile Mini, Wilson Khayinga and Zinakile Mkaba. On the day before their hanging in Pretoria Central Prison on 6 November 1964, Joel brought us messages from our doomed comrades and we sent our own message of love and solidarity to them, with Joel.

We held a memorial service for them in the yard at the Fort, as I'm sure you did also on Robben Island, Ivan Schermbrucker and Eli Weinberg, both now dead, guided our thoughts.

A year later we white political prisoners were transferred from Pretoria Local Prison to Central Prison, when the authorities wanted to use our cells to hold their Namibian prisoners from Swapo, including Toivo, while they brutalised and tortured them.

During the six months we were held in Pretoria Central, we listened to the executions of black prisoners every few weeks, through the singing of the Condemned prisoners in B Wing. It was awful—one of the worst experiences of my life.

Please, Mr. President, let our South African experience speak loudly and clearly to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal in Pennsylvania, in memory of Mini, Khayinga, Mkaba, and so many others. Use the force of your international reputation to urge that the execution be set aside, in the same way that an international campaign helped to stay the hand of the judge in your trial.

The address of the Governor of Pennsylvania is: Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120, United States of America.

With deep respect,
Paul Trewhela

Political prisoner, Johannesburg and Pretoria, 1964-67.

Editor, Umkhonto we Sizwe underground newspaper, *Freedom Fighter*, Johannesburg, 1963-64.

Co-editor, *Searchlight South Africa*, London, 1988-94.

Aylesbury, Britain.
16 June 1995
South Africa Freedom Day

to bear the weight of the working class in this urgent phase of the struggle to save Mumia and secure his freedom.

The Prosecution's Case: Three Legs, All Lies

In dissecting the travesty of justice which placed Mumia Abu-Jamal on death row, we will begin by looking at the prosecution's account of the shooting incident. What happened in the early morning hours of 9 December 1981? It is undisputed that the events unfolded when an old VW owned by Jamal's brother, Billy, was pulled over by Faulkner. One of the occupants got out. The cop started beating him. Jamal, who was moonlighting as a cab driver at the time, happened to be in the area and saw this. These events took place at about 3:55 in the morning in the middle of Philly's red light district. The street was dark, but the bars were closing and a number of people were in the area on foot or driving through. A number of shots rang out. The whole incident lasted less than two minutes, and a number of police cars immediately began converging on the scene. Jamal was found critically wounded from a bullet through the chest. Nearby lay a wounded Faulkner. Jamal eventually recovered after surgery, but the cop died an hour later.

As Jamal's lead counsel Leonard Weinglass said at the Philadelphia press conference on June 5, the prosecution's case against Jamal rested on three legs. First, the prosecution claimed three eyewitnesses identified Jamal as the shooter. Second, the prosecution claimed Jamal "confessed" to the shooting when he arrived at the hospital to be treated for his wounds. Third, the prosecution argued that the fact that Jamal's gun was found at the scene showed he did the shooting. As Jamal's new legal filings, show in careful detail, each prosecution claim was false and based on evidence which had been twisted around to implicate Jamal.

1 The Non-Smoking Gun: Ballistics and Forensics

Let us first deal with the question of the gun and the shooting. The prosecution theory of what happened during the shooting incident, as outlined by Assistant D.A. Gordon in his June 2 letter, runs as follows:

> "Abu-Jamal, who had been driving a cab in the area, ran from across the street toward Officer Faulkner. Abu-Jamal shot the officer once in the back. Officer Faulkner fell to the ground; Abu-Jamal aimed and shot the officer four more times, including a shot through the center of his face. Officer Faulkner was able to fire one shot at Abu-Jamal during the shooting."

Gordon goes on to say that the bullet that killed Faulkner was "fired within twenty inches of the officer's face," the one in his back "was fired from a distance of approximately nine inches, and the shots that went through his clothing, were also fired at extremely close range." According to Gordon, two guns were recovered at the scene: "Officer Faulkner's weapon had been fired once, and Abu-Jamal's weapon contained five spent cartridges." These were +P cartridges, and, says Gordon, "The bullet that was removed from Officer Faulkner was also a +P bullet, but it was so mutilated that no comparison could be made to a bullet test fired from Abu-Jamal's gun."

Note carefully that Gordon does not talk of *Jamal's* gun having been *fired*. If you want to find out whether a gun has been fired recently, it's not hard: just smell the barrel for the odor of burnt gunpowder. (Ballistics experts say that the smell remains for four to five hours, and certainly would be present after four to five minutes.) Either the police incredibly failed to perform this simple test, or they hid the fact that Jamal's gun was indeed not used that night. As for the +P bullets, this variety of pistol ammunition is widely available. And while cops say Jamal's gun, which was licensed to him, had five spent cartridges, the cops never recovered more than three bullets from the scene. One of these was removed from Faulkner's body. As Jamal's legal brief notes, "the Medical Examiner judged the fatal bullet to be a .44 caliber. Mr. Jamal's gun was a .38 caliber pistol."

The police crime lab reported just enough test results to show that the rifling pattern of Jamal's gun (eight lands and grooves and a right-hand twist) was "consistent" with the bullet that killed the cop. But there are millions of guns with that rifling pattern in the U.S. A ballistics expert retained by Jamal's current legal team, having examined the police reports, lists a series of "issues of a firearm evidence nature which required further investigation and testing." Either police failed to do the normal tests or, more likely, the results proved Jamal's gun was not used and so they were kept secret. Particularly damning is the cops' failure to report if they tested Jamal's hands for gunshot residue. Yet, the ballistics expert pointed out, "In 1981 such tests were frequently performed when a suspect was apprehended immediately after a shooting incident." The police ballistics report was so inconclusive that a Homicide Division captain admitted at the time:

> "One expert might say the bullet came from Mumia's gun and another might be brought in from Iowa who will say, 'I've got 20 years' experience and I say it didn't come from that gun.' We just don't know."
>
> —Philadelphia *Bulletin*, 11 December 1981

A re-examination by Jamal's experts of the forensics reports also disproves the prosecution theory of *how* the shooting took place. If Faulkner was shot at "extremely close range," there normally would have been gunshot residue (stippling) on the back of his jacket, but there was none. Moreover, the prosecution

continued on page 10

Philadelphia Daily News

Owens/Bulletin

Left: Philly cops beat Delbert Africa in 1978 raid on MOVE home in Powelton Village. Above: Racist mayor of Philadelphia, Frank Rizzo, at press conference where he justified the assault and threatened "new breed" of journalist. Mumia Abu-Jamal is at left in photo.

Jamal Must Not Die!...

(continued from page 1)

chattel slavery. The current rate of executions in the U.S., now the only industrialized Western country to retain the death penalty, is *double* that of the highest previous annual rate since the assembly line of death was started up again in 1976 after a brief pause. For his part, Ridge has ordered *15 executions* since taking office in January after winning the state house on a right-wing, pro-death platform. In May, Keith Zettlemoyer became the first victim of "Governor Death" and the first to be executed in the state since 1962.

The threat to execute Jamal comes in the context of a concerted effort by the Democratic White House and Republican Congress to massively increase police powers. By near-unanimous vote, on June 7 the U.S. Senate approved Clinton's draconian "Counterterrorism" bill. Among many other attacks on basic liberties, this bill guts centuries-old *habeas corpus* protections against wrongful imprisonment by limiting challenges of death sentences to one federal appeal within one year of conviction—which in many cases will mean no right to appeal at all.

In the midst of a bipartisan attack on social programs from welfare to Medicare, particularly targeting the black ghetto masses, Clinton and Gingrich are intent on reviving J. Edgar Hoover's COINTELPRO terror operation of the 1960s and '70s. This program of assassination, disruption and surveillance against leftist and black organizations—which led to the killing of 38 Panther members—also went after Mumia from the time he was a 15-year-old leader of the Philadelphia Panthers. Now the government wants a new COINTELPRO directed at the entire population.

In their quest to kill this award-winning journalist, the state of Pennsylvania has joined ranks with the reactionary regime in Iran, which issued a *fatwa* (death sentence) against author Salman Rushdie for his humanistic writings, and Bangladesh, where a similar edict was proclaimed by Islamic reactionaries against leftist woman writer Taslima Nasrin.

The publication of Jamal's book had already touched off a well-orchestrated national campaign by the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) to vilify Jamal as "profiting from a crime" and to call for a boycott of Addison-Wesley. Last month, racist FOP thugs from New York, New Jersey and Philly picketed a fund-raising event for Jamal in Manhattan featuring the actor Giancarlo Esposito and other prominent personalities. And the day the warrant was announced, Philadelphia assistant district attorney Arnold Gordon issued a letter to celebrities who have spoken out for Jamal. Repeating the tissue of lies that made up the prosecution's "case" against Mumia, the letter denounced the "ill-advised" publication of Jamal's book as "the only true miscarriage of justice here" and threatened Jamal's supporters for their "insult to police officers."

WV Photo

Philadelphia, June 5: Several hundred marched to protest planned execution of Jamal following press conference by his lawyers.

When it comes to "miscarriage of justice," the Philly cops and their honchos in Harrisburg have been up to their necks in scandals and convictions. Former Philly FOP head John Shaw was recently sentenced to prison for racketeering and fraud, another Philly cop was convicted earlier this month for shaking down motorists, and state attorney general Ernest D. Preate Jr. just resigned after pleading guilty to an illegal gambling scam. Furthermore, a Jewish ex-cop has sued the Philadelphia police department for blatant anti-Semitism.

Ominously, as Philadelphia's Police Advisory Commission announced hearings into the savage 1994 cop killing of Hispanic truck driver Moises DeJesus, FOP head Richard Costello haldly vowed that no cop would cooperate with the panel. Such statements show that the enforcers of capitalist "justice" feel they are above even the fig leaf of legal restraint. In 1990 the FOP's Costello threatened that Jamal's supporters should be put on an "electric couch."

They Want to Silence Jamal Forever

As state officials ready the execution gurney, they have simultaneously escalated their campaign to silence Jamal and his supporters. Prison authorities have imposed new disciplinary measures aimed at sealing off Jamal from the public. Only days after the signing of the execution warrant, Pennsylvania launched a vindictive disciplinary action against Jamal, accusing Mumia, his attorneys, Addison-Wesley and others with being part of a "*conspiracy*" to help bring his book out! The effect of this has been to further cut Mumia off from his attorneys and the media. On June 27, Jamal filed for an injunction against the prison to stop the authorities' interference with Jamal's correspondence with his attorneys and to allow paralegal visits and press interviews.

Mumia refuses to be silenced by such measures. Even while facing the most restrictive conditions, Jamal has produced a stream of new articles countering the campaign to kill him. In "First Amendment Rites," he reports on a June 9 Department of Corrections hearing where an examiner concluded:

> "'Jamal does not deny the [journalism] charges but cites a violation of First Amendment rites.'...
> "The 'examiner' found me 'guilty' and sentenced a man with less than 75 days to live, to 30 days 'DCS' or disciplinary custody status, to start immediately.
> "(I've been called many things, but 'convicted journalist'? That's a new one!)"

The racist rulers intend to execute Mumia as a sign that they will brook no defiance. Murderous police terror has intensified as the ruling class pushes through a program aimed at wiping out a whole layer of the ghetto population by dismantling welfare and other social programs. In this climate of social reaction, Mumia is being set up to be the first political prisoner executed in the U.S. since Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were killed in the electric chair in 1953, victims of McCarthyite Cold War anti-Communism.

We must not let that happen! It is necessary to build on the momentum of the wave of recent protests with a strategy aimed at mass mobilizations of blacks, Hispanics and all the intended victims of capitalist repression, centrally seeking to unlock the social power of the integrated labor movement. The Spartacist League and PDC have insisted on the importance of united-front defense of class-war prisoners, emphasizing the need for different organizations to join together in common action while freely proclaiming their own political views. It is noteworthy that of late a number of leftist groups have joined the campaign to save Jamal. We have also insisted that this is not only a struggle for Mumia's life—it's a fight against the institution of the death penalty itself, a barbaric means of repression which in the U.S. is necessarily racist. *Free Mumia! Abolish the racist death penalty!*

Worldwide Rallies Demand: Mumia Must Not Die!

The emergency demonstrations in the U.S., which brought thousands onto the streets across the country, were the largest protests against the death penalty in decades. At a rally in Boston held at the memorial to the black Civil War soldiers of the Massachusetts 54th Regiment, a statement was read from Michael and Robert Meeropol, children of the Rosenbergs. They stated: "Our parents were almost saved by the mobilization of thousands of Americans.... We must not shy away from the defense of Mumia. We must make sure that NO AMERICAN POLITICAL PRISONER suffers the fate of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg."

In Oakland, California over 500 demonstrated, including a contingent from the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, which unfurled its banner next to the speaker's platform. Owen Marron, executive secretary of the Alameda County Central Labor Council, linked the defense of Jamal with the struggle against anti-labor repression and pledged labor's support in the fight for Jamal's life. Also on the West Coast, the Los Angeles County Democratic Party Central Committee recently passed a resolution urging a new trial for Mumia and the recusal of Judge Sabo, who, it notes, "has sentenced more people to death (31, all but two persons of color) than any other judge in the United States."

In New York, over 1,000 marched around Madison Square Garden, chanting, "Free Mumia!" A truck driver who honked his horn in solidarity was arrested by police on the spot. Earlier, on June 3 in Minneapolis, cops viciously attacked a demonstration of 200 Jamal supporters, charging into the crowd on horseback, macing them and arresting

Black Press Covers Jamal Campaign

Mumia Abu-Jamal death warrant stirs national protests

THOUSANDS AROUND THE NATION MARCH TO PROTEST EXECUTION

By ELINOR TATUM

SOUTH AFRICA JOINS CAMPAIGN TO SAVE MUMIA

By CATHY CONNORS

New York Amsterdam News
10 June 1995

Philadelphia

SCOOP

9 June 1995

Mumia Abu-Jamal files appeal against scheduled execution

Tribune
6 June 1995

Jamal Struggle Escalates In Face of Execution

by Elma Washington

White police officers
Black police officers so
white Philadelphia police
Black journalist for the de
E. Hampton said during a
Mumia Abu-Jamal
Hampton, executive director of the 55,000 member

PHILADELPHIA
New Observer
7 June 1995

eleven. In his column "'Free' Speech = Police Riot," Jamal condemns the cop attack, remarking that the demonstrators "don't need to read *Live from Death Row* to find out how innocent people can be beaten and arrested by brutal cops, nor how cops routinely lie in police reports to support arrests. They now know by their lived experience, what they saw, heard or felt, how this evil abuse of state power proliferates."

Demonstrations for Jamal were also held in numerous other cities, from Seattle to Detroit to Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal in Canada. Around the world, the fight for Jamal has become *the* focal point of struggle against the racist death penalty in the U.S. Trade unions representing millions of workers have added their voices to demand that Mumia must not die. On June 15, the European Parliament unanimously approved a resolution reaffirming its "complete opposition to the death penalty" and calling for a stay of execution and a new trial for Jamal, noting "the appeals of many people, human rights organizations, trade unions and other organizations worldwide, which are fighting to save the life of Mr. Mumia Abu-Jamal."

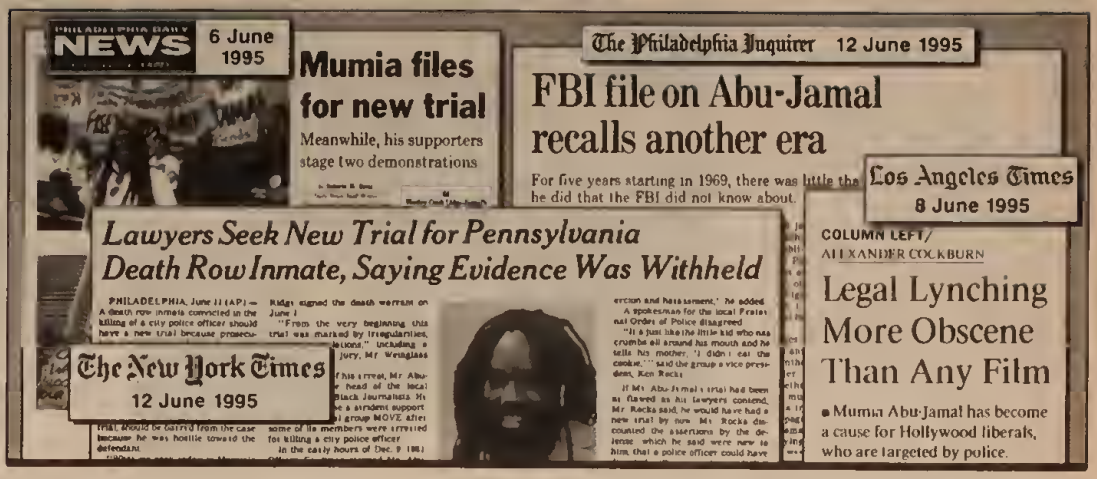
Nowhere is support for Mumia growing faster than in South Africa, where militants identify his plight with their own struggle against apartheid terror (see *WV* No. 624, 2 June). In a May 31 letter to Governor Ridge condemning the threat to execute Jamal, the predominantly black Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) wrote that "our organisation has struggled against all forms of racism, oppression and the use of [the] death sentence to silence political activists." Now the country's second-largest union federation, the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU), has added its voice to the fight to save Jamal.

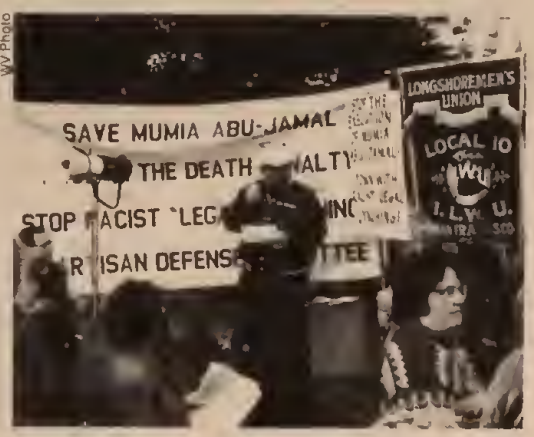
The very day the signing of Jamal's death warrant was announced, African National Congress (ANC) secretary general M.C. Ramaphosa fired off a protest letter to Ridge. On June 19, at a rally in Johannesburg organized by COSATU as part of a national day of action, a spokesman for the Partisan Defense Committee addressed a crowd of 15,000 workers who enthusiastically took up the chant, "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!"

Internationally, within days of Ridge's execution order, protests spread from Sydney, Australia to Tokyo and Paris. While on tour in London, Jesse Jackson was informed of the death warrant and told a public meeting June 4, "We are all in prayer that Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die by capital punishment." Addressing a June 7 London rally, Labour Party Member of Parliament Jeremy Corbyn said, "This proposed legal murder of someone who is not even guilty of the crime for which he has been charged is yet another example of the brutality of the law and order lobby in the United States and indeed exactly the same law and order lobby that is at work in this country as well." John Monks, head of the British Trades Union Congress, has also sent a protest statement to Ridge.

A June 23 protest in Warsaw drew 200 supporters of Mumia's cause. In Italy, a national demonstration for Jamal in Rome on June 24 was made an official part of a larger protest against pension cuts the same day. Demonstrators in the Jamal contingent chanted, "Freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal!" "Freedom for all the comrades in jail!" and "Freedom for all communists!" As Jamal's supporters merged with the larger rally, a banner was set up next to the official podium reading, "Save the Life of Mumia Abu-Jamal! No to the Racist Death Penalty!" signed by the Committee for Social and Workers Defense, a fraternal organization of the PDC. After a speaker from the Mumia contingent from Naples called for Jamal's freedom, one of the official platform speakers said, "I think that I can safely say that all of us here want to express our solidarity with Mumia Abu-Jamal, that we all defend Mumia Abu-Jamal. Do you all agree?" The 60,000 to 70,000 workers there then shouted their unanimous agreement with this proposal, placing the demonstration officially on record in defense of Jamal.

Demonstrations in several cities in Germany have drawn Turkish and Kurdish immigrant youth, anti-fascist militants and leftists, including two protests in Berlin of some 300 people each. The June 7 Berlin protest heard a statement from Markus Wolf, a refugee from Hitler's Third Reich who was later the head of East German intelligence and himself victimized by a vicious witchhunt by the German Fourth Reich. Wolf recalled his parents' support to the international campaign for the labor martyrs Sacco and Vanzetti, executed in 1927, and declared, "During Nazi rule and the Holocaust we owed our lives to international solidarity.... I therefore ask every individual who has met with injustice or who is fighting for his rights to join the demand to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal."





Oakland, June 5: Brian McWilliams, president of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 10, addresses rally to save Mumia Abu-Jamal.

A Proletarian Strategy to Smash Racist Repression

A massive outcry to save Mumia's life is urgently necessary. It took a powerful worldwide movement in the 1930s to prevent the legal lynching of the Scottsboro Boys, nine black youths framed on charges of raping two white women in Alabama. What is particularly critical today is to turn the support Mumia's cause has begun to receive from the labor movement into the sort of concrete *action* indicated by the workers' protests in Johannesburg and Rome. While in the U.S. in particular the trade unions have taken one blow after another under their pro-capitalist misleaders, as part of the struggle to reinvigorate the labor movement it is necessary to translate the evident sentiment for Jamal's cause into mass protest and struggle.

There is no place in this fight, or in the labor movement in general, for the police, black or white. Whatever their personal feelings about the death penalty, black cops are just as much a part of the capitalist apparatus of racist repression as their white brothers-in-blue. At the June 5 Philly rally, after a representative of the National Black Police Officer's Association spoke, PDC speaker Ed Jarvis said of the threatened execution of Jamal:

> "This legal lynching is one side of the legal lynchings that go on every day against black people, against working-class people by both black as well as white cops.... It's time to build a working-class party. It's time to save Mumia Abu-Jamal. Abolish the death penalty! Finish the Civil War!"

The state's lust for the blood of a man whose "crime" is to speak forcefully for those on the bottom of this society is an object lesson for all those struggling for social equality and a decent life for all. Black freedom, and the liberation of all from conditions of social decay and regimentation, will finally come only through a workers revolution that sweeps away the bloody capitalist state, its prisons, courts and cops, and with it the death penalty and all other barbaric vestiges of oppression and exploitation. ■

Spartacist Japan

Workers Hammer

Spartakist

International protests against death sentence for Mumia Abu-Jamal. From left: Tokyo, London, Berlin. Left: Spartacist Group Japan sign reads, "Death Penalty in Japan: Barbaric Legacy of Feudalism. Death Penalty in America: Racist Legacy of Slavery."

Frame-Up...

(continued from page 7)

claim that Jamal was shot while standing over an already wounded Faulkner is physically impossible, according to Dr. John A. Hayes, a forensic pathologist who is the New York City Associate Medical Examiner and a former chief resident in anatomic pathology at the Boston University School of Medicine. Dr. Hayes points out that the bullet Faulkner fired at Jamal had a steep downward trajectory, entering his chest at the nipple and lodging in his lower back.

2 The "Confession": A Belated Fabrication

The second leg of the prosecution's case is that Jamal—an experienced court reporter and journalist—supposedly made a loud "confession" of guilt in the hospital. Again we quote Assistant D.A. Gordon:

> "While doctors were attempting to provide emergency treatment to Officer Faulkner, other police officers were trying, despite Abu-Jamal's resistance, to bring him into the emergency room. While in the vestibule, Abu-Jamal turned to Officer Faulkner's former partner and said, 'I shot the mother fucker and I hope the mother fucker dies.' Abu-Jamal shouted this again when he was brought within a few feet of the area where Officer Faulkner was being unsuccessfully treated. (Hospital workers testified to Jamal's rantings at his trial.)"

In the first place, by the time Jamal was brutally dumped on the floor outside the door of the emergency room, with his arms handcuffed behind his back, he was in no condition to shout or "rant" much of anything. He had been shot through the liver, with a bullet lodged against his spine. A doctor who examined Jamal no more than ten minutes after his arrival found him "weak...on the verge of fainting." Another doctor who saw Jamal when he was first brought in—at the time of the alleged confession—only heard him moan as a cop kicked him.

The "hospital workers" who claimed to hear Jamal loudly proclaim his guilt were a cop and a security guard. The cop was Garry Bell, Faulkner's partner and "best friend," who admitted he threatened to kill Jamal. (Three years earlier, Bell had shot dead a motorist after pulling him over for an alleged traffic violation in the middle of the night in the black ghetto of West Philadelphia.) The security guard, who first lied that she didn't know Faulkner at all, subsequently admitted that she'd frequently had coffee with him.

More importantly, neither Bell nor the security guard said anything about a "confession" until *more than two months after the fact*, when Jamal pressed brutality charges against the cops who beat him at the hospital. It was not in Bell's police log that night nor in a statement he gave a week later. However, Gary Wakshul, the cop who was assigned to guard Jamal and was with him the entire time between his arrest and his medical treatment, wrote in his official report that day that "during this time the negro male made no statements."

Camino Books

Philadelphia Inquirer

AP

Rizzo with his hero, J. Edgar Hoover, in 1972. Above: "Prosecutor in robes" Judge Sabo and Pennsylvania "Governor Death" Tom Ridge.

3 The Witnesses: Coercion and Concoctions

Now we come to the prosecution's "eyewitnesses," Gordon writes:

> "Officer Shoemaker, the first officer on the scene, saw Officer Faulkner lying in a pool of blood and saw Abu-Jamal sitting on the curb next to a gun. He ordered Abu-Jamal to freeze. Abu-Jamal instead reached for the gun. Officer Shoemaker again yelled, 'freeze,' but Abu-Jamal continued reaching for his weapon which the officer kicked out of his reach.... Abu-Jamal was identified as the shooter on the scene by *three eyewitnesses* who had never lost sight of him during the entire incident."

Even by the cops' own accounts of what happened at the time, this story stinks. The "three eyewitnesses" were Cynthia White, a prostitute who said she was working the southeast corner at 13th and Locust at the time of the shooting; Robert Chobert, a cab driver; and Mark Scanlan, a young white motorist who candidly admitted he'd been drinking and what he remembered was "confusion." On the scene, Scanlan told police that Jamal was the VW driver, and said he didn't know where the shooter went. At the trial, Scanlan said he couldn't identify the shooter at all. Furthermore, none of these "eyewitnesses who had never lost sight" of Jamal saw him being shot.

As for Chobert, he initially told arriving police that the shooter was 225 pounds and "ran away." Chobert later said the shooter ran "30 steps," and then changed that at the trial to only ten feet. Jamal, however, weighed 170 pounds and was found where he fell critically wounded at the scene. Chobert, who is white, supposedly identified Jamal from among three black men with dreadlocks on the scene that night. Chobert's "identification" of Jamal consisted of the police asking "is that the guy?" as they opened the van in which Jamal lay with his face and chest "very, very bloody" (as another witness reported). During this period, Chobert was on probation for felony arson (he was paid for throwing a Molotov cocktail at a school), with two prior charges for driving while intoxicated. Given that his livelihood depended on driving a taxi, this made him eminently susceptible to police pressure.

The star prosecution witness was Cynthia White. She was the *only* trial witness who claimed to see Jamal, gun in hand, shoot Faulkner. Initially even she denied seeing Jamal with a gun. White claimed the shooter was 5'8"—Jamal is 6'1". White claimed to be standing right where the VW pulled over. But no other witness—including Chobert and Scanlan—saw her there, and the only witness who recalled seeing her at all said she was over a half block away. White had a police record a mile long. At the time of the trial, she was serving 18 months for prostitution in Massachusetts, with 38 prior arrests and three prostitution charges awaiting trial in Philadelphia. Following the shooting, Faulkner's precinct was given her photo and told to refer her to the Homicide Division if she was taken in. In the next ten days, she was taken to Homicide twice—on prostitution charges! Each time she was let off; each time she tailored her story more to the cops' liking to implicate Jamal.

The prosecution primly denied that White had been offered a deal for her testimony. But another witness, Veronica Jones, a prostitute who knew her, testified that a few weeks after the shooting, police hauled Jones in and offered to give her a deal like White:

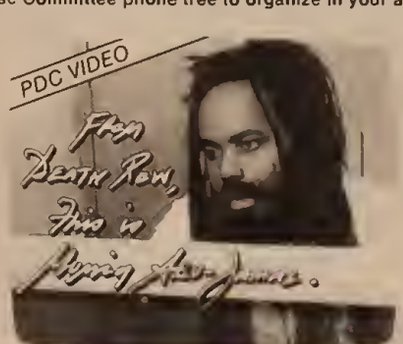
> "They were getting on me, telling me I was in the area and I seen Mumia, you know, do it, you know, intentionally. They were trying to get me to say something that the other girl said...and they told us we can work the area if we tell them."

Judge Sabo struck that testimony from the record as "not relevant" and "far afield." However, White did indeed continue to "work the area" not only with impunity, but *with police protection*. A recent affidavit by an investigator who tried (unsuccessfully) to interview White on Jamal's behalf at the time reveals: "There were always two (2) plainclothesmen near where she worked her corner on Locust." So much for the prosecution's "three eyewitnesses."

On the other hand, while only the dubious White claimed (belatedly) to "see" Jamal shoot Faulkner, at least *five witnesses* saw a black male run from the scene after the shooting in the direction of an alley about the distance of Chobert's "30 steps" away. Two of them, Chobert and William Singletary, explicitly said the running man was the shooter. Jones also initially reported seeing one or two men "sort of jogging"

Join the Campaign!

1 Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and church organizations. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Jamal. Publicize Jamal's case in your union or organization's newsletter. Prepare for emergency demonstrations—**get on the Partisan Defense Committee phone tree to organize in your area.**

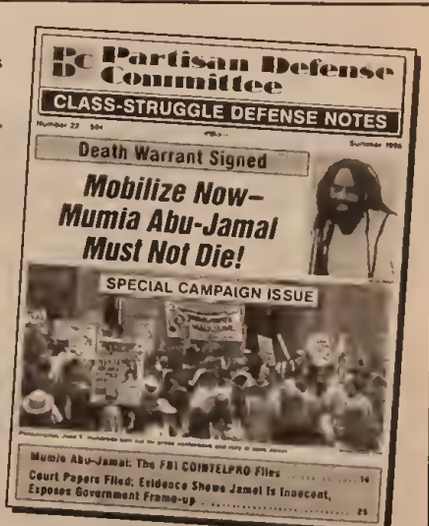


2 Spread the word! The current issue of the PDC's *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* is devoted to the struggle to save Mumia Abu-Jamal. Order bundles of this special campaign issue from the PDC, 25 copies for $10.00. Get your local bookstore to stock Jamal's powerful *Live from Death Row*. Contact the PDC for speakers, to arrange showings of the PDC's video, *From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal*. The video can be purchased for $30.00 from the PDC at the address below

3 Send protests to: Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120 In the first week after he signed Jamal's death warrant, Ridge received over 20,000 letters of protest. Now he's changing his phone and fax number daily to try and stay ahead of the growing movement for Jamal! As we go to press, the numbers are: phone (717) 787-2500; fax (717) 783-8609

4 Funds are urgently needed! To get a new trial and overturn the death sentence could cost over a million dollars. **Make a contribution today** to the Bill of Rights Foundation (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense") and mail it to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001

5 Write to Jamal to express your solidarity: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090.



Contributions of $5.00 or more to the PDC include a year's subscription to *CSDN*.

For more information: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013 • (212) 406-4252

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

"An Easy Kill..."

The root of the legal term "trial" is the English word, "try."

At the root of every trial is the state prosecutor, who "tries" to convict the accused, using every means at his considerable disposal: the wealth of the state, the police, experts, and behind it all, the power of government to compel, to intimidate, to destroy.

For far too many defendants, their meager resources are no match for the awesome resources of a government of millions, and the "battle" is lost before it is even truly joined.

One need look no further than that daily American true-life soap opera, "The Simpsons" (O.J., not Homer) where you have an enormously wealthy defendant, holding his own with the state, as he fields, quite literally, some of the best legal talent money can buy. Consider if his name were, say, "O.J. Jackson," and he was an average, poor Joe, with a mortgage, a 7-year-old car, and alimony to pay. Given the same set of facts, isn't it the simple unvarnished truth that *this* O.J. would be on Death Row by now, facing *two* death sentences?

What does this say about "Justice" in America?

I thought of these things after my death warrant was signed a few days ago, and I read, somewhere, that the prosecutor at my trial, Joseph McGill, remarked that it "was the strongest case I ever tried."

My first thought was, if that was so, why did he feel the need to argue, at the guilt/innocence stage of the trial:

> "If your decision of course were to acquit, to allow the defendant to walk out, that is fine. There is nothing I can do and there is nothing that the judge or anyone could do that would affect that in any way.
> "If you find the defendant guilty of course there would be appeal after appeal and perhaps there could be a reversal of the case, or whatever, so that may not be final." [From *Commonwealth v. Abu-Jamal*, 7/1/82, p. 146]

Why would a prosecutor, one wonders, tell a jury such a thing, in his "strongest case ever tried"?

But, of course, in this life, all things are relative, as are the terms, "strong" or "weak." For instance, most men think of women as "the weaker sex," but if men had to give birth the very thought would make most faint.

Were *Commonwealth v. Beasley*, *Commonwealth v. West*, *Commonwealth v. Simmons*, or *Commonwealth v. Baker* also "strong" cases? Logic suggests they were weak ones, for, in each case, Prosecutor McGill made the exact, almost *verbatim* argument to the jury, and each case was reversed, by at least one appellate court.

Was the trial of MOVE bombing survivor Ramona Africa a "strong" one, where the jury was told "not to worry," "do not concern yourselves about when, or if, others, police, firemen, city officials will be charged in connection with the MOVE bombing," and "that is not for you to consider"? Here, again, McGill played prosecutor, and Ramona spent 7 long years in a prison hellhole, for surviving her attempted murder. (Is it mere coincidence that no other person, no cop, no official, no one *except Ramona herself*, was ever even charged in the police bombing of which she was the victim?)

What of the trial *Commonwealth v. Connor*, where a man, based on police, ballistics and witness testimony, was convicted of first-degree murder of a girl child, prosecuted by Prosecutor McGill, and sentenced to spend the rest of his natural life in prison hellholes, where he was beaten, stabbed, spit on and dogged because he was a convicted "baby-raper"; was this a "strong" case?

After 11 years of this hell, through the efforts of an extraordinary defense attorney and his family, it was learned that the "murder weapon" presented to the jury, a 12 ga. shotgun, did not cause the baby's death, as she was not shot, but stabbed, repeatedly, with an ice-pick. (Mr. Connor was arrested largely on the basis of his known ownership of a 12 ga. shotgun.)

In all of these cases, McGill (now a defense lawyer for cops in the FOP who rob, steal, or kill) played the role of prosecutor, sending men to Death Row or life in prison, with a mustachied smile, and a promise to most jurors of the defendants' right to "appeal after appeal after appeal."

For such a guy, what does a "strong" case look like?

8 June 1995

©1995 by Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Greene state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Jamal faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Jamal, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg, PA 15370.

The "Trial": A Travesty of Justice

1 A Hanging Judge

This, then, was the morass of contrived, coerced, partial and contradictory "evidence" which Assistant D.A. Gordon claims to be "overwhelming, one of the strongest" cases he has ever seen. To secure a conviction on this basis, the cops, prosecutors and courts saw to it that Mumia was denied even a semblance of "due process," from his initial arraignment to jury selection to final sentencing. During the course of the trial, Jamal repeatedly protested the violation of his rights, exclaiming on one occasion:

> "I have been told from the duration of this trial, the beginning of the trial, the inception of the trial, that I had a number of constitutional rights. Chiefly among them the right to represent myself. The right to select a jury of my peers. The right to face witnesses and examine them based on information they have given. Those rights were taken from me. . . I want my rights in this courtroom because my life is on the line."

Jamal got a "trial" in name only. He had no counsel to speak of. An indigent man jailed without bail, Jamal was granted only $150 each for an investigator and medical and ballistics experts. No pathologist or ballistician would accept so low a retainer, and the investigator ran out of funds after tracking down only two of the over 100 people interviewed by the police. His court-appointed attorney, Anthony Jackson, protested he was too busy to handle the case and needed help. Four times, Jackson requested additional funds from the court; four times, the request was denied. Finally, Jamal asked to represent himself and prepared his own case for trial. Then, on the first day of the trial, the court completely stripped Jamal of his self-representation rights and forced Jackson to take over the defense. When Jamal protested, he was ejected from the court and missed large portions of the trial. That left the unprepared, unwilling and bungling Jackson—who failed even to subpoena witnesses or prepare them before putting them on the stand—to handle the defense alone.

Sabo is the most notorious hanging judge in the country, the "king of death row." He had served for 16 years as an undersheriff and is a retired member of the Fraternal Order of Police. Even former prosecutors have called Sabo a "prosecutor in robes." When he learned he had been rated unqualified by one-third of attorneys surveyed, Sabo openly bragged about his pro-prosecution bias, saying if he were a defense attorney "I wouldn't vote for me, either."

The prosecutor, Joseph McGill, was no stranger to frame-up prosecutions. McGill put another defendant, Matthew Connor, away on a life sentence for allegedly shooting a young girl, largely on the basis that a shotgun was found in his home; only after eleven years did it come to light that the girl had been killed not with a shotgun but with an ice pick! McGill's jury arguments against Jamal were a textbook in prosecutorial dirty tricks. With Judge Sabo egging him to "go ahead," McGill told the jury not to worry about sentencing Jamal to death because he would have "appeal after appeal after appeal." Knowing this case had racially polarized the city, McGill pushed the overwhelmingly white jury to return a conviction because "the people of Philadelphia" demand "action."

2 A Kangaroo Court

In a "bedside arraignment" on 9 December 1981, Jamal was charged with murder in the first degree, i.e., premeditated murder. But even by the cops' own account, there could have been no premeditation in this shooting incident which, from the time Faulkner pulled over the VW until he lay wounded on the street, lasted less than two minutes. Presiding over the arraignment was... Municipal Judge Lynne Abraham, currently Philadelphia D.A.

Long before Mumia had his "day in court," he had been tried and convicted by the Philadelphia media. Faulkner's death was front-page news—and he was treated with all the sympathy and honor the capitalist press accords a dead cop—while Jamal was a prominent and controversial black personality. While an initial *Philadelphia Inquirer* (10 December 1981) headline read, "Jamal: An Eloquent Activist Not Afraid to Raise His Voice," the Philly *Daily News* (9 December 1981) was quick to point out that Jamal "wears his hair in dreadlocks and was associated with several black activist causes."

Radio talk shows were flooded with calls, some of them demanding that Jamal be lynched. Article after article hammered away at his connections with MOVE and the Black Panthers, repeatedly invoking the Panthers' use of the Maoist slogan, "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

Two days after the shooting, the *Daily News* falsely reported that "Preliminary ballistics tests indicate the shots that killed Police Officer Faulkner were fired from the gun recovered from radio newsman Mumia Abu-Jamal." Four weeks later, a front-page headline blared, "Jamal Confessed," attributing the claim not to Garry Bell but to a police inspector (who was subsequently convicted on payoff and tax evasion charges). This inspector was never called to testify at Jamal's trial. By the time of the trial, all but seven of the 80 or so members of the jury pool admitted to being familiar with media coverage of the case.

Judge Sabo and prosecutor McGill carefully screened the jury to ensure its "law and order" bias. On the third day of jury selection, Sabo denied Jamal—who was then still formally representing himself—the right to interview prospective jurors, claiming that the pace was too slow. McGill systematically excluded blacks from the jury, using eleven of his 15 peremptory challenges to remove all but three of 14 potential black jurors. One of the remaining three, a black woman who was the only juror personally selected by Jamal and who the judge had opposed from the beginning, was then removed by Sabo behind Jamal's back after she left briefly before the trial began to attend to a personal

continued on page 12

Frame-Up...

(continued from page 11)

emergency. (When a white juror had to leave for a day in the middle of testimony, Sabo not only provided him with a court escort but rescheduled the proceedings to suit him.) The black juror was then replaced by a white man who openly confessed to bias in the case when interviewed by Jamal's attorney.

New evidence also reveals that during jury deliberations a clique of white jurors formed a secret faction which met to discuss the case at night and then took over the deliberations by picking one of their own as foreman.

In being excluded from the judge's consultation over the black juror and another secret consultation, Jamal's rights were violated both as legal counsel and as defendant. When Jackson protested on one occasion, "I would not want to do that out of the presence of Mr. Jamal," Sabo snapped back: "I don't care about Mr. Jamal." Indeed, Jamal's rights were violated time and again during the trial. The court rejected repeated requests for a lineup to test White and Chobert's identification of Jamal. The court allowed the cops and prosecution to refuse to hand over the addresses of people they interviewed. The prosecution not only concealed evidence of Jamal's innocence, but also intimidated and coerced witnesses to conform to the cops' story. This was a clear and flagrant violation of the constitutional right to due process.

The *Brady* rule stipulates that the prosecution's failure to disclose evidence favorable to the defense invalidates a guilty verdict. The most egregious example of this in Jamal's case is how the cops threatened Singletary into changing his story and then forced him out of town. But it is not the only instance. The prosecution refused to reveal that one of the witnesses (Hightower) who saw a man run from the shooting scene had passed a lie detector test. They hid the fact that at least one other witness (Robert Harkins) was shown a photo array and apparently did not identify Jamal as the shooter. Harkins was never called to testify and recently admitted to Jamal's new investigator that a "detective 'downtown'" told him "not to talk with anyone from the defense." The prosecution also withheld numerous other pieces of information, including secret meetings with witnesses and evidence concerning the unreliability of the autopsy.

Another key legal guideline discarded in Jamal's case was the *Chambers* ruling which mandates that the jury must be allowed to hear testimony which would affect the credibility of prosecution witnesses. Sabo refused to allow Chobert to be cross-examined on his previous felony conviction. He struck the prostitute Veronica Jones' testimony of a police deal with Cynthia White. And when the defense asked for the detectives who interviewed Jones to testify, Sabo fumed, "we don't have to prove every witness is a liar on the stand."

Most importantly, Sabo, McGill and the cops ganged up to make sure that Jamal's police guard Wakshul, who could have refuted the purported "confession," would not testify. When Jamal's lawyer called for Wakshul to appear, the following exchange ensued:

> "Court: What is this officer that you want? What is he going to testify to?
> "Jackson: That he picked Jamal up at the scene.
> "Court: So?
> "Jackson: During this time the negro male made no comment. He was with him the entire time.
> "Prosecutor: He is not around. I am going to object to bringing this guy in."

Then, as McGill supposedly went to check on Wakshul's whereabouts, Sabo insinuated, "he could be on vacation." Sure enough, despite a "no vacation" order on Wakshul's police report, McGill soon returned to report that "he is on vacation until July 8th." Sabo then adamantly denied Jamal's appeal for a continuance, sneering: "Your attorney and you goofed."

3 The Lynch Law Sentence

Following this monstrous frame-up, on 2 July 1982, the jury returned a verdict of first-degree murder. The next day, the Saturday of the July 4th weekend, Jamal was sentenced to death. Jamal's appointed attorney made no effort to prepare for the sentencing hearing and didn't call a single character witness to say why this talented and courageous writer, who had no prior criminal record and no history of violence, should not die. When Jamal rose to read a statement protesting the guilty verdict and the denial of his rights, Sabo used this as an excuse to let McGill openly introduce Jamal's political past and beliefs into the trial. McGill "cross-examined" Jamal about a 1970 newspaper interview in which he talked about his Panther activities. The trial transcript shows the following exchange:

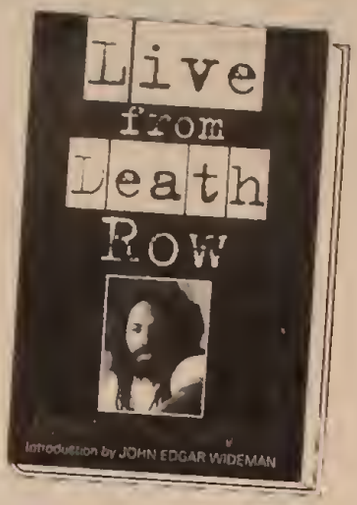
> "*Q*: You've often been quoted as saying this: 'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.' Do you remember saying that, sir?
> "*A*: I remember writing that. That's a quotation from Mao-Tse-Tung....
> "*Q*: Do you recall saying: 'All power to the people'?...
> "*A*: Yes.
> "*Q*: Do you believe that your actions as well as your philosophy are consistent with the quote, 'Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.'
> "*A*: I believe that America has proven that quote to be true."

McGill then argued that Jamal should die because these decade-old quotes supposedly proved that he had intended to kill a cop "all the way back then." Based on constant surveillance by the Philly cops and the FBI and on Jamal's police files, which they didn't disclose, the prosecution knew that from "way back then" Jamal had never committed any criminal acts but had simply spoken out for his political beliefs.

In his argument to the jury during the sentencing phase, prosecutor McGill also sought to convince them that they would bear no responsibility for the legal lynching, claiming that Jamal could submit "appeal after appeal after appeal," so that in reality the death sentence would be no death sentence at all. This, as well, was a flagrant violation of Jamal's rights.

4 "Appeal After Appeal After Appeal"?

When in 1989 Jamal appealed this flagrant use of his political associations in his sentencing, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court hacked up its man McGill, arguing that Jamal's membership in "an unpopular political organization" like the Black Panther Party demonstrated his "longstanding disdain for the system." The entire proceedings had an extraordinary character. Jamal's appeal was decided on by only four of the seven justices. Chief Justice Nix actively intervened in the oral arguments against the district attorney, making the point that the argument of repeated appeals had already been found unconstitutional in instances where the *same* D.A. (McGill) used the *same* language before the *same* judge (Sabo). Yet mysteriously, the chief justice did not participate in the vote.



Jamal's recently published book has infuriated his persecutors.

Three years later, in a 1992 ruling on the *Dawson* case, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned a death sentence because the prosecutor had cited the defendant's association with the fascist Aryan Brotherhood. Yet the U.S. Supreme Court *twice* turned down a review of Jamal's appeal on the same grounds, once in 1990 and again at the time the *Dawson* case was pending before the court. In this and a hundred other ways, it is clear that Jamal's trial was a political frame-up from start to finish, from bottom to top.

Justice Demands Freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal!

The frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal is an object lesson in the class nature of the capitalist state. The cops, the courts and the entire "criminal justice" system colluded and conspired to bring down this man whose only crime was that he was an eloquent and effective critic of the racist oppression they perpetrate and promote. As the legal papers recently filed by Jamal summarize in conclusion, "In this case, every basic trial element—the defense, the prosecution, the jury, and the court—was so riddled with prejudicial error as to deny Mr. Jamal any semblance of a fair proceeding." *Mumia Abu-Jamal did not have a fair trial, he could not have had a fair trial and he would not now be allowed to have a fair trial.*

Jamal is fighting for his life in a climate of all-sided racist reaction. Just look at the political rulers of this country. Democratic president Bill Clinton took time out from his 1992 presidential campaign, when he was governor of Arkansas, to rush back to Little Rock to personally oversee the execution of a brain-damaged black man. The U.S. Congress last year added—with near unanimity—some 60 more capital offenses to the federal lawbooks. Now, with equal bipartisan fervor, it intends to define virtually any crime involving a handgun as a "terrorist" act warranting the death penalty. And more than once in the past year alone, the courts have allowed the executions of death row prisoners who were demonstrably innocent. Meanwhile, more than one and a half million people, most of them black and Hispanic, already languish behind prison bars. As Jamal points out in his column, "An Easy Kill . . ." (see page 11 in this issue), only with the millions of dollars of an O.J. Simpson can a black man hope for even a semblance of justice in America's courts.

In Pennsylvania, Jamal's case is a defining political issue. The governor is a fervent advocate of the death penalty who was once a prosecutor himself. In response to a question about racial bias in Jamal's trial, where the jury was overwhelmingly white, Ridge ludicrously asserted that juries are "colorblind.... Color has nothing to do with their ultimate decision." In the 1987 *McCleskey* ruling, even the U.S. Supreme Court admitted that race has plenty to do with death sentences, but ruled that it didn't matter. Ultimately, this boils down to the "principle" enunciated by Chief Justice Taney in the 1857 *Dred Scott* slavery case, that blacks "had no rights which a white man was bound to respect." It took a Civil War to overturn that verdict and the slave system which it represented, and it will take workers revolution to overturn capitalism and its system of criminal injustice. Our fight against the racist death penalty is part and parcel of the struggle to finish the unfinished tasks of the Civil War through a third, socialist American revolution.

The application of the death penalty is racist everywhere in the United States, but it is perhaps even more egregiously so in Pennsylvania. Well over half the men on death row in Pennsylvania were sentenced in heavily minority Philadelphia, which has consigned more people to the death mills than any city except Houston in the Deep South. Although Philadelphia (40 percent black) and Allegheny County (Pittsburgh and its suburbs, which are 90 percent white) have roughly the same population, Philadelphia has sent *15 times* as many people to death row, and *80 percent* of those from Philadelphia are black. The Philadelphia D.A. seeks the death penalty in as much as *85 percent* of capital cases. The Philadelphia juridical system is marked by an unconstitutional "Homicide Unit" of hanging judges—like Sabo—who *only* hear murder cases. This special panel is apparently self-selecting: these are the judges who really groove on death. Jamal's lawyers have moved to disqualify Sabo as a biased judge, but under Pennsylvania's rules Sabo comes out of semiretirement to rule on his own bias!

For many years, Philadelphia was Rizzotown, as the notoriously racist police commissioner and then mayor ran the city with an iron fist of terror and brutalized the black population. But it did not require a Rizzo to frame up Jamal, nor to firebomb the MOVE home in 1985, killing eleven black men, women and children and destroying an entire city block. That heinous police crime was overseen by black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode, who at the same time refused to go to the scene because he said he feared

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La Migra's Privatized Prisons

Revolt in INS Hell

Warren Goldberg

Desperate asylum seekers who rebelled against inhuman treatment in Elizabeth, New Jersey immigration jail are rounded up by cops.

On June 18, some 300 refugees who were being held by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) at a horrific "prison for profit" in Elizabeth, New Jersey rose up in anger and desperation and drove out their racist tormentors. The furious prisoners virtually destroyed the jail before being overpowered six hours later by club-wielding riot cops. The devastation testified to the detainees' bitter resentment: metal tables bolted to the floor were ripped up and torn to pieces, cinderblock walls were smashed, and sinks, toilets and other fixtures were pulverized. On the wall near the guards' post was painted the single word, "Freedom."

These prisoners were locked up without having been accused of any crime —practically all were seeking political asylum in the U.S. Many had endured horrendous persecution in their countries of origin. Yet, as with most asylum seekers who arrive in this country without the proper documents in hand, no sooner had they landed at New York City's airports than the INS summarily hauled them off to jail. There, they were physically and sexually assaulted by guards, denied food and exercise, and bombarded with racial and ethnic slurs. Now the INS threatens to hit the "ringleaders" of this desperate revolt with criminal charges or deportation.

In a blatant attempt to discourage asylum seekers, the INS warehouses (in this case literally) thousands of refugees in the most appalling conditions. The Elizabeth detention center, a converted warehouse in an industrial area, was run by Esmor Correctional Services, one of the largest of the score of companies managing private, for-profit prison operations across the country. For operating this and other jails, Esmor gets $75 to $100 a day from the INS for each detainee and then turns a profit by brutalizing the inmates and driving conditions down to an inhuman level (an incredibly low $1.12 per day was spent for each person's meals).

In Elizabeth, prisoners were shackled to tables and chairs when meeting with visitors, lights were left on all night preventing sleep, and no one was allowed outside of the windowless building for exercise. Yet these conditions, which many endured for more than six months as they waited for hearings on their appeals for political asylum, are not substantially worse than those in the notorious centers run by *la migra* itself, such as El Centro in California's Imperial Valley, "El Corralón" (The Big Corral) in Bayview, Texas, and the Krome Avenue facility in Miami.

The revolt by refugees in Elizabeth takes place against the backdrop of a growing anti-immigrant frenzy whipped up by both capitalist parties. This was symbolized by the passage last fall of Proposition 187 in California, which would deprive illegal immigrants of public benefits, and the approval by the Republican-dominated House of Representatives of a welfare bill that would virtually deprive legal immigrants of access to federal assistance programs. Meanwhile, Democrat Clinton is rapidly expanding the Border Patrol and has called for cutting immigration by one-third and barring all unskilled workers.

It has also been revealed that the Clinton administration is developing "contingency plans"—inspired by its racist policy of sending Haitian refugees to U.S. military bases in Panama and Guantánamo, Cuba—to create military-run concentration camps for immigrants fleeing an economic crisis or "political upheaval" in Mexico or Central America. At the same time, the federal government ended the protected status which allowed people fleeing death squad terror in Guatemala and Salvador to remain in the U.S., exposing some 200,000 refugees to possible forced return and savage repression.

Recently, Clinton kicked off his '96 presidential campaign by engaging in some electoral Japan-bashing at the General Motors plant in Edison, New Jersey. In the present period of heightened interimperialist rivalries and burgeoning trade wars, anti-immigrant racism is fostered by the bourgeois politicians to undercut the integrated working-class struggle that's urgently needed to bring down this bankrupt capitalist system. No reprisals against the Elizabeth INS prisoners! Asylum for victims of right-wing terror! Full citizenship rights for everyone who's made it to this country!

for his life at the hands of the cops.

In Philly, many of the same people who hounded Jamal from the time he was a teenage political activist until they railroaded him onto death row are still around today in positions of power. The Philadelphia D.A. in 1981 was Ed Rendell, who two days after Jamal's arrest was already proclaiming Jamal guilty of murder; today Rendell is mayor. The Assistant D.A. who prosecuted Jamal, Joseph McGill, is today openly working as an attorney for the FOP, defending its members against charges of bribery, theft and corruption. And the arraignment judge in Mumia's case, Lynne Abraham, is now the "liberal" D.A. whose office has weighed in to try to intimidate opposition to Jamal's legal lynching.

Assistant D.A. Gordon's letter laid out the prosecution's tissue of lies in Jamal's case, and also issued some very real threats. He concluded with a denunciation that the "ill-advised Addison-Wesley decision to publish Mr. Abu-Jamal's book and reward him with a profit for his deed, looks to be the only true miscarriage of justice here," and ominously warned that those who support Jamal are guilty of an "insult to police officers, families of murder victims and the thousands of law-abiding citizens who are no douht repulsed by your misguided and misinformed support for this very cunning but despicable murderer."

Nor did the FBI and its agents and surrogates in Pennsylvania cease their scrutiny and surveillance of Jamal with the demise of the Black Panther Party and the supposed dissolution of COINTELPRO's Murder, Inc. As revealed by Jamal's recently released FBI files, they continued to keep tabs on him and his supporters at least as recently as 1991. Now it has been determined, on the basis of pretrial discovery in a civil rights lawsuit hy Jamal against the prison authorities, that the Pennsylvania Department of Corrections has been intercepting, copying and evidently circulating *privileged correspondence* between Jamal and his attorneys. This includes several letters this year and at least two letters from 1994 which contained sensitive information about the legal strategy and investigation being pursued in Jamal's quest for a new trial and the overturn of his death sentence. And since the warrant was signed, all of Jamal's correspondence with his attorneys is being opened. This blatant violation of Jamal's constitutional rights is a concerted conspiracy to spy on and spike his legal defense efforts.

This sinister web of spying, intimidation and frame-up is not an aberration which can be cleansed from the system, as liberals would have it. Rather it goes to the very core of the capitalist state which, with its cops and courts, its prosecutors and executioners, is an instrument for the repression of the working class and the oppressed. This is part of the Marxist understanding of the capitalist state, and as Marxists we understand that it will take nothing less than a workers revolution to sweep away this machinery of state terror whose purpose is to keep profits and interest payments flowing into the coffers of Wall Street. As part of a multiracial revolutionary workers party which champions the cause of all the oppressed, black workers will play a key role in sweeping away this system of exploitation, war and racism. Only in a socialist America, as part of an international socialist society, will working people and minorities find not only civil but social justice, a society in which youth will be faced not with a nightmare of ghetto and prison hellholes but education and meaningful employment.

Jamal's case is what capitalist state repression is all about: he was brutally beaten by the Philadelphia police as a 14-year-old anti-racist protester, spied on by the local "red squad" and the FBI, placed on "subversives" lists and subjected to several attempted frame-ups as a teenage youth. He was then shot by the cops in the dead of night, and when they failed to execute him on the streets, they have tried ever since to kill him through the courts. His trial was a travesty of justice from the start, presided over by a notorious hanging judge, with evidence suppressed, witnesses intimidated and black jurors excluded. The death sentence was blatantly based on his political beliefs, and his appeals have been dismissed out of hand. But despite the overwhelming forces arrayed against him, he has continued to fight, to be the "voice of the voiceless."

Mumia Abu-Jamal has been a special target of the racist rulers, because he dared *and dares* to speak out with force and passion against their injustices. But the system which has tormented him also oppresses black and Hispanic minorities as a whole, as its apparatus of legal repression defends the property and interests of the tiny handful of fabulously wealthy capitalists against the working people who produce their wealth. Jamal's case serves as a reminder of the fundamental realities of capitalism, for the nightmare he has endured continues today. The recent FBI/cop street execution in Philadelphia of an unarmed 23-year-old black man, Glenn Thomas, is but one of the countless state-sanctioned murders which are a daily occurrence in the ghettos and barrios.

In Clinton/Gingrich's America, what possibility is there for a valiant fighter against oppression like Mumia Abu-Jamal to find justice in the criminal court system? The legal proceedings against him have been hopelessly tainted. When the police have ruthlessly suppressed, destroyed, and mutilated the evidence beyond recognition, when the D.A.'s office with its smear campaign has shown it will tell any lie to see Jamal dead, when the judges are hangmen in robes—what possible chance does Jamal ever have to get a "fair trial" from this lynch mob? Simple justice demands that Jamal be freed immediately. He must be free to write, free to publish, here on the outside where he belongs and where he can continue to struggle against racist capitalist oppression.

From IWW revolutionary labor organizer Frank Little to San Francisco unionists Tom Mooney and Warren Billings to anarchist workers Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in the early years of the century, to the heroic Rosenbergs in the McCarthyite 1950s, to the 38 Black Panthers who were gunned down in the '60s—and the many more who were jailed, some of them still behind bars today, like Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) —Mumia Abu-Jamal is one in a long line of fighters for social justice who have been grievously victimized by the capitalist rulers. Jamal should not have spent a day in jail in the first place, and he should not be in prison now. He should be allowed to join his family and to join all those who seek and struggle for a society in which there will be no racist frame-ups and legal lynchings. While Jamal's lawyers pull every possible legal lever to win his freedom, what's urgently needed is to mobilize millions of workers and the oppressed worldwide to demand: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty! ■

NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips alternate issues in June, July and August.**

Our next issue will be dated July 28.

Balkans...

(continued from page 16)

relatively impoverished Balkans. As it was, Tito's "market socialism," which opened Yugoslavia to increasing imperialist economic penetration, reinforced disparities among the various regions, fueling resurgent nationalism.

Especially after Tito's death in 1980, the Yugoslav Stalinist bureaucracy increasingly fractured along national lines. In the late 1980s the strident nationalist Slobodan Milosevic, who took over the leadership of the Serbian League of Communists, trampled on Tito's carefully balanced national arrangements, beginning with a violent attack on the Albanians of Kosovo. Milosevic's drive for a "Greater Serbia," in turn, reinforced anti-Communist nationalism in Croatia and Slovenia, the wealthier, traditionally Roman Catholic northernmost republics of Yugoslavia which were formerly part of the Germanic sphere of influence. Recent documents have revealed that for decades the West German secret service worked closely with the Croatian Ustasha and other right-wing nationalists to bring about the breakup of Titoist Yugoslavia.

As capitalist counterrevolution swept across East Europe, the terminal crisis of Titoist Yugoslavia came in early 1991 when newly elected right-wing nationalist governments in Croatia and Slovenia declared secession from the federated state. The United States, Britain and France made a halfhearted diplomatic effort to preserve a Yugoslav state while restructuring its economy along capitalist lines. But at this point the newly reunified German Fourth Reich entered the scene in a decisive way and steamrollered its European allies into recognizing the independence of Slovenia, Croatia and, somewhat later, Bosnia.

We wrote at the time: "The masters of the Frankfurt banks and Ruhr factories believe that with reunification last year they have reversed the Third Reich's defeat in World War II. In Yugoslavia they are seeking to reverse Germany's defeat in World War I" (*WV* No. 531, 19 July 1991). Before World War I, Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia were part of the decaying Austro-Hungarian empire, the junior partner of Germany's Wilhelmine Second Reich (empire) led by Bismarck and his successors. The present drive of the Fourth Reich of German imperialism to restore its sphere of influence in the northern Balkans is not simply motivated by historical sentiment or a desire for revenge. This region contains a wealth of minerals of strategic importance to German industry.

The Serbs were not only the largest nationality in pre-1991 Yugoslavia but also the most geographically dispersed. A quarter of the Serb population lived outside of its own national republic, mainly in Croatia and Bosnia. With the breakup of Yugoslavia, these large Serbian communities confronted hostile nationalist regimes in Zagreb and Sarajevo. Fear of becoming an oppressed minority, combined with chauvinist sentiment for a Greater Serbia, ignited a new series of Balkan wars.

These began in the frontier regions of Croatia as local Serbian militias backed by the Serb-dominated Yugoslav army fought forces loyal to the fascistic regime of Franjo Tudjman in Zagreb. By the end of 1991, the Serbs controlled 30 percent of Croatia with Tudjman & Co. vowing to retake this territory when they were strong enough to do so. Next came the three-sided communalist bloodletting in Bosnia between Serbs, Croats and Bosnian Muslims. The Serbs—making up about a third of Bosnia's population—were a largely peasant population which owned over 60 percent of the land in the republic, while the Bosnian Muslims were a predominantly urbanized people. Thus when the war began the well-armed Serb forces were able to take over most of the countryside and lay siege to Sarajevo and the other cities where the Muslims were concentrated.

Black Star

German chancellor Helmut Kohl (right) with Clinton in February. Cold War imperialist alliance unraveling in New World Disorder as imperialists scramble over Balkans.

Since the end of 1992, the situation in ex-Yugoslavia has been one of strategic stalemate. The Croat and Bosnian Muslim forces, while building up their manpower and military hardware, have not been strong enough to roll back the Serbs. And the Western imperialist powers, each for different and conflicting reasons, have been unwilling to launch a major war against the Serbs on behalf of their Croatian and/or Bosnian Muslim clients.

Post-Soviet NATO, Post-Soviet Russia and the Balkan Quagmire

"Step by step, mission by mission, token force by token force, the German military is inching its way back toward the battlefield, 50 years after it lost Hitler's war and bid a humiliating farewell to arms," wrote the *Los Angeles Times* (20 June). "Now, with NATO defense ministries putting together a rapid-reaction force for Bosnia-Herzegovina, the postwar German army is on the verge of its most politically charged extra-territorial undertaking yet: 2,000 soldiers, 12 C-160 transport aircraft and about a dozen Tornado attack planes are being readied for possible action in the Balkan war." Following the NATO meeting in Paris, Bonn's defense ministry rewrote its "Order No. 1" for an "out-of-area" deployment of German military forces to include "possible support for a multinational coalition" in Bosnia. Since then preparations have been "going ahead full-throttle for departure in the direction of the Balkans," wrote *Der Spiegel* (19 June). And now the decision to deploy has been made. At the same time, German chancellor Kohl declared, "Germany must in no case allow itself to get drawn into the war."

German imperialism is presently inhibited by the burden of its history from undertaking resolute military action by itself. The atrocities committed by the Wehrmacht and Hitler's Croatian and Bosnian Muslim fascist puppets during World War II are seared into the national consciousness of the Serbian people. The liberal social-democratic *Die Zeit* (16 June) writes: "All reasons of historical experience and present rationality force the Germans to a 'policy of restraint.' Thus, we will never expose ourselves militarily on our own, but only based on an unambiguously documented request from the [NATO] Alliance or the UN in conjunction with others." However, the introduction of the soldiers of the Fourth Reich into the Balkans, even in the guise of UN "peacekeepers," would encounter determined and fanatical resistance by the Serbs. Hence Bonn's strategy is to maneuver and pressure the British and French to fight the Serbs to make the Balkans safe for the Deutsche Bank.

Britain and France were the main big-power allies of Serbia against Germany in both World Wars I and II. Partly for that reason, London and Paris saw the breakup of Yugoslavia as an opportunity to reassert their status as regional powers mediating between the contending Balkan nationalisms, acting somewhat independently of the Germans, guiding the Americans and finessing the Russians. The British and French therefore introduced small military contingents into the region to give credibility to their diplomatic maneuvers. But this is a tricky and dangerous game, which can easily get out of hand. The London *Independent* (30 May) recently quoted with approval Bismarck's comments about getting involved with the Balkan conflicts of his day: "One must give these sheep stealers plainly to understand that the European governments have no need to harness themselves to their lusts and rivalries."

In order to avoid becoming harnessed to the lusts and rivalries of the warring Balkan nationalists, especially the Serbs, the British and French want to employ American military power. Whether, and for what purpose, that power should be deployed is currently being hotly debated in Washington and Wall Street. With the end of the Cold War, U.S. ruling circles now see Japan Inc. as Enemy No. 1. Clinton's rapidly escalating trade war against Japan, especially imposing 100 percent tariffs on luxury-model Toyotas and Nissans, has rankled the West European bourgeoisies, who fear Washington may do the same to them (see "Clinton Heats Up Trade War," *WV* No. 624, 2 June). If Washington now acts in the Balkans with the same unilateral disdain for its imperialist "allies," this would further antagonize the West Europeans, possibly leading to the disintegration of NATO. And the U.S. ruling class does not want that to happen, at least not now.

If the trade war with Japan impinges on Washington's actions and inactions in the Balkans, U.S. relations with post-Soviet Russia are a far more direct and important factor. When in December 1991, following his ascendency the previous August, Boris Yeltsin kicked Gorbachev out of the Kremlin and declared the formal dissolution of the Soviet Union, the American ruling class celebrated the "death of communism" and looked forward to Russia becoming a junior partner in a Washington-dominated "New World Order." But things haven't worked out that way. As Russia descends into social chaos, rampant criminality and bloody national conflicts (e.g., the Chechen war), its new rulers have expressed their own imperial ambitions harking back to the tsarist empire. Increasingly, bourgeois opinion in the U.S. views post-Soviet Russia as a dangerous place and a loose cannon on the world political scene.

Tsarist Russia was the historic great-power protector of its Serbian "little brothers," and the Yeltsin regime has intervened in the present Balkan conflict in order to reassert Russia's role as a great European power. Moscow has simultaneously acted as a lawyer for the Serbs in the international diplomatic arena and as a soft cop toward the Serbs on behalf of the Western, particularly German, imperialists. Thus the Russians helped convince Milosevic to accept the German-sponsored Croatia-Bosnia federation last year. If the U.S. takes a tougher line toward the Serbs, especially backed up by large-scale military action, this would strengthen the forces of anti-Western nationalism in Russia. The London *Independent* (29 May) lays out a worst-case scenario in this regard:

> "The risk is that Russia and America will become ranged on opposing sides in a war in south-eastern Europe. Last week, it was mainly American warplanes that bombed the Serbs. The Russian president, using Serbian hostage-taking as his cue, has effectively vetoed another raid....
>
> "The most urgent question of all for Europe is how to prevent a new east-west schism on the continent."

The U.S. ruling class—increasingly distrustful of post-Soviet Russia, increasingly hostile to Japan—is inclined to placate the West Europeans over the Balkans. This line was expressed in a candid and cynical way by *New York Times* foreign affairs specialist Thomas Friedman, in a column entitled "Allies" (7 June):

> "I don't give two cents about Bosnia. Not two cents. The people there have brought on their own troubles. But I do feel loyalty to the allies who have put their own troops in harm's way.... The Bosnias will come and go, but good friends whom we can count on for solving problems that really do involve our national interest are hard to find."

But for all the pious declarations of America's responsibility to its longtime West European allies, the logic of the Balkan war is intensifying the divisions among the NATO powers as events of the past few months so clearly demonstrate.

Thus another reason Washington's geostrategists are weighing intervention in Bosnia is that in the U.S.'s absence the alternative means of bringing an imperialist "peace" to the Balkans would be a German-Russian condominium in the former Yugoslavia, with each keeping their respective clients in line. This is not for now, and certainly not with Washington's man Yeltsin in the Kremlin, but even the distant possibility of such a realignment would give the Pentagon nightmares, providing the masters of now-Greater Germany access to tremendous material resources (oil, minerals, grain), nuclear weapons and delivery systems. If the present national-ethnic civil war is undermining the pretense of

J.L. Charmet

The Balkans, historic tinderbox of Europe: assassination of Austrian archduke by Serb nationalists in Sarajevo in 1914 ignited first imperialist world war.

For Mass Pickets that No One Crosses!

NYC Hotel Workers Gird for Strike/Lockout

NEW YORK, June 27—Over 18,000 New York City hotel workers are facing the fight of their lives. At a rally today, thousands of hotel housekeepers, porters, food service and maintenance workers gave their approval for a strike against the Hotel Association of New York City, representing some 75 of the world's swankest hotels. As we go to press, picket lines are due to go up at midnight on June 30 around hotels like the Waldorf-Astoria, the Grand Hyatt, the Helmsley—whose names and owners have become synonymous with opulence, privilege and greed. It's a showdown with the big hotel bosses—like the Hilton and Loews corporations—and Mayor Rudolph Giuliani on one side, against all of New York City labor, minorities and the poor.

The hotel bosses are clearly out to destroy the nine allied unions of the Hotel Trades Council and eliminate decades of hard-won gains in wages and work rules in one fell swoop. In addition to recruiting thousands of scabs through temporary employment agencies, they have stockpiled months of supplies and formed a "mutual defense pact" to simultaneously lock out all union workers when the contract expires and picket lines go up. And since massive scabherding is impossible without plenty of racist strikebreakers in blue, hotel management has already held high-level talks with the NYPD. Unfortunately, the Hotel Trades Council, led by Hotel Workers Local 6 president Vito Pitta, has signed "me too" agreements not to strike over 30 of the city's major hotels. This move will inevitably undercut the impact of the strike by making hotel rooms available to businessmen and tourists.

WV Photo

June 23: Hundreds of New York hotel workers rallied at the Waldorf-Astoria against hotel bosses' union-busting offensive.

The hotel bosses are facing a strike smack in the middle of tourist season, while they are experiencing record occupancy rates and profits. When labor-hating Mayor Giuliani pushed through a 6 percent reduction in hotel taxes, ostensibly to help the tourist industry, the greedy owners raised rates by 6.5 percent. Now they're out to bust the unions. In management's list of 55 giveback demands, one involves dropping the "concessionaire clause," which would enable the bosses to subcontract any and all hotel operations such as the restaurants and bars to "independent" scab outfits who pay minimum wage. Another is to dump the "successor clause," which demands that new owners of unionized hotels honor the existing contract. Management is also asking for massive work rule changes and the right to fire restaurant staff based on a single complaint by a guest. One wonders if Leona Helmsley didn't spend all her time in jail dreaming these things up!

A strike can only be won on the picket line. The key will be bringing out all the hotel workers in New York and stopping the scabs with mass pickets. Turn the struck hotels into "Hotel Hell" through militant solidarity from Teamsters, sanitation workers, taxi drivers, maintenance workers and all NYC labor! The budget assault on public employees, spearheaded by Rudy Giuliani and passed by liberal Democrats on the City Council, has hundreds of thousands of city workers itching for a chance to fight back.

The hotel unions—with women comprising over half the workforce and Hispanics, blacks, and Asians in the majority—represent a broad cross-section of the people who make this metropolis run. Living in neighborhoods ravaged by budget cuts and racist cop terror, they also live alongside workers in the city's most powerful unions, like transit workers who face the threat of layoffs and privatization. A solid hotel workers strike can become a flashpoint of struggle for all NYC labor.

Hotel Workers Local 6 has scored some victories in the last several years—notably at Tavern on the Green in 1989 and the Rainbow Room in 1992—thanks to the militancy of its largely immigrant workforce. The 1985 hotel strike electrified the city. Thousands-strong marches repeatedly snaked from hotel to hotel, snarling traffic in midtown Manhattan. That militancy, however, was squandered by NYC union tops who let *12,000 scabs* saunter across picket lines and obeyed then-mayor Ed Koch's order that sanitation workers pick up the rotting hotel trash during the strike.

The hotel bosses have a "mutual defense pact." To spike the racist, anti-union offensive of the hotel owners, Giuliani and the Democrats, the labor movement had better forge a solid front for militant labor action. Smash scabbing with mass pickets that no one dares cross! Victory to the hotel workers! ■

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a New World Order, a serious split in NATO would quickly put an end to such imperialist illusions.

U.S./UN/NATO Out of the Balkans!

In late April, the Croatian army launched an offensive taking over western Slavonia, a Serbian-populated region which Serb forces had controlled since the first round of the Balkan war ended in late 1991. More than 5,000 Serbian refugees fled the advancing Croatian army as hundreds were killed. The Serbs predictably retaliated by shelling the Croatian capital of Zagreb and renewing artillery attacks on Sarajevo.

The Americans, overriding the objections of the British and French, decided o "punish" the Serbs with air strikes against their arms depots in Bosnia. UN spokesman Fred Eckhardt blustered: "The idea was to send a strong political message that the escalating violence in Sarajevo had to stop." The Bosnian Serbs sent back a stronger message by taking British and French soldiers hostage and chaining some of them to the arms caches and other potential targets of American air power. The hostages were released in exchange for a promise of no further NATO air raids. The upshot was that the U.S. "get tough" policy toward the Serbs ended in humiliating its West European allies.

From the West European standpoint, insult was then added to injury by the Captain Scott O'Grady affair, the U.S. fighter pilot shot down by Bosnian Serbs who was rescued after hiding in the woods for six days. O'Grady was flown to Washington where he was greeted by Clinton and the media like a conquering hero. Clearly the American people are unwilling to risk the life of even a single U.S. soldier in the Balkan conflict. Pointing to the "extraordinary overreaction" to O'Grady's rescue, British journalist Martin Woollacott castigated American foreign policy as "selfish, short-term, television-driven and subject to change at short notice" (London *Guardian*, June 10).

These short-notice changes reflect in good part differences within U.S. ruling circles between, to use conventional terms, hawks and doves. But in this case, the hawks want to defeat the Serbs without fighting them. Instead, they propose to build up the war-fighting capacity of the Bosnian Muslim forces. A prominent spokesman for this line is Republican Senate leader and presidential aspirant Robert Dole, who calls for lifting the UN-mandated arms embargo so that the Bosnian Muslims can supposedly fight the Serbs on equal terms.

The debate over the arms embargo has become a diplomatic charade since in any case it is not being enforced. Over the past few years advanced weaponry has been pouring in to the Sarajevo regime, mainly from Islamic countries, with U.S. approval. A senior State Department official conceded, "We're not really against someone helping the Muslims" (*Washington Post*, 14 April). The main "someone" arming the Bosnian Muslim forces is Iran, a state branded by American imperialism as the center of anti-Western Islamic fundamentalism and "international terrorism." But, as the saying goes, politics makes strange bedfellows.

The main obstacle preventing the Bosnian Muslims from getting the weapons they want is, in fact, their sometime ally, sometime enemy, the Croats. Bosnia is landlocked, so tanks and other heavy artillery have to pass through the Adriatic ports in Croatia...and sometimes they don't pass through. Because of their lack of heavy weaponry, the current Muslim offensive to break the siege of Sarajevo is unlikely to result in a decisive victory over the Serbs but only an intensification of the war with massacres and counter-massacres by both sides.

If the imperialist "hawks" now vow to fight to the last Bosnian Muslim soldier, the "doves" place their hopes in, of all people, Slobodan Milosevic. Here is a man vilified for years by Western politicians and the media as the preeminent "war criminal" in the Balkans, the architect of "ethnic cleansing." Now he is presented as the indispensable figure to bring peace to the region. Washington is making a big diplomatic effort to induce Milosevic to recognize Bosnia on the basis of the boundaries it had as a Yugoslav republic in return for dropping the international economic sanctions against Serbia.

There is no doubt that Milosevic is willing to sell out his embattled Serbian brethren in Croatia and Bosnia in order to convince the Western imperialists that he is a man with whom they can do business. But whether the Belgrade strongman can control Serbian forces in Croatia and Bosnia, let alone the ultra-nationalists in Serbia itself, is another question entirely. The crazed nationalist fanatic Vojislav Seselj—once a Milosevic henchman and ally, now an opponent—argues that "Whatever the superpowers gain with Milosevic will stay only on paper. His negotiating power with other Serbs is minor now." A deal between the NATO powers and Milosevic is no more likely to end the seemingly interminable war in the Balkans than the current Bosnian Muslim offensive.

Milosevic has for some time been carrying out a balancing act, trying to placate the NATO imperialists while singing a different tune in Belgrade. Not only will it be difficult for him to shove a diktat down the throats of those fighting in Bosnia, but Serbian society is not one seamless mass. While Milosevic, now head of the Serbian Socialist Party, has aggressively played the nationalist card, his wife, Mirjana Markovic, is the leading ideologist of the "Communist Alliance-Movement for Yugoslavia," which has been closely linked to the army and claims to oppose nationalism. "For the last three years," she has written, "our newspapers have been making heroes out of war profiteers, killers driven by religious hatred and other criminals who make their sick atrocities out to be acts of patriotism and bravery" (quoted in *Le Monde*, 24 May). More fundamentally, the working class, which has suffered greatly under the imperialist embargo and which in the pre-1991 Yugoslavia on several occasions exploded in ethnically integrated class struggle, can only be harmed by this intercommunal slaughter.

Marxist and proletarian internationalists oppose all sides in the squalid nationalist bloodbath that has ripped apart the former Yugoslavia, establishing capitalist rule over the corpses of workers and peasants of all nationalities. We oppose *all forms* of imperialist intervention in the Balkans, from economic boycotts to "peacekeeping" troops to NATO air strikes. A democratic and equitable resolution of the conflicting nationalist claims in the Balkans can only be achieved under the rule of the proletariat, the only class without an interest in pursuing nationalist goals. This bloody conflict underscores the need for Trotskyist parties, built in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International, to lead the fight for a socialist federation of the Balkans in a socialist united states of Europe. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

U.S./UN/NATO Out!

Imperialist Rivalry and the Balkan Slaughter

Last month, American warplanes bombed Bosnian Serb forces, which responded by taking British, French and other UN "peacekeepers" hostage. Clinton then announced that U.S. ground troops would participate in "a reconfiguration and a strengthening" of the UN forces. More than 23,000 U.S. military personnel were dispatched or readied for deployment to the Balkan region. On June 3 at a NATO meeting in Paris, Pentagon chief Perry pledged U.S. air support for a European "rapid reaction" force. Yet that same day, following the downing of a U.S. flier by Serb anti-aircraft rockets, and facing an uproar by the Republican-dominated Congress and a hostile public reaction, the American president backtracked, saying it was "extremely unlikely" U.S. soldiers would be involved, and then only to evacuate the UN forces.

This kind of zigzag and double-talk is by no means unique to the hapless and inept Clinton gang. Far from it. Sounding macho, France's newly elected rightist president, Jacques Chirac, declared that French troops would no longer be "humiliated" by the Serbs but would now fight back. The new 12,500-strong quick-reaction force has been set up for just that purpose. The French aircraft carrier *Foch* was dispatched to the Adriatic to join the USS *Theodore Roosevelt*. At the same time, French officials were negotiating a private deal with Bosnian Serbs to release UN "peacekeepers" being held hostage against further NATO air strikes, and they are now talking of pulling out their troops—the largest contingent of the UN/NATO forces in Bosnia—by the end of the year.

The latest development is the decision on June 26 by the German government to send armed forces to the Balkans. Tornadn fighter jets equipped with sophisticated radar-jamming equipment will join NATO flights and provide air cover for the UN rapid-reaction force. This marks a major step for post-reunification Germany, which has grown increasingly assertive since annexing East Germany in 1989-90. Bonn has already sent two warships to the area, and German officers are on board AWACS planes directing NATO air strikes, but this move marks the first combat mission for German military forces since World War II. The decision is expected to be approved by the Bundestag (parliament), and has split the opposition Social Democrats. Still, German war minister Volker Rühe emphasized that Bundeswehr ground troops will not be sent to the former Yugoslavia, where memories of the Nazi invasion are strong.

Morris/Black Star

UN "peacekeepers" in Bosnia serve as cover for imperialists' maneuvers.

Stjepanovic/AP

Serb forces bombed by U.S./NATO warplanes in Bosnia last month.

All of the parties involved in the Balkan bloodbath—the various Western imperialists, the Russians, the local nationalists—engage in constant maneuvers, backstabbing and reversals of policy. There have been countless and contradictory UN and NATO resolutions and "peace" plans, numerous cease-fires followed by new offensives and counter-offensives. Western governments routinely denounce the Serbian leaders as "war criminals" and then turn around and negotiate new "peacekeeping" arrangements with them. The disarray and divisions among the Western imperialists are mirrored by those of the embattled Balkan nationalists. The Croats and Bosnian Muslims, supposedly allies against the Serbs in a German-sponsored federation, periodically turn on and fight one another. The Serbian nationalist camp, too, is divided into bitterly hostile factions quite capable of massacring each other.

Fundamentally, the Balkan bloodbath is the product of capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the destruction of the Soviet Union under the pressure of world imperialism. Throughout East Europe, that counterrevolution was fueled by, and in turn reinforced, resurgent nationalism. At the same time, with the disappearance of the Soviet Union the system of Cold War alliances is falling apart in the face of increasing *inter-imperialist rivalry*, centrally between the United States, Germany and Japan. In announcing Bonn's decision to send air force, army and navy forces to the region, German "defense" minister Rühe "said that contributing to the Balkans mission will give Germany more clout in Europe," the AP (26 June) reported. "'The Americans are clearly on the margins of the policy, with Britain and France leading the way,' he said."

The wars precipitated by the breakup of Yugoslavia have exposed and intensified the tensions within NATO, which has lost its central reason for existence. Indeed, one right-wing ideologue in the U.S., Jonathan Clarke of the Cato Institute in Washington, argues for scrapping NATO altogether along with a total withdrawal from Bosnia: "During the Cold War, NATO served a vital purpose. But, by keeping the alliance alive beyond its useful life, American policymakers risk seeing the United States sucked into obscure wars where the American interest is slight and where the American role—as in Bosnia—makes a bad situation worse" (*Los Angeles Times*, 30 May).

U.S. policy in the Balkans, or rather the lack of any coherent policy, is not determined by what is happening on the ground in Bosnia and Croatia but rather by Washington's shifting relations with London, Paris, Bonn, Moscow and, indirectly, Tokyo. For all their hesitancy, NATO's insertion of beefed-up strike forces points toward a change in the character of the war, "subordinating the Croat and Bosnian Muslim armies to an imperialist war against the Serbs," as we noted in our last issue. In that eventuality, it is the elementary duty of revolutionary Marxists and class-conscious workers to defend the Serbs against an imperialist onslaught.

German Fourth Reich Pushed Bloody Breakup of Yugoslavia

The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was born out of World War II when Tito's Communist Partisans successfully battled the occupying Nazi German Wehrmacht as well as the Croatian fascist Ustasha and Serbian royalist Chetniks. Emerging from the war with immense popular and moral authority, Tito and his comrades socialized the economy—albeit in a bureaucratically controlled and deformed manner—in the name of the "brotherhood and unity" of the working people of Yugoslavia. Even a former U.S. ambassador to Yugoslavia, Walter Zimmermann, contrasts the relative national amity under the Titoist system to the fratricidal nationalism of today:

> "For all their sins, the Yugoslav Communist leaders rarely incited their captive audience to hate other Yugoslavs for their ethnic origins.... Indeed the main cliché of Tito's Yugoslavia was 'brotherhood and unity.' The nationalists are different. From Belgrade and Zagreb they constantly exhort citizens to hate members of different ethnic groups."
>
> —*New York Review of Books*, 2 February

The murderous nationalism which was characteristic of interwar capitalist Yugoslavia has fed off and driven capitalist counterrevolution. This development was prepared by the bureaucratic deformations and inherent limitations of Yugoslav Stalinism with its program of building "socialism in one country." Only extension of proletarian revolution to the advanced capitalist countries of West Europe could provide the economic basis for genuine national equality in the

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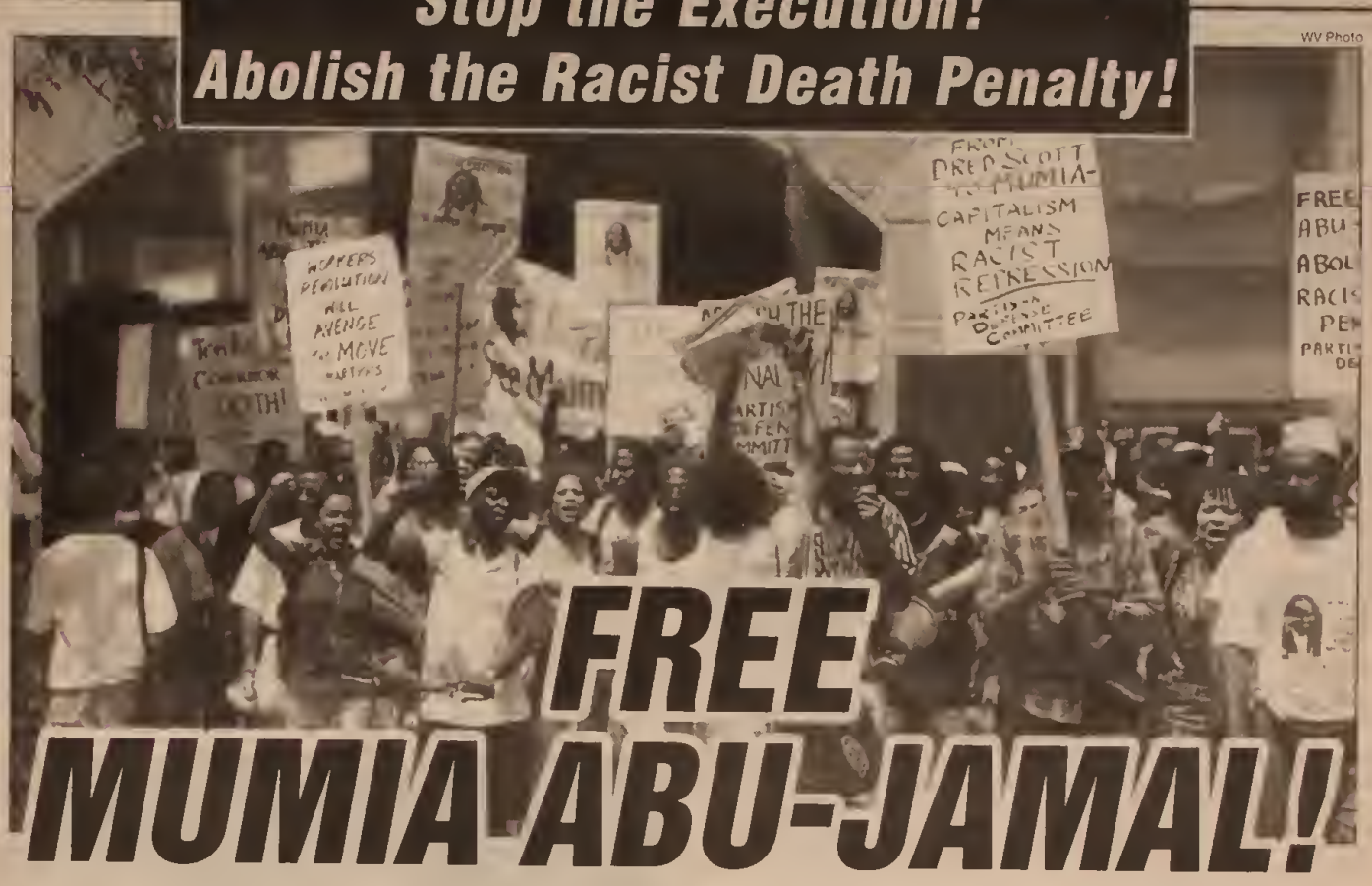
WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 626

28 July 1995

Stop the Execution! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!



FREE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL!

JULY 24—Mumia Abu-Jamal is slated to be executed in barely three weeks. As the executioner's clock is ticking, across the country and around the world thousands of people are rallying to save the life of this fighter for black freedom. The fight to save Jamal has come to symbolize the struggle against the death penalty and the whole system of racist capitalist oppression in America. In these crucial weeks, we must muster all energy and strength for the battle which has been engaged. Particularly important is to mobilize the power of the organized, multiracial working class at the head of oppressed minorities and all those committed to social justice to demand: **Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!**

Jamal, the former Black Panther, award-winning black journalist and supporter of the MOVE organization, has been on death row since 1982, when he was framed up on charges of killing a cop. As FBI Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) files show, this champion of black rights had been targeted by the Philly cops and FBI since the late 1960s. He was railroaded in a far-reaching conspiracy by the Philadelphia police, judiciary and city rulers who run this 40 percent black city as if it were Philadelphia, Mississippi in the days of Jim Crow. From arch-racist Frank Rizzo, who as Philly's police commissioner (later mayor) lined up the Black Panthers naked at gunpoint in the street in 1970, to black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode, who helped carry out the murder of eleven black men, women and children in the 1985 bombing of MOVE, Philadelphia has come to symbolize black oppression *in extremis* in America today.

Now Mumia Abu-Jamal struggles for his life, caught in the murderous net of the racist "justice" system. On June 1, the Harrisburg *Patriot-News* reported that Jamal's attorneys were about to file papers for a new trial. *That very night*, Governor Thomas Ridge signed Jamal's death warrant, ordering the execution by lethal injection to take place at 10 p.m. on August 17. The appeal for post-conviction relief (PCRA) filed on June 5 calls for a new trial. Together with that, Jamal's attorneys filed motions for a stay of execution and the recusal of notorious "hanging judge" Albert Sabo from this case. The defense papers give proof of Jamal's innocence and starkly expose the mockery of justice which characterized Jamal's arrest, trial and sentencing in 1982. Hearings on the appeal began on July 12 in front of Sabo in the Philadelphia Court of Common Pleas.

Jennifer Beach

Philadelphia City Hall, July 12—Death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal heard chants of over 800 demonstrators who rallied in his defense on first day of court hearing before "hanging judge" Sabo.

This court session was the first time Mumia had been able to appear in front of his supporters in Philadelphia since his banishment to death row 13 years before. The courtroom was divided, with scores of cops—virtually all white—on one side and Mumia's family and supporters on the other. As Mumia entered, his supporters stood in silent solidarity, until his grandson cried out, "Hi, grandpa!" At that point, cheers for Mumia rang out inside the court, and in the hall outside as well, where scores of people waited who could not get in. Throughout the morning, and at every court appearance since, hundreds of demonstrators rallied and marched outside the court building, where their cries of "Sabo must go!" and "Free Mumia!" could be heard.

Jamal's attorneys, led by noted civil rights advocate Leonard Weinglass, first argued that Sabo, as a retired judge, had no valid jurisdiction in this case. In ruling against the defense, Sabo exhibited what would become a pattern of abuse of Jamal's attorneys and blatant bias in favor of the district attorney's prosecutorial team. Known as the "King of Death Row" for sentencing more people to death (at least 31, 28 of whom are minorities) than any sitting judge in the U.S., Sabo served 16 years as a Philadelphia undersheriff and is a "former" member of the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP), which is actively campaigning for Jamal's death. Despite overwhelming evidence of bias, Sabo refused to remove himself from the case. He then refused to rule on the stay of execution, saying the date was "not close enough." And, in a move that death penalty experts called unprecedented, Sabo asked the defense to provide witnesses to testify as to why the stay should be granted.

When court resumed two days later, Sabo again refused to rule on the stay, saying that he would take it "under advisement," i.e. delay the ruling as long as he wished. He also denied a defense motion for discovery, which would have required prosecutors to turn over evidence that had been withheld. The following week, Sabo demanded that the defense call witnesses to begin an evidentiary hearing on the merits of the appeal on only *two days' notice*. Fighting against this outrageous maneuver, on July 18 Jamal's attorneys obtained a one-week continuance from the Pennsylvania state Supreme Court. The hearing on the PCRA is scheduled to resume on July 26, in Sabo's court.

Sabo's intentions are crystal-clear: to keep Jamal's appeal in his court as long as possible in order to thwart attempts to appeal to a higher court, while racing ahead into hearings, giving Jamal's attorneys virtually no time to prepare witnesses. Meanwhile, the clock keeps ticking. After watching the proceedings on July 12, radical black academic Cornel West remarked, "I've never seen a Jim Crow court until today. The whole atmosphere of this court is Mississippi 1955" (*Philadelphia Daily News*, 13 July).

As we wrote in our last issue:

> "Mumia is being set up to be the first political prisoner executed in the U.S. since Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were killed in the electric chair in 1953.

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Chicago: Hundreds Die in Heat Wave

Victims Are Mainly Poor, Aged, Blacks

CHICAGO—It was business as usual in City Hall when the worst heat wave on record scorched its way across Chicago in mid-July. But by Saturday, July 15, the third day in a row of 100-plus temperatures intensified by high humidity, emergency vehicles were lined up outside a city morgue already jammed with dead bodies. Refrigerated food trucks were borrowed to house the cadavers that turned up over the next several days in funeral homes and neglected apartments across the metropolitan area. By July 20 the toll of the dead in Cook County stood at 456—mostly elderly, mostly poor, disproportionately black. A social "surplus" no longer exploitable by a decaying capitalist system, they were killed by official indifference, social service cutbacks, declining medical care.

"We're talking about people who die because they neglect themselves," said city Human Service Commissioner Daniel Alvarez, while Mayor Richard Daley questioned the medical examiner's method of counting the dead. But the administration's callous portrayal of old hermits stubbornly baking themselves to death was given the lie by the massive 50-60 percent jump in 911 emergency calls over the two hottest days, a collective S O S from a desperate population. Only when the bodies started piling up on Saturday did Daley declare an emergency. The flimsy emergency plan entailed the use of "cooling centers" (but made no mention of transporting people to them) and called for issuing *press releases* about the dangers of 105-degree temperatures. In other words, city officials told people it was really hot and they should go somewhere to cool down.

What help did arrive was too little too late. Throughout the crisis profit-conscious hospital administrators saved on overtime by refusing to beef up emergency staffs. As a result, at least 16 hospitals went on "bypass" status, refusing to accept patients. Like planes in a holding pattern, ambulances were forced to drive around for 35 minutes or more before finding a hospital that would take heat victims.

Feeling some heat himself, Daley lambasted Commonwealth Edison for a weekend power outage in a mostly white, upscale North Side neighborhood. (Indeed, ComEd scrambled to restore power to Wrigley Field in time for a Saturday night Cubs game while residents in the surrounding area didn't get power restored until Monday morning.) But most of the heat deaths occurred not where the electricity was lost but in poverty-stricken areas like the South and West Side ghettos, where many can't afford air conditioners or the jacked-up ComEd bills they bring. Despite the sweltering heat, many black retirees were afraid to even open their windows for fear of the crime that segregation, racist neglect and massive unemployment have brought to their neighborhoods.

Cook County Medical Examiner Edmund R. Donohue called the heat wave a natural disaster, "an act of God" (*Chicago Tribune*, 20 July). But Quentin Young, a Chicago physician and president of Health and Medicine Policy Research Group, told *Workers Vanguard*, "The heat wave was natural enough, but the disaster was avoidable. It's about as 'natural' as children dying of measles because they don't get their immunizations." Young adds, "Our technical resources and communication systems, properly organized and inspired, can handle this problem extremely well."

The heat wave struck on the same day that welfare cuts ordered by the state legislature went into effect. The entirely preventable heat tragedy merely exposed the growing decay of the capitalist social order marked by welfare and medical cuts, rampant unemployment and segregation. What is needed *is* not an emergency plan, but a planned economy, in which decent housing and health care are available to all. The capitalist economy, based on profit, will not and cannot provide for the basic needs of the population. That will take a socialist economy, in which production and services are based on human needs, and there is no such thing as "surplus" population. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Hiroshima and Nagasaki: War Crimes of U.S. Imperialism

August 1995 will mark the 50th anniversary of one of the greatest atrocities in world history: the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by U.S imperialism. This mass murder of defenseless Japanese people expressed both the intense racism of the white American ruling class and the looming Cold War against the Soviet Union. While the Japanese government was ready to sue for peace, the atomic bomb was dropped to demonstrate *to the Soviet leaders that the U.S had developed a weapon of unprecedented destructive power. Almost half a century later, the Cold War ended with capitalist counterrevolution and the destruction of the Soviet Union as the Kremlin Stalinist bureaucracy disintegrated under the weight of its own contradictions and the all-sided pressure of Western and Japanese imperialism. The post-Soviet world is marked by increasing interimperialist rivalries between the United States, Germany and Japan pointing to a new world battle over markets and spheres of exploitation. A third imperialist world war could bring the annihilation of mankind. Following the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, American Trotskyist leader James P Cannon stated:*

In two calculated blows, with two atomic bombs, American imperialism killed or injured half a million human beings. The young and the old, the child in the cradle and the aged and infirm, the newly married, the well and the sick, men, women, and children—they all had to die in two blows because of a quarrel between the imperialists of Wall Street and a similar gang in Japan....

American imperialism has brought upon itself the fear and hatred of the whole world. American imperialism is regarded throughout the world today as the enemy of mankind. The First World War cost twelve million dead. Twelve million. The Second World War, within a quarter of a century, has already cost not less than thirty million dead; and there are not less than thirty million more to be starved to death before the results of the war are totaled up....

Before the Second World War, with all its horror and destruction of human life and human culture, is formally ended, they are already thinking and planning for the third.

Don't we have to stop these madmen and take power out of their hands? Can we doubt that the peoples of all the world are thinking it cannot go much further, that there must be some way to change it? Long ago the revolutionary Marxists said that the alternative facing humanity was either socialism or a new barbarism, that capitalism threatens to go down in ruins and drag civilization with it. But in the light of what has been developed in this war and is projected for the future, I think we can say now that the alternative can be made even more precise: The alternative facing mankind is socialism or annihilation! It is a problem of whether capitalism is allowed to remain or whether the human race is to continue to survive on this planet.

—James P. Cannon, "The Bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki" (August 1945)

AP

Autopsy technicians move bodies into refrigerated trucks, as over 450 die during Chicago heat wave.

Letter

Who's Revolting?

Bay Area
10 July 1995

Editor
Workers Vanguard

Senator Jesse Helms wants to cut spending on AIDS research and treatment because gays engage in "deliberate, disgusting, revolting conduct."

Some eminent authority, a near rocket scientist, in answer to the question "Is sex dirty?" once observed, "Only when it's done right."

A. Worker

WV responds: Speaking of "revolting," along with Jesse Helms, there's Clinton's Secret Service agents, who put on rubber gloves to "handle" gay and lesbian elected officials who were *invited* to the White House on June 13. Helms says gays engage in "unnatural acts," the Secret Service think AIDS is transmitted through a shake of the hand. How about producing some giant condoms to sheath Helms et al. and protect the rest of us from the deadly infection of their medieval perversions? ■

CORRECTION

In our last issue (*WV* No. 625, 30 June), in the article "Mumia Abu-Jamal Must Not Die!" the caption of the photo of a demonstration for Jamal on June 5 in Oakland misidentified Brian McWilliams of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union as president of Local 10. McWilliams is International president of the ILWU.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is July 25

No. 626 **28 July 1995**

Support NYC Drake Hotel Strikers!

On the morning of July 1, over 200 bellhops, waiters, housekeepers and maintenance staff walked out the front door of the luxury Drake Swissotel in Manhattan and set up picket lines outside. Drake management, led by Swissotel's union-busting V.P., Andreas Meinbold, is determined to break the unions at this posh East Side establishment. Yet at the same time, New York mayor Rudolph Giuliani was brokering a deal between hotel owners and union tops to avert a strike of 22,000 hotel workers on the July 4 weekend.

When Drake strikers went out on July 1, they were left fighting on their own as the Hotel Trades Council's president Vito Pitta (who also heads H.E.R.E. Local 6) extended the contract negotiating deadline at 79 other hotels. Drake bosses brought in out-of-town scabs who are living inside and working 16-hour days. Now acting as general manager, Meinhold's racist arrogance is buoyed by his experience in busting a union at a Swissotel in Puerto Rico.

Meanwhile, in a backstabbing attack on the Drake strikers, union elevator mechanics, laundry and sanitation workers have been crossing the picket lines, where the bosses have set up video cameras to finger militant strikers. Angry West Indian and Hispanic hotel workers told *Workers Vanguard* that the union had planned a large strike support demo on July 12, but union negotiators quashed it to take the heat off the Drake's bosses.

Dreading the prospect of a strike in the heart of Manhattan during the height of the tourist season, Giuliani personally intervened to stop the hotel showdown. On July 4 at City Hall, Pitta cut a deal with the owners of 70 hotels for a contract providing some improvements in pay, pension and medical benefits, and preserving the closed shop. In exchange, the union bureaucrats agreed to a *six-year* contract which won't expire until after the year 2000. At the Grand Hyatt, no deal has been struck and employees are working without a contract.

The city administration, hotel bosses and union tops all remember and fear the militancy sparked by the last NYC hotel strike in 1985. This time H.E.R.E. leader Pitta posed tough, but then conspired with the bosses to fashion a deal which would prevent a hot summer of labor unrest. The pact was pushed through at a mass meeting at the Coliseum on July 6. Now Pitta is praising Giuliani and even Police Commissioner William Bratton as friends of labor!

The Drake strikers launched their struggle on the same day that AFSCME District Council 37 president Stanley Hill and the UFT's Sandra Feldman pledged to deliver *$1.2 billion in union givebacks* to the capitalist politicians over the next three years. A class-struggle leadership in the unions could have galvanized all the city's workers, minorities and impoverished youth behind the fight not only against the hotel owners—sleazy and arrogant profit-gougers like Donald Trump and Leona Helmsley—but also against the vicious budget cutbacks imposed by Republican Giuliani and the Democratic City Council.

Drake workers must not fight alone. Mass pickets and genuine union solidarity is needed to stop the union-busters and run out the scabs. That means no deliveries, no utilities—and let the trash pile high. Picket lines mean don't cross! Victory to the Drake strike! ■

Illinois "War Zone" Workers Need Class-Struggle Leadership

DECATUR, Illinois—Two hundred unionists gathered here on June 24 for a War Zone Labor Conference, which was followed the next day by a 2,500-strong march and rally to support striking Caterpillar workers and locked out Staley workers. The conference and rally came on the heels of a defeat for the United Rubber Workers (URW) in Decatur and elsewhere, whose ten-month strike against Bridgestone-Firestone was washed down the drain in an unconditional surrender by URW leadership (see "Anti-Japanese Racism Kills Rubber Strike," *WV* No. 624, 2 June).

The conference unanimously adopted a resolution introduced by supporters of the Partisan Defense Committee, to support political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, who is threatened with execution on August 17, and calling on participants to raise Jamal's case in their locals and internationals.

Below are excerpts from remarks made at the conference by Kevin Quirk, a member of Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 241 in Chicago.

* * *

A defeat—a major defeat—has been inflicted on the labor movement here in Decatur. The battle is not over here, but if we are to move forward and win we must call things by their right name. I agree with the sister who spoke earlier about the need to stop the scabs. That is all-important. The only way workers can win is to shut down production. It's all there for us in the annals of labor's struggles: picket lines that no one crosses, mass picketing—real effective solidarity like hot-cargoing scab goods.

This is racist America. The labor movement is getting a little taste of what has been the daily fare in the cities and ghettos of this country for years. Minorities and all oppressed layers would rally to the side of a strong, bold and fighting labor movement. It is urgently necessary for a combined struggle against our common enemy: the union-busting bosses and racist state terror.

These strikes were defeated because the existing leadership sold them out. The union leadership played by the bosses' rules. If you play by the bosses' rules, you lose. The only illegal strike is one that loses. Strikes are won at the point of production. That's where our power is. Strikes are not won at supermarkets, banks or at shareholders' meetings. While it is important to point out that there is a capitalist class and it has solidarity, and it does rule, it is a diversion to push consumer boycotts and "corporate campaigns" while scabs are running the plants.

These strikers have been sacrificed on the altar of racist, flag-waving anti-Japanese protectionism and support for Democratic Party politics by the pro-capitalist bureaucrats in the unions. Someone on the podium spoke of the lack of international support. How do you expect to win international support when you spread the vile lie that workers of other countries are the enemy? The main enemy is at home, right here in the corporate boardrooms of America.

There is a need for new leadership in the unions. We need to get rid of all the dinosaurs in the AFL-CIO leadership. We can't afford to replace one dinosaur with another, the way Kirkland replaced Meany. We need a bold class-struggle leadership in the unions that will fight the bosses' attacks. We need to build a party that will lead that fight, one which is totally independent of the capitalist Democratic Party. We need a revolutionary workers party that will fight all the way to put power in the hands of those who toil and create the wealth in this country—the workers. ■

Protest Deportation of Ramona Africa by Canadian Immigration!

On July 23, Ramona Africa, a prominent representative of the Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, was grabbed by Canadian immigration authorities at Montreal's Dorval airport, detained overnight and deported the following afternoon. Ramona, the sole adult survivor of the 1985 police bombing of the Philadelphia MOVE house, had been invited to address public meetings and protest rallies in defense of Jamal across Canada. As the Partisan Defense Committee in Canada wrote in a protest statement to the Canadian Minister of Citizenship and Immigration: "Tens of thousands of individuals and organizations representing millions more have joined the international campaign to save Jamal's life.... Your department's actions against Ramona Africa are an outrageous attempt to disrupt this important international effort." Join in demanding that the ban on Ramona Africa's entry into Canada be rescinded!

Mobilize Labor/Black/Minority Power!

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Stop the Execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Demonstrate!

Thurs., Aug. 3, 4-7 p.m.
Foley Square
across from
U.S. Federal Courthouse
40 Centre Street
(Take any train to Chambers St.)
For more information:
(212) 406-4252
NEW YORK CITY

Thurs., Aug. 3, 4:30 p.m.
Assemble at
14th and Broadway
March to the Federal Building
and then to Rally at
HERE Local 2850
(20th St. between
San Pablo and Telegraph)
For more information:
(510) 839-0852
OAKLAND

Thurs., Aug. 10, 7 p.m.
Rally at
University of Illinois at Chicago
Chicago Circle Center
Illinois Room
750 S. Halsted
For more information:
(312) 663-0719
CHICAGO

Initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee

Stop the Execution!

Mumia Abu-Jamal Must Not Die!

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Fri., Aug. 11, 7 p.m.
SEIU Local 399 Union Hall
1247 W. 7th St.
(at Witmer, West of 110 Fwy.)
For more information
(213) 380-8239
LOS ANGELES

Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

Mon., Aug. 14, 5 p.m.
U.S. Consulate
1095 West Pender
(at Thurlow)
For more information:
(604) 687-0353
VANCOUVER

Initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee and co-sponsored by the New Democratic Youth of Canada and the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (Vancouver Local)

Mon., Aug. 14, 5 p.m.
U.S. Consulate
360 University Ave.
(between St. Patrick and Osgoode subway stations)
For more information contact the PDC: (416) 593-4138
TORONTO

Sponsored by the Committee to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal and the Partisan Defense Committee

Anti-Communist Smear Targets Jamal Campaign

The signing of a death warrant against black journalist and political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal on June 1 touched off a series of worldwide protests that continue to build with the approach of the August 17 execution date. As the central focus of the fight against the racist death penalty in the U.S., the struggle to stop the execution of this passionate fighter for minorities and the poor has drawn thousands across the country into struggle against the systematic police terror and government attacks on blacks and the poor inherent in the American capitalist system. And this has some ruling-class circles seeing red.

The 16 June *Wall Street Journal* ran a front-page article by one Laurie Cohen titled, "Not Much Left: 'The Movement' Is Pretty Still Nowadays." As is to be expected from the house organ of American finance capital, the piece sneers at a range of "secretive" leftist organizations with "hardly familiar names: The International Socialist Organization, the Freedom Socialists, Radical Women, the Spartacist League." The article quotes Noam Chomsky as saying that with the labor movement "demolished" and with "no intellectual left left to speak of," what remains are "marginal groups" that "have no impact."

Toward the end of the article, Cohen complains of this left that is supposed to be dead, "The radical-left groups also have a new hero, Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther and a convicted cop-killer from Philadelphia who has written a book called 'Live From Death Row.' His dreadlocks currently adorn the cover of almost every radical-left publication." The *Journal* is fully aware that a lot more than the "radical left" has taken up the fight to save Jamal from execution. But the point of this mocking piece is to denigrate and diminish this struggle as it intensifies with the approach of Jamal's scheduled execution by portraying his supporters as a bunch of wild-eyed crazies grooving over a "cop-killer."

In this light, Cohen takes pains to go after the Spartacist League, which along with the Partisan Defense Committee has been out front in mobilizing support for Mumia Abu-Jamal since 1987. Cohen does manage an accurate reference to our aims, describing them as "familiar": "The Spartacist League wants to 'expropriate the capitalist class and sweep away its state apparatus of repression'." But she then attempts to ridicule this purpose, quoting Charlene Mitchell of the Committees of Correspondence (a right-wing split from the Communist Party) who claims the SL is "a group of 20 people who...don't represent anything."

The article takes a more sinister turn when it goes on to cite the "International Bolshevik Tendency, a group of former Spartacists," who "deride their old party as 'Jimstown,' a takeoff on Jonestown in Guyana, the jungle site of mass suicide." The "Bolshevik Tendency" (BT) —a clot of embittered ex-members, most of whom quit our organization some years ago—has always sought to be the instrument of bigger forces with its provocative slurs and slanders against the Spartacist League. Now they've finally made it into the big time, in the pages of the most virulently anti-communist bourgeois press.

It's nasty business to be depicted as a cult on the front page of a major capitalist mouthpiece. As radical journalist Alexander Cockburn noted following the government's mass murder of the Waco Branch Davidians: "What really did in the Branch Davidians was the word 'cult.' You can do more or less anything to a cult" (quoted in *NY Press*, 3 May). The bombing of the Philadelphia MOVE group in 1985 is another example. The SL forthrightly protested the MOVE and Waco massacres (while almost the entire left remained silent or alibied these grisly acts of state terror). The *Journal* article appears at a time when the Clinton administration is obscenely attempting, using the pretext of the Oklahoma City bombing atrocity, to equate leftist political activity with right-wing terrorism.

A couple of weeks later, the *New York Times* (30 June), which has been pushing the theme that right-wing militias are derived from the anti-government protests of the '60s New Left, wrote that the rhetoric of the anti-technology "Unabomber" was "a blend that might have come from Trotsky or Thoreau." Responding to a subsequent inquiry from the Associated Press on the "Unabomber," a spokesman for the Spartacist League stated: "We oppose his purposes and deplore his means. Rather than trying to eliminate those who are in charge of commercial technology, we believe, as did Trotsky, Lenin and Marx, that human beings must overcome class divisions and take over the means of production, placing those means in the hands of the majority of the society, the workers who produce the wealth."

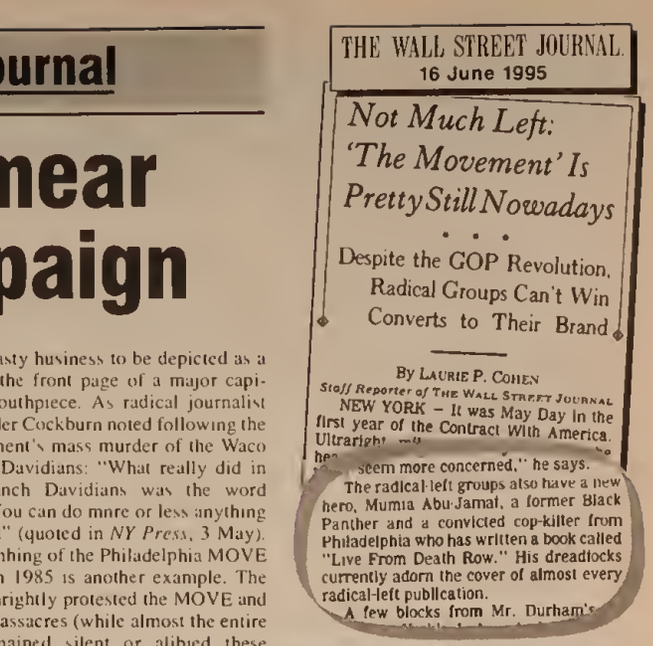
Then came an editorial titled "Extremists of the Manic Right" in the *San Francisco Examiner* (9 July), scurrilously blaming the bloody crimes of the "true believers of the extreme right" on the "extreme left," which supposedly became so "frustrated" with "peaceful protest" that it carried out "acts of terror, assault and murder.... Eventually, the Weatherpeople disappeared into myth along with Black Panthers, Progressive Labor Party, Spartacists and others who sought an elusive apocalypse" (see the Spartacist League letter to the *Examiner*, reprinted on page 5).

Sneers and all, the *Wall Street Journal* article indicates some angst among the powers that be over the wave of protests for Jamal, which has drawn increasing numbers of youth, trade unionists and others into struggle against U.S. legal lynching. The fact that revolutionary Marxists are playing a prominent role in a campaign against the racist rulers is considered an offense by the *Journal*, which endlessly brays about the supposed "death of communism." For over eight years, the SL and PDC have initiated united-front defense actions on behalf of Jamal, seeking to mobilize fighters for black rights, leftists, defenders of civil liberties and particularly sections of the labor movement to take up his cause. We have linked the demand to save Mumia from execution with the struggle to abolish the racist death penalty. And we have generated financial and legal support so that Mumia could have the best possible defense in the courts to challenge the racist frame-up against him. To their credit, the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party/Refuse & Resist have also fought against Jamal's persecution for a number of years.

In recent months, a host of other leftist organizations have joined this fight, along with a growing number of trade unions, parliamentarians and civil rights organizations around the world. This is all to the good—the task now is for *every* organization siding with labor and the oppressed to throw its weight into mobilizing mass protests to stop the execution of this militant, courageous spokesman for the downtrodden.

WV Photo

New York's Penn Station, June 5: Outpouring of protest in emergency demonstration following signing of Jamal's death warrant.



THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
16 June 1995

Not Much Left: 'The Movement' Is Pretty Still Nowadays

• • •

Despite the GOP Revolution, Radical Groups Can't Win Converts to Their Brand

By Laurie P. Cohen
Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

NEW YORK – It was May Day in the first year of the Contract With America. Ultraright [illegible] seem more concerned," he says.

The radical-left groups also have a new hero, Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther and a convicted cop-killer from Philadelphia who has written a book called "Live From Death Row." His dreadlocks currently adorn the cover of almost every radical-left publication.

A few blocks from Mr. Durham's

Capitalists' house organ sneers at Jamal campaign, seeking to trivialize broad-based international support.

"Leftists" in the Service of the State

At least everyone knows where the *Wall Street Journal* is coming from when it tries to witchhunt communists. But it was the "leftists" of the International Socialist Organization who, the day after the *Journal* article appeared, fleshed out its insidious intent through a violent attack on Spartacist and PDC comrades outside an ISO conference in Chicago. While our comrades ably defended themselves, the ISO went on to launch a lying campaign, primarily through the Internet. As we noted regarding the ISO's statement:

> "Here we find the following amalgam of slander: the SL's 'actions, rather than helping to build our movement, are aimed at destroying it'; 'among the Spartacist League's initiatives is the Partisan Defense Committee'; 'the PDC has been heavily involved with the campaign to free Pennsylvania death row inmate Mumia Abu-Jamal.' You don't need to read between the lines to get the message of this smear job—i.e., one of the main organizations fighting to mobilize in Jamal's defense are 'thugs' who want to 'destroy' the workers movement and therefore...you shouldn't get involved."
>
> —"ISO Goons Beaten Back," *WV* No. 625, 30 June

To the ISO's gangsterism one can add redbaiting. Currently, the SL and PDC are building labor-centered demonstra-

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San Francisco Examiner Smear

The following letter was sent as a formal protest against an editorial by the San Francisco Examiner, *the flagship of the Hearst newspaper chain, which printed false accusations against the Spartacist League and other leftists in reckless disregard of the truth. A highly truncated version of our letter was printed in the 16 July* Examiner.

July 11, 1995

San Francisco Examiner

To the Editor:

Your July 9 editorial, "Extremists of the manic right," claims that in the '60s, the "extreme left...evolved into violent words and, eventually, into acts of terror, assault and murder." Into this hash, you throw the "Black Panthers, Progressive Labor Party, Spartacists and others who sought an elusive apocalypse." This is a deadly smear of the Spartacist League/U.S. (and other left and radical groups) as violence-mongers and perpetrators of criminal and terrorist acts. Simple justice demands an immediate retraction.

Your editorialists are no doubt aware that the Spartacist League is a political organization, neither "violent" nor "terrorist." In 1984 your paper reported, under the headline "Marxists Not Mobsters," the Spartacist League's successful suit compelling then-California Attorney General Deukmejian to retract his inclusion of our organization in a report on terrorism. In 1983, the *Washington Times* responded to a libel suit brought by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League with a written retraction of its malicious libel of our organization as "provoking violence" at a mass anti-Klan demonstration initiated by the SL/U.S. in Washington, D.C. on November 27, 1982. Similarly, in 1984 the Spartacist League successfully concluded a suit against the FBI and U.S. Attorney General which forced the FBI to revise its slanderous "definition" of our organization and concede that advocacy of Marxist political principles cannot be equated with violence, terrorism or criminal enterprise.

Your editorial is a belated, but no less grotesque, contribution to the media's attempt, in the wake of the appalling Oklahoma City bombing, to equate leftist opponents of this racist capitalist state with the fascistic network of "patriot militias," abortion clinic bombers and KKK/Nazi killers. The purpose of this attack on "extremism" is transparent: to beat the drums for the wholesale attack on fundamental constitutional guarantees, from the right to hear arms to freedom of speech and association, being pushed by both Clinton's Democrats and Gingrich's Republicans.

The mass arrest in San Francisco, on June 26, of nearly 300 demonstrators protesting the planned execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal is a vivid example of the drive to criminalize all left-wing political dissent. Most of those arrested were held behind bars for almost 48 hours on phony felony counts of arson! Your editorial follows a front-page article in the *Wall Street Journal* (16 June) sneering at "radical-left groups," including the Spartacist League, who "have a new hero, Mumia Abu-Jamal." Jamal—a former Black Panther, supporter of the MOVE organization and an award-winning journalist—is an innocent man who has been sentenced to die for his political beliefs.

The *Wall Street Journal* article and the *S.F. Examiner* editorial are clear attempts to denigrate and diminish the growing movement to save this courageous man.

From age 15, Jamal was a target of the FBI's deadly COINTELPRO program which resulted in the murder of 38 Black Panther Party members. The violence of the '60s was perpetrated by the U.S. government, which also used its fascist henchmen. There was a direct line from the FBI to segregationist Birmingham police chief "Bull" Connor to the KKK nightriders. Former FBI agent Gary Rowe has testified to the actual participation of the FBI (in the person of himself) in the 1965 murder of Viola Liuzzo, a white civil rights worker shot to death on an Alabama highway.

These are the antecedents of today's fascistic militias. Timothy McVeigh, the principal suspect in the Oklahoma City bombing, was reportedly driven by virulent bigotry against black people and hatred for affirmative action and abortion rights. While hardly its intent, your editorial does serve as a useful reminder that laws ostensibly aimed at curbing right-wing violence will in fact be used against the left, working people and minorities.

As the cover letter from our attorney states, we will consider the printing of this letter in the "Letters to the Editor" column in next Sunday's (July 16) edition of the *S.F. Examiner* as redress to the deadly smears of our organization contained in your July 9 editorial.

Yours truly,
Emily Turnbull
for the Spartacist League/U.S.

tions in New York, Oakland and Chicago calling to stop the execution of Jamal and to abolish the racist death penalty. So now comes an Internet message by one Ben Burgis, who issued the first ISO statement after the Chicago attack, which coyly asks, "Has any one else ever noticed that the Spartacists seem to feel the need to put the word 'Labor' in everything they sponsor, even though the rest of the world knows the event is Spartacist?"

It's inconceivable to these reformist social democrats, whose idea of "fighting" fascist terror is to waltz into police pens at anti-Klan demonstrations, that the dozens of unions and labor officials representing tens of thousands of workers who have endorsed the upcoming rallies for Jamal would see the fight against his persecution by the state as *their* fight also. As if to answer these apprentice finks, one Philadelphia trade-union official told PDC representatives recently, "You're socialists. So what? We're talking about saving this man's life."

Thus, only weeks before the scheduled execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal, with the Philly cops slavering for Jamal's death and the Philadelphia D.A.'s office issuing threatening letters to celebrities supporting Jamal, the ISO and a claque of professional anti-Spartacists are doing their part to stir up an anti-communist witchhunt against Mumia's most prominent supporters on the left. As we noted after the assault in Chicago, "The ISO's gangsterism is devastating evidence that their 'support' to the campaign for Jamal isn't worth the paper it's printed on."

Rushing through cyberspace to the ISO's defense following our repulsing their goon attack was a veritable rogues' gallery of anti-Spartacists whose common traits include documented personal participation in gangsterism against other leftists. Among these is Tim Wohlforth, former leader of the counterfeit-Trotskyist Workers League (WL) and now a brazen social democrat who has come out for American intervention in Bosnia, as well as for the U.S. occupation of Haiti. Wohlforth is only too happy to add his keystrokes to the Spartacist-bashing-by-modem, writing on June 28 that "my sympathy is with the ISO in this matter." No doubt. Back when this pimp for imperialism was masquerading as a Trotskyist, the WL repeatedly launched violent attacks on the SL and other leftists. Now he lectures that "the Sparts conduct themselves in a manner which only contributes to the left's further weakening. Therefore any socialist who really CARES about the struggle of American and worldwide workers, minorities, women must hate those who act in a manner which hurts the struggle." But how should they feel toward Wohlforth, who *cares* to rally to the support of racist U.S. imperialism (on the "Peacenet" no less)?

Also among the sleazy netsurfers was one Carlos Petroni, who denounces physical confrontation between leftists and says that he should know because he himself has been a "participant and/or an apologist for it." No "or" about it. In 1982, as a leader of the "International Workers Party," Petroni personally led a goon squad against SL comrades, *wielding a claw hammer in a potentially fatal attack* on a supporter of the SL in the CWA phone workers union. Petroni oh-so-reasonably calls for "an investigation and a public hearing" on what happened outside the ISO conference. Just *who* is to investigate *whom*? To update an adage of Stalin, the Internet will take anything that's posted on it.

The ISO's attempt to tar the SL with the brush of its own anti-working-class practices has prompted a number of individuals who are aware of their record of gangsterism to denounce the Chicago attack on us. A supporter of the Bay Area Coalition for Our Reproductive Rights (BACORR) wrote on June 20, "While BACORR in general, and myself in particular, have political disagreements with the SL on a wide range of issues, the most principled ways to debate these differences is through political struggle and polemic—not unprincipled thuggery as has [been] used by the International Socialist Organization (ISO) on more than one occasion." In fact, the SL and PDC have been able to collaborate effectively with a range of very diverse organizations in common work in defense of Jamal, while carrying on political debate inside this framework. But the principles of workers democracy and united-front action are completely alien to the ISO, which has been noticeably absent (or represented by token teams) at recent demonstrations for Jamal.

To understand the current anti-Spartacist witchhunt for what it is, just look at who is contributing to it. On the one hand, there is the bankers' mouthpiece, the *Wall Street Journal*. On the other hand, a gaggle of reformists and sleazy renegades, who: 1) are certified practitioners of thuggery against the left (ISO, Wohlforth, Petroni); 2) lie; and 3) spread illusions in the cops, the hired guns of the capitalist rulers, who the ISO claims are "workers in uniform." Deadly illusions in these uniformed racist thugs are spread as well by groups like the BT, which several years ago joined "Copwatch" in the San Francisco Bay Area, whose work involved "monitoring" police abuse in order to somehow modify their reign of terror against the ghettos and barrios.

Touching faith in bourgeois state: reformist ISO willingly submits to being frisked and corralled into police pens at Illinois anti-Klan rally, June 3.

Witchhunts and Frame-Ups

There can be no justice for Mumia at the hands of the cops who have vowed to kill him or in the capitalist courts that have railroaded him to death row. Nor will the liberation of black people from the chains of racial oppression be achieved short of a socialist revolution which destroys the whole murderous state apparatus of cops and prisons. The fight for Mumia's freedom requires the broadest possible mobilization of social protest, linking minorities and youth to the labor movement. Gangsterism and defamatory ravings about the SL as a "cult" feed into the *Wall Street Journal*'s vintage redbaiting, which is aimed at *spiking the necessary mass protest that is essential in fighting for Jamal's freedom.*

The use of violence and the "Big Lie" to discredit communists in the public eye is nothing new. In fact, it is a method commonly used by the bourgeoisie and its bought-and-paid-for media mouthpieces to thwart the emergence of communist-led struggle, particularly when it intersects the explosive black question. In the 1930s, liberals led by the NAACP joined with the capitalist press in a campaign of lies and calumny against the Communist Party and the International Labor Defense during the campaign to save the Scottsboro Boys—nine black youths in Alabama faced with execution after being falsely accused of raping two white women. While the CP/ILD mounted an international protest campaign, with millions of workers conducting strikes and mass demonstrations, the NAACP denounced the CP's agitation and propaganda and preached complete reliance on the courts—which meant putting faith in Southern lynch-law "justice." But it was precisely the mass protest of workers and the oppressed around the world—and not the workings of the racist "justice" system—that saved the Scottsboro Boys from legal lynching.

As Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon wrote in response to early objections to the ILD's mass agitation for the Scottsboro Boys: "Not to the courts alone, and not primarily there, but to the masses must the appeal of the persecuted of class and race be taken. There is the power and there is the justice" (*Militant*, 16 January 1932). Today, in the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal there is literally not a moment to lose. Anti-communist witchhunting and violence directed at Jamal's supporters are poison to this struggle, whether it comes from the voice of the Wall Street bankers or from "socialists" whose venomous hatred of the Trotskyist Spartacist League far outweighs their professed defense of Jamal. ■

Revelation on the Road to Tuzla

David North "Abolishes" the Right to Self-Determination

The collapse of the former workers states of Eastern Europe and the ex-Soviet Union unleashed an orgy of nationalist bloodletting. Today the imperialist media denounces Serbian war crimes in the fratricidal slaughterhouse that is now Bosnia. But "ethnic cleansing" is hardly a practice unique to the Serbs. Not only are grisly atrocities carried out by all sides in the Balkans, but no less bloody national wars have been waged between Armenians and Azeris

PART ONE OF TWO

for possession of Nagorno-Karabakh, by Georgia against the Ossetians and Abkhazians, and throughout the Caucasus. To assert its domination in the region, the Russian army launched a full-scale military invasion of Chechnya which has virtually obliterated the capital city of Grozny and devastated the countryside.

To read the bourgeois press one would get the idea that these gruesome nationalist slaughters are inspired by the revival of some ancient "tribal" feuds. In fact, it is the logic of capitalist counterrevolution that is the motor force behind the resurgence of nationalism from Central Europe to the Caucasus, as economically more advanced peoples seek to consolidate their own advantage at the expense of their less-developed neighbors. As we wrote in "'Ethnic Cleansing' and Nationalist Wars" (*WV* No. 580, 16 July 1993): "What is happening in Bosnia is a recurrent phenomenon in this epoch of capitalist decay.... Thus national consolidation under capitalism has been reduced to its stark component of communal savagery to drive out or eliminate minority nationalities."

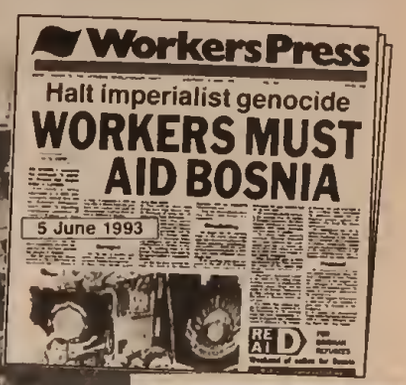
Yet it is to the capitalist imperialist rulers that a whole number of Vietnam-era "doves," liberals and radical intelligentsia appeal for military intervention to bring "democracy" to the Balkans. Among this lot is one Tim Wohlforth, former leader of the American Workers League, the U.S. satellite of the now-departed Gerry Healy and his International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI). In his current role as saved sinner and "born again" anti-Leninist social democrat, Wohlforth called for U.S. imperialist intervention in Bosnia under the headline "Give War a Chance" (*In These Times*, 26 July 1993).

Wohlforth's former master, Gerry Healy, was the consummate example of what Lenin called a "political bandit"—able to wield Trotskyist orthodoxy when that suited his purpose and equally capable of being the bought-and-paid-for press agent for a variety of bourgeois-nationalist Mideast regimes (which he and his organization were for many years). Almost a decade ago, Healy's organization blew apart, but the mark of this self-proclaimed "founder-leader" of the ICFI can be found today in the heated exchange between Healy's one-time lieutenants over their mutual responses to the Balkan quagmire. One side openly embraces Bosnian Muslim nationalism, while the other feigns orthodoxy in a supposed anti-nationalism which turns out to be de facto support for imperialism and national oppression.

For the past couple of years, Healy's former "theoretician," Cliff Slaughter, and his Workers Revolutionary Party have occupied the leading position in the campaign for "Workers Aid to Bosnia." Running supplies to the bourgeois-nationalist Bosnian Muslim regime, with French and British imperialist troops in "UN" blue helmets riding shotgun, the WRP calls this an example of "working-class internationalism"! To believe this line, one would have to include former Tory prime minister Margaret Thatcher—who is beating the drums for more aggressive aid to the Bosnian Muslim government—in the ranks of "proletarian internationalists." In short, "Workers Aid to Bosnia" is nothing other than a direct echo of, and stalking horse for, those ruling-class forces who want to take a more belligerent military stance against Serbia.

Occupying the "orthodoxy" corner is David North, who replaced Wohlforth as leader of the Workers League and is now the head of the various national fragments who lay claim to the heritage of Healy's ICFI. In response to Slaughter's "Workers Aid" campaign, North's group published a lengthy statement titled, "The Road to Tuzla—How Slaughter's WRP Aids Imperialism in the Balkans" (May 1994). Correctly arguing that communists must "fight intransigently against the nationalist poison spread by capitalism," North's ICFI screams foul at its former comrades, sputtering with indignation, "Never before has a group claiming to be Trotskyist directly collaborated with bourgeois regimes...." Actually, Healy's ICFI dragged the banner of Trotskyism through that pigsty some years ago—and not without the complicity of one David North.

Giles/Press Association



Bulletin

Cliff Slaughter (right) and David North (below right)—former henchmen of deceased political bandit Gerry Healy—wage their own Balkan war. Slaughter's *Workers Press* pushes support to Bosnian Muslim government in league with Western imperialists as British and French troops, in guise of UN "peacekeepers," rode shotgun for convoy of "Workers Aid to Bosnia."

David North now derides Slaughter & Co. for aiding imperialism in Balkans. Yet during Cold War II, North's *Bulletin* denounced U.S. imperialists for not backing anti-Communist nationalists like Lithuanian Sajudis who spearheaded capitalist counterrevolution and breakup of the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev Steps Up Stalinist Aggression against Lithuania

30 March 1990

EDITORIAL

Hands Off Lithuania!

Bulletin

23 March 1990

Bulletin

It is hardly a large leap for Slaughter and the WRP to go from singing the praises of Libya's Qaddafi, Iraq's Saddam Hussein and the Ayatollah Khomeini's "Iranian Revolution" to becoming the blatant press agent for the Islamic regime of Sarajevo's Alija Izetbegovic. But North's Workers League was also up to its neck in backing the sheiks and colonels in the name of the so-called "Arab Revolution." If today North's ICFI chooses to wax "orthodox," it is simply because that is what fits their perceived opportunist advantage.

In the aftermath of the destruction of the Soviet Union, amidst the imperialist chorus hailing the "death of communism," North's organization began issuing strident statements writing off the unions as "direct agents of imperialism." Any and every other tendency within the workers movement have been deemed to be thoroughly bourgeois organizations. To what end? The obvious conclusion is that one is to believe that David North is now the sole uncontested proletarian leader on the face of the planet. Now, posing as Marxist theoretician maximo, North writes off the right of nations to self-determination as completely retrograde.

Proletarian Internationalism and the Right to Self-Determination

There can be no democratic solution to the bloody nationalist conflict in Bosnia and other regions of ex-Yugoslavia short of a thorough-going socialist revolution. Bosnia is not a nation, and there is no Bosnian "people." Rather, Bosnia-Hercegovina is composed of three heretofore intermingled and closely related peoples—Serbs, Croats and Slavic Muslims. Formerly a province in the Ottoman and then Habsburg empires, Bosnia-Hercegovina was set up as a constituent republic in Titoist Yugoslavia, intended to be a model of interethnic harmony. Now, within the framework of capitalist counterrevolution, the heavy geographic interpenetration of these various peoples means that the national rights of one can only be realized through savage persecution aimed at driving out the others.

While various social-democratic and pseudo-Trotskyist organizations back the Bosnian Muslims and some leftover Stalinists back the Serbs, as communists we oppose *all* sides in this national/communalist slaughter. We also, naturally and necessarily, oppose all imperialist intervention in the Balkans. Concretely this means that our organization internationally has stood for the defense of the Serbs against repeated NATO air strikes, as well as demanding that all UN troops, including those of Yeltsin's Russia, get out of the Balkans and calling for an end to the UN/NATO blockade of Serbia. The only perspective that offers a way out of this all-sided slaughter is for the working class throughout the former Yugoslavia to overthrow their bourgeois-nationalist leaders in an internationalist

struggle for a socialist federation of the Balkans.

To realize such a perspective, to forge proletarian unity and bring revolutionary consciousness to the working class of the Balkans, requires a leadership which in Lenin's words acts as a "tribune of the people," fighting against every manifestation of nationalism, chauvinism and ethnic hatred. Only in this way can the various competing nationalisms be undercut and the common class interests of *all* of the working people be brought to the fore. It was in this respect that the Bolshevik Party championed the right to self-determination for the myriad nations and peoples imprisoned in the tsarist empire.

But such a leadership is not what the Northites have on offer, nor could they. While they write that the "strong internationalist traditions of the Yugoslav proletariat must be revived on the basis of a scientific analysis and revolutionary program," in "The Road to Tuzla" they simultaneously write off the whole question of the defense of the right to self-determination as an anachronism, inapplicable in today's "global economy":

> "In politics, terms which had a definite social and class content in one period often come to represent something quite different in the next. This is the case with the slogan of 'self-determination.'... "Those who advance the demand for self-determination through national separatism and bourgeois rule are responsible for the global consequences of such slogans. This 'right' will be championed by imperialist powers and backed by their military forces in other parts of the Balkans and throughout the world."

Beyond Bosnia, the Northites argue against the right of self-determination for Kashmir, the Punjab and other nations locked into the "prison house of peoples" that is the Indian bourgeois state. Similarly, they come out against the national rights of the Tamils in Sri Lanka and the Québécois in Canada.

The ICFI statement invokes the authority of the Marxist movement and Lenin. But in fact the Northites' position is a purely chauvinist one which accepts the rule of the dominant nation in multinational states. Or as Lenin himself put it in "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (1914): "Repudiation of the right to self-determination, i.e., the right of nations to secede, means nothing more than defence of the privileges of the dominant nation and police methods of administration...."

Far from having become some kind of anachronism, defense of the right of self-determination is, if anything, increasingly important. The escalation of interimperialist rivalries coming in the wake of the collapse of the former Soviet Union, the drive by major powers to redivide the world into regional trade blocks and the increasing offshore production in low-wage "Third World" countries *reinforces* the need for communists to champion the rights of neocolonial and oppressed nations in order to advance the interests of international proletarian class struggle.

Boni and Liveright

Latvian rifle battalions in Petrograd played heroic role in 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. Lenin's support for the right of self-determination for all oppressed nations in the tsarist empire was key to forging unity between Russian and non-Russian workers.

North's ICFI and Nationalist Reaction

The Northites try to find refuge in the statement that in "Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union in particular, nationalism arises today as part of a retrograde tendency seeking to restore both direct imperialist domination and capitalist property relations." But nationalist reaction is not simply a product of counterrevolution. It was also a driving force for capitalist restoration in the former Stalinist-ruled workers states. In the latter case, North's organization was among the bigger fans of nationalism.

For decades the imperialist rulers howled about the "oppression" of the so-called "captive nations," seeing them as a battering ram for shattering the former Soviet bloc. And the Northites howled right along with them. In 1979-80, when the Soviet army intervened in Afghanistan, we of the Spartacist League said, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan," noting that this brought with it the possibility, albeit unfulfilled, of breaking the chains of Islamic feudal reaction and extending the gains of the October Revolution to that hideously backward country. The Northites, in contrast, squealed along with U.S. president Jimmy Carter that the Soviet intervention was an attack on "the national rights and feelings of the Afghan people" (*Bulletin*, 8 July 1986). But there was no Afghan "nation," and the peoples whose "rights" were being attacked were a cabal of tribal chiefs and Islamic *mujahedin* funded by the CIA.

Together with the Vatican and the CIA, North's Workers League made the counterrevolutionary cause of the Pilsudskiite nationalist Solidarność in Poland their own, hailing it as "an undaunted, young, vigorous and independent trade union movement" (*Bulletin*, 15 September 1981). In 1990, they echoed crazed anti-Communists like U.S. Senator Jesse Helms in denouncing then-president George Bush for refusing to take retaliatory action against the Soviet Union for its clampdown on the right-wing nationalist Sajudis government in Lithuania.

An article headlined "Gorbachev Steps Up Stalinist Aggression Against Lithuania" (*Bulletin*, 30 March 1990) decried that the "Bush administration has pointedly refused to make any condemnation of the Soviet military actions in Lithuania." As we wrote in our article, "Imperialists Demand the Baltics" (*WV* No. 518, 18 January 1991):

> "As Leninists and internationalists, we stand for the democratic reorganization of the Soviet Union and for the right of any nationality with a leadership that *opposes* counterrevolution to withdraw to any extent it sees fit. But in Lithuania and the other Baltic republics the fig leaf of 'national independence' is being used as a cover for capitalist restoration. And this must be fought.... To prevent the disintegration of the USSR amid fratricidal nationalism, it is necessary to recapture the *proletarian internationalism* which animated the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky."

Looking to establish their own independent capitalist states, the nationalist movements in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia had their own program for "ethnic cleansing," calling for the suppression of any and all rights of other peoples (Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Jews, Poles and others) within these states, if not openly advocating their forcible removal. But this didn't much bother the Northites then.

Now they try to palm themselves off as the epitome of proletarian internationalism. Not only is this a monumental fraud, but the ICFI's new-found opposition to nationalism is neither "orthodox" nor even vaguely leftist. Rather, once again, their position mirrors that of the imperialist rulers. Whereas yesterday they aided and abetted reactionary nationalism in Eastern Europe and the ex-Soviet Union, today international capitalism is far from happy that the spoils they expected to loot from the victory of capitalist counterrevolution are being drowned in a sea of bloody nationalist-inspired regional conflicts. While raising a hue and cry about "poor little Bosnia," the imperialist rulers now generally decry the very nationalist forces they fomented, and the Northites join the chorus.

Was It All Gerry Healy's Fault?

In his article, "Permanent Revolution and the National Question Today" (*The Fourth International*, Winter-Spring 1994), David North declares that Healy's WRP "systematically betrayed the principles of Trotskyism as it subordinated the proletariat to...bourgeois regimes such as those of Libya, Iran and Iraq." From here he goes on to opine that only the "split within the International Committee made possible an intensive re-examination of the entire historical significance of the movements of 'national liberation' and their relation to the proletariat and the perspective of socialist revolution."

North certainly has an elastic view of his own history—similar to his organization's relation to any question of Marxist principle or proletarian morality. His support to bourgeois-nationalist forces was far from abstract. In 1979, North's *Bulletin* reprinted articles from Healy's *News Line* hailing the execution of 21 Iraqi Communist Party members by Saddam Hussein's Ba'athist government. The *Bulletin* (30 March 1979) even reprinted from *News Line* an official Iraqi communique, under the grotesque headline, "Where the Iraqi Communist Party Went Wrong." That same year, celebrating the "Tenth Anniversary of the Libyan Revolution," the Workers League sent a telegram to Qaddafi praising his "progressive socialist policies." The ICFI, including North and his current cohorts, also enthused over "the anti-imperialist content of the struggle being waged by Khomeini"—i.e., the Iranian ayatollah's "struggle" for an Islamic Republic (to the best of our knowledge this praise was *gratis*).

Healy's financial ties to Arab regimes were a notorious scandal on the left long before the 1985 implosion of his Workers Revolutionary Party in Britain. As for the so-called "split" in the ICFI, it would better be described as a falling out among thieves. Healy was ousted, North rushed to claim his mantle as the ICFI "leader," and Slaughter took the name of the WRP and ran. For years, North & Co. have sought to clear their name by claiming they had no idea Healy was being paid for the role as publicity agent for Hussein, Qaddafi and others. In other words, their defense is that they betrayed the very same Trotskyist principles—except that,

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Healy/North: The Qaddafi Connection

Workers Press

Healy's Gold Pipeline

Workers News

Libya	£542,267
Kuwait	156,500
Qatar	50,000
Abu Dhabi	25,000
PLO	19,997
Iraq	19,697
Unidentified or other sources	261,702
Total	**£1,075,163**

In late 1970s-early '80s, Healy/North's International Committee acted as bought-and-paid-for agents of bloody Arab bourgeois regimes, hailing Libyan nationalist strongman Qaddafi and justifying the execution of Iraqi Communists by Saddam Hussein's Ba'athists.

The Political Execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg

Among the many thousands who have spoken out in defense of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal are the sons of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. In a statement to a Boston meeting of the Partisan Defense Committee on February 16, Michael and Robert Meeropol wrote:

> "We are gathered here tonight because for the first time since the execution of our parents, a political prisoner sits on Death Row. Make no mistake about it. The death penalty was imposed in this case because of the POLITICS of Mumia Abu-Jamal. Make no mistake about it, the legal system is brushing aside all evidence of prosecutorial misconduct and other denials of due process because of Mumia Abu-Jamal's POLITICS ...
> "We must not shy away from the defense of Mumia. We must make sure that NO AMERICAN POLITICAL PRISONER suffers the fate of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg."

The parallels between the Rosenberg case and that of Mumia Abu-Jamal are striking. Both were sent to death row as a result of racially biased, politically motivated frame-ups. Both were victims of vendettas by J. Edgar Hoover's FBI: Jamal through the notorious COINTELPRO terror operation which aimed to "neutralize" black militants in the 1960s, the Rosenbergs as part of the McCarthyite witchhunt which sought to outlaw "reds" as Soviet agents. Both became symbols of defiance for their refusal to bow before this racist, capitalist ruling class. But where the Rosenbergs had been plucked from obscurity to become sacrificial victims of the frenzied anti-Communist frustration of an American imperialism which had just lost its nuclear monopoly, Mumia Abu-Jamal had long been singled out by the Philadelphia cops and the FBI for his articulate and outspoken writings against racism and police brutality.

On the evening of 19 June 1953, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg walked their last steps to the execution chamber in New York's Sing Sing prison. To the very end, they proclaimed their innocence of the accusation of having passed "the secret of the atomic bomb" to the Soviet Union. Their "trial" two years earlier had been a mockery of justice from beginning to end. Around the world, millions raised their voices in an outcry demanding justice for the Rosenbergs. But from the White House on down, the American ruling class was united in its determination to make an example of these courageous Jewish leftists. As U.S. imperialism geared up for nuclear war against the Soviet Union and waged a red purge at home to regiment the American labor movement, the blood of the Rosenbergs was to be a warning to all who refused to capitulate to the prevailing winds of anti-Communism.

In his book, *My Secret War*, the great Soviet spy Kim Philby rightly called them the "heroic Rosenbergs." Clearly committed in their own way to the Soviet Union and the struggle for social progress and equality, the Rosenbergs went to their deaths refusing to bargain with their executioners. Even as first Julius and then Ethel were strapped into the electric chair, a U.S. marshal stood outside the execution chamber, waiting for a nod from either of them indicating that they would "confess" and "name names." Two FBI agents waited by a special phone with an open line to Attorney General Brownell, ready to call off the execution if the Rosenbergs capitulated and allowed the government to use them as it had other links and turncoats. But they would not. Julius Rosenberg had been a political activist from the age of 15, when he enlisted in the campaign to free imprisoned labor leader Tom Mooney; Ethel as a young textile worker had been a strike leader. They would not forsake their class and let themselves be used as tools of the witchhunters, even under penalty of death.

AP

The heroic Rosenbergs, martyrs of Cold War witchhunt.

They Keep Trying to Kill the Rosenbergs All Over Again

Having murdered the Rosenbergs in 1953, the U.S. rulers and their anti-communist apologists have time and again tried to kill the memory of this honorable couple, trying to bury the volumes of evidence exposing their frame-up under mounds of lies and slanders. In 1983, Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton, two "god that failed" New Leftovers who claimed to have finally "seen the light," raised a flap with their book, *The Rosenberg File*, which retailed and embellished on the FBI's original case. As we wrote in "Cold War Rad-Libs Embrace FBI Frame-Up: They're Trying to Kill the Rosenbergs All Over Again" (*WV* No. 440, 21 October 1983):

> "... the debate on the Rosenberg case has focused narrowly on the question of whether or not Julius Rosenberg engaged in espionage for the Russians. Yet it is clear that the government killed the Rosenbergs for political purposes. The question of their innocence or 'guilt' mattered not at all. Nor is it the key question for revolutionaries in this historic case. ... For Radosh/Milton and the rest of the social-dems, Russian espionage is a crime not only on the law books but in their own American social-patriotic eyes. For revolutionaries, on the contrary, those who helped the Russians achieve nuclear capacity did a great service for humanity."

The nuclear arms of the Soviet Union were a defense of the gains of the October Revolution, which remained despite the Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration of that revolution. The destruction of the former Soviet degenerated workers state at the hands of Yeltsin's imperialist-backed counterrevolution ultimately expressed the impossibility of building "socialism in one country," the nationalist dogma of a narrow and privileged Soviet bureaucracy. In the name of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, Stalin and his heirs repeatedly betrayed proletarian revolutionary struggle in the capitalist countries which alone could have preserved the socialist economic foundations of the Soviet Union and by extending them lay the basis for genuine socialism.

Yet even now, when the former Soviet Union has been drowned by capitalist counterrevolution, attempts to frame the Rosenbergs all over again have not subsided. The latest installment, reported in the press the day of Mumia's July 12 hearing for a stay of execution before Judge Albert Saho in Philadelphia, came with the release by the super-secret National Security Agency (NSA) of supposed Soviet diplomatic telegrams from the 1940s allegedly proving the Rosenbergs to be "atomic spies" for the Soviet Union.

As Robert Meeropol remarked, "The documents themselves don't tell you anything." They refer to an agent code-named "Liberal," whom the NSA helpfully identifies as Julius Rosenberg. But to believe the NSA, the "Soviet transmissions" themselves pinpoint "Liberal" by naming "the wife of his wife's brother, Ruth GREENGLASS," described as "an intelligent and clever girl" who is "21 years old" and "lives on STANTON [STANTAUN] Street." (It's hard to imagine an intelligence service so foolish as to send out such detailed information; why bother with cover names then?)

Moreover, as Meeropol pointed out in an interview with *Workers Vanguard*, these messages were decoded beginning in 1946 and were supposedly instrumental in breaking the "Rosenberg spy ring," yet the Rosenbergs were not arrested until 1950, "leading me to believe," he said, "that my parents' names were plugged into these documents after the arrest and prosecution." The feds say, "trust us, trust us," added Meeropol, but "politically we've learned you can't trust them."

The full truth of the Rosenberg case isn't likely to be revealed until a victorious workers revolution opens the government's secret files. In a socialist America, the Rosenbergs will be honored as martyrs to the cause of expropriating the world's bourgeoisies.

A Cold War Show Trial

The U.S. government knew it had no case against the Rosenbergs for espionage. So they were charged *not* with espionage but *conspiracy* to commit espionage. The government knew, as the FBI papers show, that the Rosenbergs did not "steal the secret of the Atomic bomb." They were political scapegoats, executed on the altar of the Cold War anti-Communism of the so-called "American Century," in which the U.S. rulers saw the USSR as the main obstacle

UPI

AP

Judge Irving Kaufman (left) sent Rosenbergs to the electric chair as McCarthy aide Roy Cohn (far right) acted as chief prosecutor.

to American imperialist world hegemony. According to the U.S. Constitution, "treason," a capital crime, is defined as giving aid and comfort to the enemy in wartime. But the USSR was an *ally* of the U.S. in World War II, when the supposed crime took place!

The case against the Rosenbergs consisted solely of the testimony of self-confessed perjurers. They were sentenced to death under the provisions of an act which didn't apply to their case and repeatedly denied appeals by one court after another. And when, at the eleventh hour, U.S. Supreme Court Justice William Douglass granted a stay of execution, Attorney General Brownell got Chief Justice Vinson to convene an unprecedented emergency session of the court, recalling justices who were already on summer vacation to overturn the stay hours before the execution.

The Rosenbergs' judge, Irving Kaufman, was cut of the same cloth as Judge Sabo, the hanging judge who signed Jamal's death sentence and is widely known as a "prosecutor in robes." Kaufman was a fanatical anti-Communist from his days as one of the only Jewish students at New York's Catholic Fordham University, the FBI's traditional recruiting ground. While piously invoking "spiritual guidance," he took his marching orders directly from the chief prosecutors, hard-bitten witchhunters Irving Saypol and Roy Cohn. In his autobiography, Cohn cynically recalled, "the closest [Kaufman] got to prayer was the phone booth next to the Park Ave. Synagogue. He called from that booth to a phone I used behind the bench in the courtroom to ask my advice on whether he ought to give the death penalty to Ethel Rosenberg. We often communicated during the Rosenberg case in this manner."

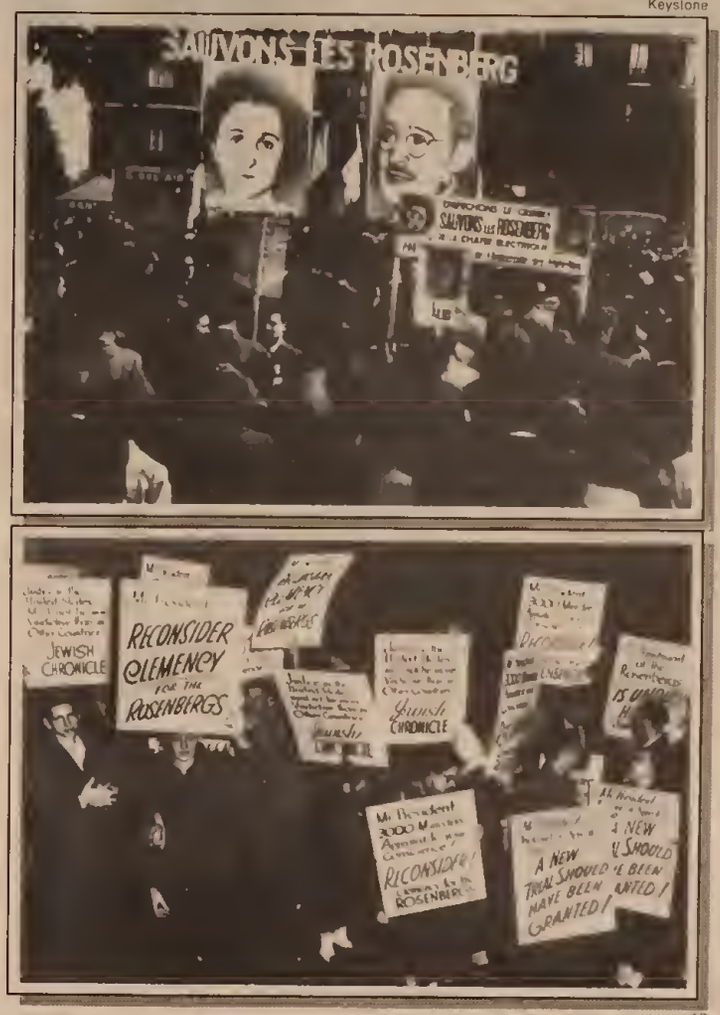
One of the key prosecution "witnesses," Harry Gold, was a pathological liar who admitted to having become "so tangled up in a web of lies... it is a wonder steam didn't come out of my ears." The pliable Gold readily picked up on his FBI interrogators' "hints" to spin ever new and more elaborate—and often contradictory—tales about his role as a supposed Soviet courier. Yet not even Gold testified to ever having met or known Julius or Ethel Rosenberg. The linchpin of the prosecution's case rested on the accounts of Ethel's sister-in-law, Ruth Greenglass, and her husband David, a hysterical hustler who had apparently stolen a piece of uranium while working as an army technician at the Los Alamos nuclear facility in 1945. Worried that the feds would use his former membership in the Young Communist League to throw the book at him when they came poking around on one of their fishing expeditions, the despicable Greenglass agreed to "name names," setting his sister and her husband up as fall guys. As a trained engineer who had been dismissed from a Signal Corps job in 1945 on charges of being a CP member—which he denied—Julius Rosenberg was an ideal candidate for this set-up.

The ingredients the FBI threw together for its case against the Rosenbergs were the stuff of a third-rate spy thriller. There was the supposed Jello box top torn in two to identify a courier; the password "I come from Julius"; an alleged Russian "gift" of an "expensive" table which it turned out the Rosenbergs had bought at Macy's for $21; a facsimile of Greenglass' crude drawing of the "implosion" device for the Los Alamos A-bomb, which scientific observers at the time derided as "not much of a secret" and "illogical, if not downright unworkable." In fact, the only hard evidence against the Rosenbergs introduced at the trial was a contribution box found in their home for Spanish Civil War refugees and Ethel's signature on a petition for a Communist candidate for New York City Council.

An American Dreyfus Case

This, however, went to the core of the government's case. Just as Mumia Abu-Jamal was sentenced to death on the basis of the prosecutor's claim that Jamal was necessarily a "cop killer" because of his Black Panther Party background, the Rosenbergs were convicted on the argument that all reds were by definition Soviet spies who deserved to die. Shortly after the Rosenbergs' arrest, Congress passed the McCarran Internal Security Act stigmatizing all members of the CP and "Communist Front" groups as "agents of the Soviet Union," while right-wingers like Westbrook Pegler called for completely outlawing membership in the CP and to "shoot or otherwise put to death all persons convicted of such." Time and again, Kaufman admonished the jury to take note of the "link...between aiding Russia...and being members of the Communist Party." Coming in the midst of a full-fledged red scare exacerbated by jingoist hysteria over the U.S.-led imperialist war against the North Korean deformed workers state and Mao's China, this was ammunition enough to send the Rosenbergs to the electric chair.

Keystone



AP

Cold War frame-up of Rosenbergs provoked mass protests around the world. Demonstration in Paris (top) on eve of execution; in U.S., *Jewish Chronicle* pointed to anti-Semitic aspects of witchhunt.

Julius Rosenberg was arrested three weeks after the outbreak of the Korean War and less than a year after the first Soviet A-bomb test. American nuclear scientists had repeatedly made it clear that it was only a matter of time before other industrial powers managed to develop their own atomic bombs. This was particularly so for the USSR, whose scientists were already engaged in pioneering nuclear research on the eve of Hitler's 1941 invasion of the Soviet Union. Three days after the U.S. exploded its first test bomb in July 1945, the Joint Chiefs of Staff adopted a policy of "striking the first blow" in a nuclear war. And two months after Washington dropped A-bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Pentagon mapped out a plan to launch a nuclear attack on 20 Soviet cities.

Throughout the next few years, the U.S. engaged in nuclear blackmail, repeatedly threatening to nuke Russia during early confrontations in the Cold War—in 1946, in 1948 over Berlin, again in 1950 over Korea. U.S. rulers reacted with shock to the ending of their short-lived monopoly of nuclear arms. FBI chief Hoover seized on the Soviets' August 1949 atomic test to unleash his army of G-men to hunt down the "atom spies" who supposedly stole the "secret" of the nuclear bomb, a convenient excuse for ratcheting up the already existing campaign of repression against the left.

It was hardly coincidental that all the principals in the "atom spy" case—the Rosenbergs themselves, their codefendant Morton Sobell and his accuser Max Elitcher, the Greenglasses, Harry Gold—were Jewish, as were the prosecutors and judge, chosen in a transparent attempt to cover up the stench of anti-Semitism surrounding the trial. Yet, as the *Indiana Jewish Chronicle* (7 March 1952) observed, "Not a single jury member was Jewish, and this in the city of New York, which has a Jewish population amounting to one-third of the total population. Strange, or rather sinister, if you ask us." The judge and the prosecutors ganged up to ensure a jury made to order: no Jews, no manual workers or teachers, no one with the slightest leftist sympathies. After a list of 105 "subversive" organizations—including the likes of the American Jewish Labor Council, the Jewish Peoples Committee and the School of Jewish Studies—was read out to the jury pool, Kaufman asked "whether any juror has been a member of, contributed to or been associated with, or any member of his family, or close friend, with any of those organizations."

Rampant McCarthyite hysteria had unleashed a barrage of anti-Semitic agitation reviving the Hitlerite war cry against "Jew-Bolshevism." The anti-red witchhunt began in earnest with the 1947 prosecution of the Hollywood Ten, six of whom were Jewish. The infamous House Un-American Activities Committee was controlled by Dixiecrats like Mississippi's John Rankin, who raved with undisguised anti-Semitism against liberal Hollywood personalities like June Havoc: "We found out that her real name is June Hovick.... Another one is Eddie Cantor and his real name is Edward Iskowitz.... There is one who calls himself Edward G. Robinson. His real name is Emmanuel Goldenberg" (quoted in Benjamin Ginsberg, *The Fatal Embrace: Jews and the State*, 1993). Meanwhile, a Washington, D.C. outfit called the "Pentagon Patriots" ranted that if the Rosenbergs were not executed, an "outraged nation" would "drag them from their prison cell...to swing and die and dangle from the Hangman's rope!"

In 1950, the Chicago *Sentinel* reported: "Since the outbreak of the Korean war, American immigration authorities in Germany have practically discontinued issuing visas to Jewish DPs [displaced persons] who were fully entitled to them on the wholesale suspicion that all Jewish DPs are communists. Every Jewish DP who applies for a visa now is subjected to an inquisition by the Counter Intelligence Service" (quoted in *Jewish Life*, December 1950).

A series of "security" investigations of government scientists at Fort Monmouth, New Jersey were so flagrantly anti-Semitic that they created a furor in the bourgeois press: 16 of 18 scientists suspended in 1948 were Jewish (the other two were black), as were 40 of 50 suspended four years later. Many of the Jewish scientists under suspicion were forced to wear yellow badges—recalling the treatment meted out to Jews in the ghettos of East Europe under the Nazis—and assigned to a "Leper Colony" (*Jewish Life*, December 1954). The key criterion for determining who was suspect was if they "went to the wrong college"—New York's City College, called "Jew-CCNY" by anti-Semites. This was the same basis on which the FBI tracked down Julius Rosenberg's supposed "accomplices."

Many of McCarthy's closest allies and supporters were fascistic anti-Semites who railed that "there are too many Jews in Washington" (*Jewish Life*, February 1954). McCarthy himself denounced the Nuremberg anti-Nazi trials for being controlled by a "vengeance" team of "Americans of very recent origin," calling one "a '39er,' meaning by that a non-Aryan refugee from Hitler Germany."

Yet the major bourgeois Jewish organizations, like the American Jewish Committee and the misnamed Anti-Defamation League, played a despicable role in this period, as they do today. With the likes of Kaufman, Saypol and Cohn leading the way, these outfits joined forces with the witchhunters and bayed for the blood of the Rosenbergs. AJC spokesman S.A. Fineberg penned a scurrilous hatchet job, *The Rosenberg Case: Fact and Fiction*, which regurgitated every FBI lie and added a few grotesquely accusing the Rosenbergs' supporters of "injecting" anti-Semitism into the case and "exploiting" the children for political ends. As Julius Rosenberg angrily charged in a letter from prison, these "self-appointed leaders of Jewish organizations took on the role of an American Judenrat." The *Judenräte* (Jewish councils) were the Nazis' puppet administrators in the European ghettos.

Honor the Heroic Rosenbergs!

Racism and anti-Semitism have historically been the handmaidens of political reaction, from the Dreyfus Affair in turn of the century France to the 1915 lynching of Leo Frank in Marietta, Georgia, which signaled the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan, to the post-World War I Palmer "Red Scare" and the post-World War II McCarthyite witchhunt. Today, as the ruling class drives to eviscerate all social welfare programs and to wipe out a whole layer of the black ghetto population, blatant anti-Semites like Patrick

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Free Jamal!...

(continued from page 1)

victims of McCarthyite Cold War anti-Communism.

"*We must not let that happen!* It is necessary to build on the momentum of the wave of recent protests with a strategy aimed at mass mobilizations of blacks, Hispanics and all the intended victims of capitalist repression, centrally seeking to unlock the social power of the integrated labor movement ... this is not only a struggle for Mumia's life—it's a fight against the institution of the death penalty itself, a barbaric means of repression which in the U.S. is necessarily racist. *Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!*"

Courtroom Battle of Class Forces

Sabo's kangaroo-court proceedings show that Mumia Abu-Jamal faces the same racist, politically motivated frame-up that sent him to death row in the first place. Hanging over the court is the spectre of the state's murderous vendetta against MOVE. When Weinglass argued on July 18 for time to gather witness files to prepare his case, Sabo claimed that Jamal has had the files for the past 13 years. Weinglass replied, "His files were destroyed in the MOVE bombing."

On July 18, it was revealed that the *prosecution* had subpoenaed the *defense* witnesses. When one did not show up in court, the D.A. demanded that Sabo immediately issue a warrant for his arrest! Rachel Wolkenstein, Partisan Defense Committee staff counsel and one of Jamal's lawyers, blasted this as "part of a whole history and pattern of harassment, of persecution, of coercion against anybody who will speak the truth about this case."

The D.A.'s reply to the defense motion for a stay of execution baldly revealed that the death penalty is at the center of the state machinery of repression: "The death penalty...is the highest exercise of the state's authority; and it should not lightly be disturbed." Revealing the state's utter racist contempt for the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, it grotesquely states that "The carrying out of a valid death sentence cannot constitute irreparable injury for purposes of requesting a stay"!

With the eyes of the world on Sabo's court, the daily display of racist bias and the blatant railroad job being carried out have evoked a storm of criticism even from within the Philadelphia bourgeois establishment. Republican U.S. Senator Arlen Specter, a former Philly D.A., complained to the Republican National Committee about the "rush to judgment," criticizing Sabo's order for an immediate evidentiary hearing, which would occur "without sufficient interval for review of documents and preparation." Specter continued: "You cannot maintain a penalty as severe as the death penalty without being meticulous in how it is applied." A staunch advocate of the death penalty, and contender for the Republican presidential nomination, Specter represents a wing of the bourgeoisie which doesn't want to see the U.S. murder machine gummed up by Sabo's antics.

Along with Specter's complaint came editorials in the "mainline" bourgeois *Philadelphia Inquirer* (16 July) and the more right-wing *Philadelphia Daily News* (21 July). The *Inquirer* wrote:

> "The behavior of the judge in the case was disturbing the first time around—and in hearings last week he did not give the impression to those in the courtroom of fair-mindedness.
>
> "Instead, he gave the impression, damaging in the extreme, of undue haste and hostility toward the defense's case."

The *Daily News* editorial, "A Live Convict, Not a Dead Martyr," echoed this line:

> "The orchestrated worldwide campaign on Abu-Jamal's behalf—misdirected as it may be—has generated enough doubt to justify serious consideration of a retrial.... A jurist with an astonishing record of murder convictions, [Sabo] has become part of the defense's argument."

The line of the capitalist media is to maintain the lie that Mumia is guilty, but should be entombed for life instead of being executed and becoming a martyr. Life imprisonment would itself be a grotesque travesty of justice. *Mumia is innocent!* He was marked and is persecuted because of his beliefs and his courageous exposures of oppression in capitalist America. *True justice demands: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*

FOP Campaign of Filth

The Philadelphia cops are acting like a lynch mob, packing the court each morning, wearing T-shirts reading, "The Jury Said Death...Do It." They parade in with the widow of policeman Daniel Faulkner, whom Jamal was falsely convicted of killing. Her slanders of Jamal allegedly gloating over her dead husband's "bloody shirt" in the 1982 "trial," retailed in the capitalist media during the FOP's campaign against Mumia's book, *Live from Death Row*, were designed to "soften up" public opinion in advance of the signing of the death warrant.

WV Photo

Outside the court in Philadelphia, July 12. Support rallies have continued every day of hearings.

Last week, the FOP massed 300 armed cops outside the headquarters of hospital workers union Local 1199C, with signs reading, "Lethal injection for convicted cop killers now," because that union had dared to come out in support of Jamal (see page 16). Led by FOP führer Richard Costello, the cops have also been ominously smearing Jamal's legal team, and the hundreds of supporters who gather in his defense each day of the court proceedings, as "outside agitators" and "terrorists." These smears are meant, above all, to tar Jamal and speed his execution.

On July 21, Rachel Wolkenstein demanded a retraction from WTFX-TV, Channel 29, after the station aired a statement by Costello that railed, "Let these out-of-town lawyers, these out-of-town terrorists, get the hell out of here and leave Philadelphia to us. This is our city." Wolkenstein wrote, "Your broadcast labeling attorneys and supporters of Mumia Abu-Jamal as 'terrorists' is utterly false, without any factual basis and is defamatory.... These types of accusations against 'outsiders' come right out of the 'old South' and the Scottsboro Boys case."

Earlier that week, Channel 29 broadcast a spot linking alleged "bomb threats" at City Hall to Jamal's supporters. Wolkenstein demanded these statements also be retracted. Jamal himself issued a statement on July 14 lashing out at these news reports, saying they were "rumor—damning rumor designed to demonize, not just myself, but anyone daring to call themselves supporters." Referring to the 1985 bombing of MOVE, Jamal went on: "And where did the report come from—of a 'bomb threat' allegedly 'connected' to 'the Mumia Abu-Jamal case'—but from the Police Department—the very experts of *bombings*—experts of mass murder! The source of this alleged 'news' is the source of this threat itself—the Philadelphia Police Department—the F.O.P.—Babykillers."

Protests Across Europe

The cause of Mumia Abu-Jamal has been taken up by thousands throughout Europe, including key sections of the workers movement. In Italy, the Jamal campaign has directly intersected the struggle against capitalist attacks on workers' livelihoods. On June 24, a labor protest in Rome of more than 70,000 workers against government austerity measures joined the campaign to save Jamal. A 700-strong contingent demanding Jamal's freedom marched in the demonstration, and a representative of the Italian National Committee Against the Death Penalty and for Freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal spoke from the podium. The rally chairman put forward a motion demanding "freedom for Jamal" that was approved by universal cheering.

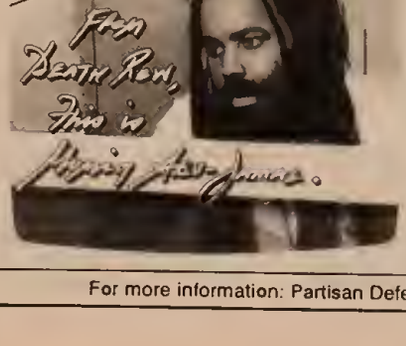
Leonard Weinglass has reported receiving a call from the consul general of Italy, who said, "the Italian government in Rome wants an explanation as to what's happening to Mumia Abu-Jamal." Meanwhile, *WV* has learned that on July 10 the Florence city council voted to demand a stay of execution, a new trial and a new judge for Jamal. This has a particular symbolic importance, as Florence abolished the death penalty in the 1700s. On July 12, the leadership of the CGIL, Italy's main union federation of over five million members, passed a similar motion. All this week there will be demonstrations outside American consulate offices in cities throughout Italy.

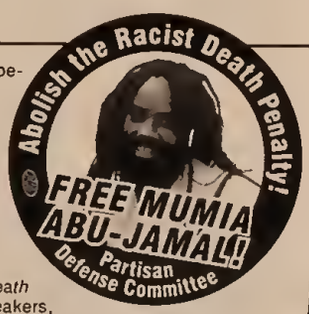
In Berlin on July 22, some 5,000 people, mainly youth, marched to the American consulate in a national demonstration for Jamal called by anti-racist

Join the Campaign!

1 Organize protest! Pass motions in your unions, campus, community and church organizations. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Jamal. Publicize Jamal's case in your union or organization's newsletter. Prepare for emergency demonstrations—**get on the Partisan Defense Committee phone tree to organize in your area.**

2 Spread the word! The current issue of the PDC's Class-Struggle Defense Notes is devoted to the struggle to save Mumia Abu-Jamal. And just out from the PDC is a new pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, exposing in detail the prosecution's case of lies, the coercion of witnesses and the FBI's COINTELPRO terror campaign against Mumia and the Black Panther Party. Order bundles of the special campaign issue of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* and *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, 25 copies of either publication for $10.00. For only $1, buy the PDC's new button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" Get your local bookstore to stock Jamal's powerful *Live from Death Row*. Contact the PDC for speakers, to arrange showings of the PDC's video, *From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal*. The video can be purchased for $30.00 from the PDC at the address below. Contributions of $5.00 or more to the PDC include a year's subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*.



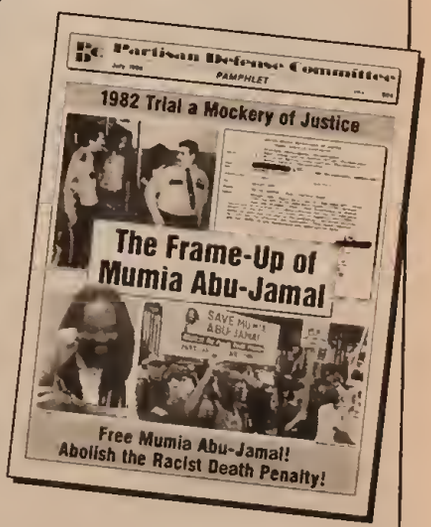


3 Send protests to: Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120. In the first week after he signed Jamal's death warrant, Ridge received over 20,000 letters of protest. Now he's changing his phone and fax number daily to try and stay ahead of the growing movement for Jamal! As we go to press, the numbers are: phone (717) 787-2500; fax (717) 772-3155.

4 Funds are urgently needed! To get a new trial and overturn the death sentence could cost over a million dollars. **Make a contribution today** to the Bill of Rights Foundation (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense") and mail it to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

5 Write to Jamal to express your solidarity: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090.

Get your button and new PDC pamphlet



For more information: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013 • (212) 406-4252

By Mumia Abu-Jamal

Statement of July 12

As expected, Judge Sabo has denied the motion: we are not surprised. What does one expect from a "retired" member of the F.O.P. who now masquerades as a fair, impartial senior jurist?

As a matter of fundamental fairness, would not a "fair," "impartial" judge have announced to the defense, before trial, of his professional associations, especially in a case such as this?

That he did not is silent and sufficient testament to what "fairness" and "impartiality" mean in the city of Philadelphia.

A blind man can see that I didn't receive a fair trial, and now, to compound this outrage, I have been denied a fair PCRA hearing.

As South Africa assigns the death penalty to the garbage can of history, Philadelphia whets its racist appetite as it hays for more black blood. In the most benighted sectors of South Africa, from the *laagers* of Afrikanerdom, to the drunken *shebeens* of the townships, all know that the Constitution protects the fundamental "right to life."

Here, in Philadelphia, the very place where the American Constitution was written, signed and published, the Constitution is no more than a passing thought; it is a minor hindrance, to be tolerated when able, and ignored when necessary, when the state's goals are death.

What does it protect, save the interests of the established?

As South Africa takes a great leap forward, America embraces its second season of neo-apartheid, as racist demagogues run on raw hatred—the political flavor of the '90s.

Several years ago, at my so-called "trial," I repeated Mao Zedong's familiar quote: "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

In retrospect, perhaps a more fitting quote would've been: "Political power grows out of the seat of an electric chair."

Look—and you'll see a widening politics of DEATH; from the D.A., to the Mayor; from the judgeship, to the governorship; from the Congressman, to the President—all allied in death centrism.

Politicians all—running on death.

Who brought you the massacres of the MOVE bombing, the mass murders of Waco and the many mini-murders in between—all whitewashed by the same government that claims to be "tuff on crime"—unless it's their own; for people get trial and prison, while governments get hearings and re-elections.

You have seen a trial where a man has been denied his right to select a jury; to defend himself; to have counsel of his choice, or even to have competent counsel of the state's choice.

You have seen a trial where evidence of my innocence was withheld, false evidence utilized, all presided over by a card-carrying member of the F.O.P. ("retired"), where "presumption of innocence" was an inside joke.

If it was proper for the state to go back over a *decade* to promote my former Black Panther membership, why is it suddenly improper to examine Judge Sabo's former F.O.P. membership?

Even if the government granted a new trial, before an unbiased jurist, how could I receive the assistance of *John Africa* at the defense table, or of Theresa Africa as a paralegal, when this selfsame government murdered them in the massacre of May 13th, 1985, by shooting and bombing them, incinerating them out of this existence?

The same D.A.'s office prosecuting this blatantly unjust death sentence, looked at the bloody carnage of May 13th—with 11 men, women & children bombed into oblivion—and saw no crime, no violations of any law.

The same D.A.'s office that intentionally removed 11 black jurors from my jury pool, had the nerve to select an "investigating" grand jury in the May 13th bombing of my brothers and sisters, only to "recommend" that they file no charges in a case of premeditated mass murder.

From such an entity, what can the word "justice" really mean?

True justice requires more than a stay of execution—it requires a complete dismissal of this clearly political persecution!

It requires more: it requires the committed mobilization of our communities to resist a system that is more repressive than South Africa's—to abolish this racist death penalty!

It requires *freedom*—for *all* MOVE political prisoners, and *all* political prisoners of whatever persuasion! *Now!*

It requires a continuing revolution—to beat back the forces of the neo-apartheid state.

Organize! Mobilize!

From South Africa to the U.S.A., push the racist death penalty away!

Ona Move! Long Live *John Africa!*

Autonomen youth. Flags from the Social Democratic Party and its youth organization could be seen, as well as trade-union flags of IG Medien, IG Metall and the commercial/bank workers union. A contingent of over 100 people marched under the banners of the Spartakist Workers Party and Committee for Social Defense (KfsV). Along with the enormous outpouring of support for Jamal in Germany, the case has now been taken up by former German president Richard von Weizsäcker, who, according to *Neues Deutschland* (22 July), intends "to communicate his support to Abu-Jamal's lawyer and appeal to the Governor of Pennsylvania."

In London on July 22, a united-front demonstration initiated by the Partisan Defence Committee brought out over 300 people who marched past the U.S. embassy to a rally at Belgrave Square. The National Union of Journalists, Southern and Eastern regions of the Trades Union Congress, the Fire Brigades Union, and local branches of railway and public service workers backed the march, along with several socialist and minority groups and the Green Party. The protest was also supported by Labour Members of Parliament Bernie Grant, Tony Benn and Jeremy Corbyn.

In Paris on July 8, 300 people came out to a rally called by the Comité de Défense Sociale (CDDS—associated with the Ligue Trotskyste de France), the Socialist Party, the Paris region of the CGT labor federation and others. Supported by the International Organization of Journalists, the rally heard speakers including African writer Madjeu Matcheu and Nobel Prize winner Théodore Monod. A statement by Julia Wright, the daughter of Richard Wright, author of the classic American novel of black oppression, *Native Son*, was read. It noted, "I am convinced that my father, Richard Wright, would have taken on the challenge of Mumia Abu-Jamal's pending execution on August 17th."

On July 12, the CDDS joined a demonstration of some 500 people called by the Movement Against Racism and for Friendship Among Peoples (MRAP) in front of the American consulate in Paris, with placards reading, "Save Mumia! Stop the Legal Lynching!" Speakers included a representative from the International Parliament of Writers whose president is Salman Rushdie. In addition, Paris' "newspaper of record," *Le Monde*, has repeatedly published quarter-page appeals signed by prominent individuals demanding, "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal," submitted by MRAP and the Committee for Defense of Liberty and the Rights of Man, associated with the French Communist Party. The latter is also circulating 1.5 million leaflets in defense of Jamal.

The fact that Jamal has been persecuted for his written and spoken commentaries has generated important support from world-renowned writers. On July 17, the International Parliament of Writers (IPW) issued an appeal to save Jamal and sent a protest letter to Governor Ridge signed by over 500 writers, including Jorge Amado (Brazil), Breytan Breytenbach (South Africa), Mohamed Harbi (Algeria) and Harold Pinter (Britain). Also signing the letter was Salman Rushdie, living in Britain under a death threat issued by the reactionary Islamic regime in Iran. The PEN American Center and the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal are holding an emergency press conference in New York City on August 1 to coincide with a Paris press conference organized by the IPW.

The fight to save Jamal has also been taken up in Brazil. The Brasilia Campaign to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, which includes the Unified Black Movement and the Union of Professional Journalists, has called a demonstration on August 2 at the U.S. embassy and has gathered 1,500 signatures on petitions for Jamal. Vicente Paulo da Silva, president of the powerful CUT labor federation, has signed a statement in Mumia's defense. On August 9, a demonstration initiated by Luta Metalúrgica (Metalworkers Struggle) will be held in Volta Redonda.

Significant new support in the U.S. is also coming in. Jesse Jackson issued a 13 July letter to Governor Ridge stating, "The National Rainbow Coalition supports Mumia Abu-Jamal in his fight for life and in the battle to uphold his constitutional right to have an impartial court of law hear the facts of his case." Author E.L. Doctorow, in an "op-ed" column in the *New York Times* (14 July) titled "From Here to Death Row," demanded a new trial and denounced the harassment directed at Jamal for his book, decrying that: "what the Fraternal Order of Police hopes are the last 40 days of his life may pass as wretchedly as possible."

Mobilize the Power of Labor and Blacks! Stop the Execution!

Just as the mobilization of the world working class in the 1930s prevented the legal lynching of the Scottsboro Boys, today the forces of organized labor must be brought to bear in the fight to free Jamal. This is the significance of rallies, initiated by the PDC, to "Mobilize Labor/Minority Power" to stop Jamal's execution and abolish the racist death penalty which have been called for New York and Oakland on August 3 and for Chicago on August 10.

Mobilizing the labor movement against racist repression is crucial, not only in fighting against Jamal's threatened execution, but for the very survival of the unions. Working people have been reeling under the bosses' union-busting, wage-gouging attacks, while the unions have been decimated, hamstrung by a leadership that falsely identifies workers' interests with their exploiters'. If the labor movement is to be revitalized, it *must* take up the struggle against racist terror—of the extralegal KKK/skinheads as well as of the cops and courts—and the defense of immigrants and others victimized by the capitalist rulers.

Any unionist who doesn't already understand the connection between the fight for Mumia and the struggle for labor rights need only look at the ominous cop mobilization against Local 1199C in Philadelphia last week. The ruling class owns the means of production, education, the media, and protects its profits through a whole apparatus of governmental repression. The multiracial working class has the numbers, organization and the power which is derived from the fact that it produces all the wealth in this society. To realize this power is a matter of *consciousness* and *leadership*.

Labor can and will only become a force against capitalist exploitation when it actively takes up the fight for black freedom. What is desperately needed to unchain labor/black power against racist American capitalism is the leadership of a *class-struggle workers party* which champions the rights of all the oppressed.

The August 3 New York rally has won important support from the 1199 National Health & Human Service Employees Union, along with several SEIU public service unions, the chairman of the Philadelphia chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, Refuse & Resist and other groups. Connecting Mumia's struggle with the fight against racist cop terror, the rally has been endorsed by Margarita Rosario, mother of Anthony Rosario and aunt of Hilton Vega, two Bronx youth gunned down in a wave of racist cop killings. The demonstration in Oakland has been endorsed by a mainstay of Bay Area labor, ILWU longshore Local 10, as well as a number of SEIU locals, including the largely Latino Local 1877 ("Justice for Janitors"). Among those backing the emergency rally in Chicago are Amalgamated Transit Union Local 241 and Operation PUSH.

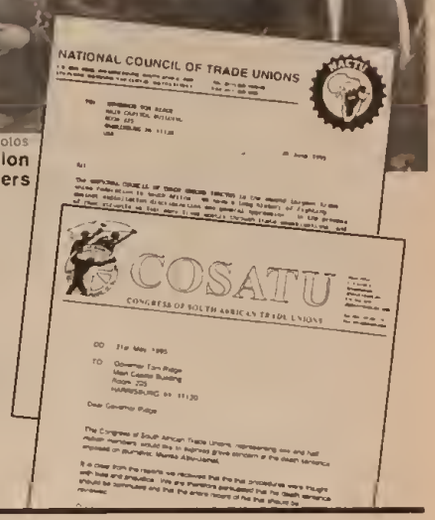
Speaking to a crowd of Jamal's supporters outside Sabo's court on July 18, Rachel Wolkenstein underscored the importance of mass social protest:

> "Speaking for myself now, on behalf of the organization that I work with, the Partisan Defense Committee, I want to make it clear that as far as I am concerned, Mumia Abu-Jamal cannot get a fair trial in this city. If there was ever a question before we walked into that courtroom, then it is abundantly clear now. Hopefully there will be a decision in the courts, but it's not going to happen without your support and without more—ten, twenty, a thousand times the support—organizations, trade unions, politicians, artists, unemployed, out there demanding: Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty!"

The farce being enacted in Sabo's courtroom makes it amply clear that Mumia Abu-Jamal cannot expect the least justice from this criminally *unjust* system of terror and repression. Mumia should not have spent a day in jail in the first place, and he should not be on death row now. Black freedom and the liberation of all humanity requires workers revolution to sweep away the capitalist state, its prisons, courts and cops, and to once and for all abolish the barbaric death penalty. ■

WV Photos

Jamal campaign has resonated among black workers in South Africa. Workers at June 6 COSATU demonstration in Johannesburg hold up Jamal flyers. COSATU and NACTU union federations representing millions of workers have taken up Jamal's cause.



Apartheid Death Penalty Abolished

South African Workers Fight to Save Jamal

As the campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal intensifies with the August 17 execution date looming, support from South African trade unions and civic organizations has surged. On June 19, at a demonstration of 15,000 trade unionists in Johannesburg, workers took up the chant, "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!" The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the predominantly black union federation representing 1.5 million workers, as well as the country's second-largest labor federation, the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU), have passed resolutions and sent letters of protest.

A host of key unions have come to Jamal's defense. These include the South African Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union (SACCAWU), the Food Farming Beverage and Allied Workers Union (FFBAWU), Chemical Workers Industrial Union, Turning Wheel Workers' Union, the Steel Mining and Commercial Workers Union (STEMCWU), the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) and the National Union of Metalworkers (NUMSA).

The African National Congress (ANC), now the leading party in the "power sharing" government, has also taken up Mumia's case. ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa sent a protest letter to Pennsylvania governor Ridge on June 2, the day after Jamal's death warrant was signed. Now the ANC newspaper, *Mayibuye* (July 1995), has run an article headlined "Race On to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal," and an editorial noting, "The Jamal case is a classic example of the racism, prejudice and barbarism which still lurks in the US judicial and law enforcement system."

In South Africa, where the death penalty was finally abolished by the Constitutional Court on June 6, execution was long used as a weapon of terror to enforce apartheid segregation against the black and "coloured" (mixed-race) population and to smash workers' struggles. During the early 1980s, striking railway workers of the SARHWU union were hanged, as were participants in the township rebellions of 1983-87. Thus the urgent campaign against the "legal" lynching of an anti-racist fighter in the United States has particular resonance among South African unions and leftists.

Most recently, the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (MWASA) sent a July 13 letter to Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge, signed by General Secretary Sithembele Khala, stating:

> "Our history goes back to the early seventies in the Union of Black journalists. ... We engaged the racist government of the National Party, in the struggle for liberation. For this role we paid dearly...
> "This union's National Executive and its membership decided to grant Mumia Abu-Jamal honorary membership. He is a widely acclaimed journalist who spent his life fighting for the freedom of his people.
> "Our members are on the death row in your state. We join millions of people and organisations around the world who direct passionate appeals to you, to intervene and save the life of Jamal."

A number of civic and human rights organizations have also taken up the call to stop Jamal's execution. The South African Prisoners Organisation for Human Rights (SAPOHR) issued a July 6 statement together with other organizations, including the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) and Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR).

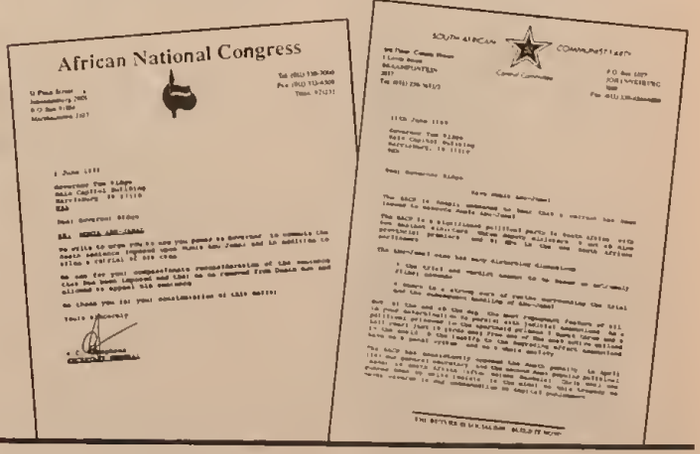
South African political organizations which have issued appeals to stop the execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal include the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Azanian Peoples Organisation (AZAPO). Among those left groups which have taken up Jamal's cause are the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA), the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International (WIRFI), the New Unity Movement, the Socialist Workers Organisation (SWO) and the International Socialist Movement (ISM).

WOSA passed a resolution at its June national conference which "called on the American government not to execute the African-American political prisoner, Mumia Abu-Jamal." Now WOSA, together with other organizations, has launched a South African Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, which has led weekly pickets of the U.S. embassy in Cape Town.

The WIRFI sent a protest telegram denouncing the racist police frame-up of Jamal, stating, "We take courage from the principled struggles waged by the comrades around Abu-Jamal and support you wholeheartedly." New Unity wrote that "Governor Ridge and his followers...now wish to claim the life of Mumia to provide a blood-sacrifice on the altar of mounting fascist war on liberty and justice."

The black proletariat of South Africa came to the fore of the anti-apartheid struggle in the huge class battles to forge the black unions. It was their social weight which rocked the white-supremacist regime. But the aspirations of the workers and township youth who have fought for freedom from racist oppression and capitalist exploitation have been blocked by the "power sharing" deal aimed at preserving South African capitalism.

Just as black Americans saw in apartheid rule a mirror of their own oppression, today South African workers organizations are adopting Jamal's case as their own. ■



Letters of protest to Governor Ridge on behalf of African National Congress and South African Communist Party.

Spartacist Forums

ATLANTA
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!
Down with the New COINTELPRO!
Stop the Execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Saturday, August 12, 7 p.m.
Little Five Points Community Center
1083 Austin Ave., N.E.
For more information: (404) 521-9338

BOSTON
Mumia Abu-Jamal Must Not Die!
The Death Penalty and Clinton's New COINTELPRO
Monday, August 7, 7:30 p.m.
Community Church of Boston
565 Boylston Street
(near Copley MBTA station)
For more information: (617) 666-9453

NEW YORK CITY
Stop the Execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!
Unchain Labor/Black Power! Fight for a Class-Struggle Workers Party!
Thursday, August 10, 7:30 p.m.
Borough of Manhattan Community College (BMCC), Student Development Center,
199 Chambers Street
For more information: (212) 732-7860

WASHINGTON, D.C.
Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!
Down with the New COINTELPRO!
Stop the Execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal!
Tuesday, August 1, 7 p.m.
First Congregational Church, 10th and G Streets, NW (Metro Center Metro stop)
For more information: (202) 872-8240

Vile Stalinist Attack on Italian Trotskyists

Jamal Banner Torn Down, Women Assaulted

MILANO—On July 15, six supporters of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I) were brutally attacked by goons from the Rifondazione Comunista (RC) party here. Our comrades, three of them women, were distributing literature along with other left groups at an RC "festival" in Milano. The RC thugs also removed a banner of the Committee for Social and Proletarian Defense (CODISPRO), which called to "Save the Life of Mumia Abu-Jamal," the former Black Panther and political prisoner scheduled to be executed in the U.S. on August 17. The CODISPRO is affiliated with the LTd'I, and fraternally linked to the Partisan Defense Committee in the U.S.

The goon squad at first forced the Trotskyists to move to the entrance of the Lampugnano metro station. Then more RC thugs arrived and with kicks and fists pushed our comrades away from the festival, to a place where our literature couldn't be seen by RC members. The men were expelled first, so that they couldn't see what was happening to the women. Then the RC goons grabbed one woman comrade of the LTd'I by the neck, lifting her off the ground, and slapped another one. Leaflets and copies of the LTd'I publication, *Spartaco*, were ripped up and the Jamal defense banner taken down.

A week earlier, on July 8, Rifondazione goons had launched another attack against the Lega Trotskista's literature table outside the RC festival. That time as well the RC took down the CODISPRO banner, which only a few days earlier (on June 24) had been prominently displayed next to the speakers platform in a union demonstration of some 70,000 which endorsed the demand to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal. The LTd'I was distributing a leaflet protesting that earlier attack when they were set upon again on July 15.

Rifondazione Comunista is the Eurostalinist rump of the Italian Communist Party (PCI), which largely liquidated itself into the social-democratic PDS (Democratic Left Party) led by Achille Occhetto. RC continues the same old reformist politics, adorned with the PCI's hammer-and-sickle fig leaf (instead of the PDS' oak tree symbol).

On July 8, the RC goons particularly went after a placard stating, "Build a Leninist-Trotskyist Party. No to the Class Collaboration of the PDS and RC!" No doubt the goon squad was also offended by the LTd'I placard, "No Vote to the Anti-Worker, Anti-Woman, Anti-Immigrant Popular Front!" The RC and PDS reformists have imposed the straitjacket of the popular front, which binds the working class to the bourgeoisie, on the combative Italian proletariat.

Spartaco

Banner demanding, "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!" was carried in workers demonstration in Rome, June 24. Rifondazione Comunista goons took down this same banner and attacked our comrades outside RC gathering in Milano.

In a press release issued the evening of July 15, the LTd'I stated:

> "We energetically protested this brutal action in the tradition of Stalinist and social-democratic violence against revolutionaries. We are for open political debate in the workers movement and underline that this revival of violence in the tradition of Stalinism goes hand in hand with the strengthening of RC's ties with bourgeois parties with the perspective of a class-collaborationist government. So while the top cop of the Berlusconi government, Roberto Maroni, is welcomed with full honors onto the platform of the *Liberazione* festival, the communists of the Trotskyist League are removed with physical violence. The despicable message of discredited Stalinism now being used against those who spearheaded the campaign in Italy to defend Jamal is a deadly blow against those fighting for his freedom from racist capitalist 'justice' and has done a great service to his would-be executioners." ■

David North...

(continued from page 7)

unlike Healy, they did it for free! But even this "defense" would appear to be rather threadbare, considering that, for one, North's colleague Nick Beams, leader of the Australian Socialist Labour League, got censured by the Central Committee of his own organization in February 1986 for failing to report the receipt of monies from Arab regimes to the IC (*Socialist Labor League Internal Bulletin*, February 1986).

To alibi their former support for a whole variety of reactionary nationalist causes and regimes, today North's ICFI acts as if nationalism has only recently become a "retrograde tendency." In the "Road to Tuzla," they write of the "progressive, unifying characteristic of the national movements of the epoch in which Lenin put forward the slogan of self-determination of nations." But in calling for military support to national movements fighting against imperialist-colonialist subjugation, Lenin never praised their supposed "progressive, unifying character." On the contrary, in his "Draft Theses on National and Colonial Questions" at the Second Congress of the Communist International (1920), Lenin called for:

> "...a determined struggle against attempts to give a communist colouring to bourgeois-democratic liberation trends in the backward countries; the Communist International should support bourgeois-democratic national movements in colonial and backward countries only on condition that, in these countries, the elements of future proletarian parties, which will be communist not only in name, are brought together and trained to understand their special tasks, i.e., those of the struggle against the bourgeois-democratic movements within their own nations."

The Bolsheviks championed the right of self-determination not to advance the cause of nationalism but to advance proletarian class unity. The fundamental propositions of a Marxist position on the national question in the imperialist epoch were underlined by Lenin in "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination": "on the one hand, the absolutely direct, unequivocal recognition of the full right of all nations to self-determination; on the other hand, the equally unambiguous appeal to the workers for *international* unity in their class struggle."

The right to self-determination is purely a bourgeois-democratic demand and as such is correspondingly a subordinate part of a revolutionary-internationalist program. This question was posed point-blank for the Bolsheviks following the 1917 Russian Revolution in the Ukraine and in the Caucasus. In the latter region, newly independent bourgeois regimes sought and found the direct military backing of the imperialists—first the Germans and then the British—posing a direct threat to the revolution. At the close of the Civil War, the Bolsheviks took power in Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan through a combination of local uprisings and Red Army intervention. As Trotsky wrote two decades later, "Forceful sovietization was justified: the safeguarding of the socialist revolution comes before formal democratic principles" ("Balance Sheet of the Finnish Events" [April 1940] in *In Defense of Marxism*).

The "Global Economy"

Other than claiming that their newfound "wisdom" on the national question is the fruit of having got rid of Healy, the ICFI claims a "new world reality" for its line change:

> "Vast changes in world economic and political relations have created corresponding changes in the character of the national movements.... Can it be seriously argued that the resurgence of ethnic chauvinism in the Balkans, or for that matter in the former USSR or the Indian subcontinent, expresses an effort to put an end to the legacy of imperialist and feudal domination? Can one speak today of the national bourgeoisie of Bosnia, or Kazakhstan or Kashmir seeking to 'capture the home market,' thereby creating conditions for the 'victory of commodity production' and hence a fuller development of the class struggle?"

The idea of an "era of global economic integration" which North presents as if it were yet another of his unique "theoretical breakthroughs" has been known to the Marxist movement for over a century now. It's otherwise known as imperialism!

Up until the mid-1880s, Marx and Engels judged national movements according to their ability to consolidate modern independent nation-states favorable to economic development. But with the development of imperialism the terms of reference changed. Marx and Engels began to address this over the question of Irish independence. As Marx wrote in a paper on the Irish question in 1869: "*it is in the direct and absolute interest of the English working class to get rid of their present connexion with Ireland....* The English reaction in England had its roots in the subjugation of Ireland."

Marx's position on Ireland was further developed by Lenin in his writings on the national question. For Lenin the question of self-determination had nothing to do with the ability to develop a modern, economically independent capitalist nation. Indeed he polemicized at some length against Rosa Luxemburg, who declared that self-determination had become an "illusory" demand with the development of imperialism. In "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination," Lenin answered:

> "Not only small states, but even Russia, for example, is entirely dependent, economically, on the power of the imperialist finance capital of 'rich' bourgeois countries. Not only the miniature Balkan states, but even nineteenth-century America was, economically, a colony of Europe, as Marx pointed out in *Capital*....
>
> "For the question of the political self-determination of nations and their independence as states in bourgeois society, Rosa Luxemburg has substituted the question of their economic independence."

Unlike the Northites, however, Rosa Luxemburg was animated by genuine proletarian internationalism. Although wrong, her visceral opposition to the right of self-determination was motivated by revulsion with the various bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalist forces in Poland (forces which some decades later the Northites would cheer on in the name of Solidarność counterrevolution).

Lenin recognized that imperialism was the epoch of capitalist decay, in which the development of a national economy and emergence of a vigorous bourgeoisie were stifled by imperialist exploitation and domination over the more backward capitalist countries. The understanding that the national bourgeoisies of these countries are incapable of carrying out the most elementary bourgeois-democratic tasks, such as genuine national independence, is ABC Trotskyism—in fact it is a fundamental underpinning of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution.

Of course, very real changes have taken place in the world in the aftermath of the collapse of the former Soviet Union. The relentless drive to destroy the Soviet workers state provided a point of unity for the various imperialist powers. With that removed, inter-imperialist rivalries have escalated. The global system of "free trade"—the economic cement which held together the U.S.-dominated anti-Soviet alliance—has crumbled as the major powers seek to redivide the world into regional trade blocs. But what is going on is not "new." Rather, the post-Cold War world increasingly resembles the pre-1914 world of heightened interimperialist rivalries intersecting regional nationalist conflicts.

The so-called "globalization of production"—i.e., the export of capital—simply means that the capitalists have moved large chunks of industry to low-wage "Third World" countries. This, for example, has meant the attempted wholesale takeover of Mexico by U.S. imperialism under the conditions of the North American Free Trade Agreement. Far from being a negation of the Leninist position on the national and colonial question, the current situation underlines the importance for communists of defending the rights of neocolonial and oppressed nations against imperialist depredations in order to advance the interests of international proletarian class struggle.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Philadelphia...

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the feds go back over the cases in which these cops were involved, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (28 June) reports "scores—possibly hundreds—of bogus arrests" may be reversed. Meanwhile, Philadelphia's fledgling Police Advisory Commission announced it would hold its first hearings this summer to investigate the fatal beating of Moises DeJesus by police last August. Despite witnesses to the cop beating, the medical examiner declared there was no evidence DeJesus had been clubbed over the head, claiming that he died of a "cardiac arrest" caused by a drug overdose. At the same time, after a two-year investigation by the Police Department's Ethics Accountability Division, two former 19th District cops were last month sentenced to prison for planting drugs on five victims and robbing them of money, jewelry and other possessions.

The *New York Times Magazine* story focused on D.A. Lynne Abraham's maniacal and blatantly racist use of capital punishment: "no prosecutor in the country uses the death penalty more." Asked about her reaction to the execution in May of Keith Zettlemoyer, the first man to be put to death in a Northeastern state since 1967, she remarked coldly: "I don't feel anything." This vicious death sentence fanatic declared, "I've looked at all those sentenced to be executed. No one will shed a tear. Prison is too good for them. They don't deserve to live." Abraham, at the time a judge, presided over the initial arraignment of Mumia in 1981. The article notes that Philadelphia was "the first city to reserve a group of specialized judges to hear only homicide cases.... The most notorious was Judge Albert F. Sabo," who sentenced Jamal to death in 1982. Philadelphia mayor Ed Rendell was himself district attorney in 1982 and personally approved seeking the death penalty against Mumia.

Philadelphia Inquirer

Clinton and Philadelphia mayor Ed Rendell at White House, swearing in 153 new Philly cops, June 8.

Philly D.A.s systematically seek the death penalty every time the law permits, ensuring that when these cases go to trial they will get a "death qualified" jury (purged of any jurors who oppose the death penalty) that is far more likely to convict. Moreover, the D.A. knocks blacks off juries without cause and conceals evidence of a defendant's innocence so regularly that in 1992 a Superior Court judge protested that "prosecutorial misconduct seems to arise in Philadelphia County more so than in any other county in this Commonwealth." Today, Philadelphia's death row population of 105 *has the highest proportion of black people in the country* and is the third largest of any county (close behind Houston's Harris County and Los Angeles County, which are far larger, and have higher murder rates).

As Jamal wrote in a recent column, "D.A.—Insult to Justice" (3 July), "The acronym, 'D.A.' might as well stand for *District Assassin* given its accomplished history of murdering Justice, especially when it comes to black and hispanic lives, property and safety."

The sordid racist record of Philly cops is long and well-documented. In fact, in 1979 the U.S. Justice Department sued the city of Philadelphia, Mayor Rizzo and virtually the entire police administration, charging them with systematic police brutality, especially against blacks and Hispanics, that "shocks the conscience." This suit marked the first time in American history that the federal government has sued an entire police force and local government administration for police brutality. Cop terror in Rizzo's Philadelphia in the late 1970s was so rampant that the *Philadelphia Inquirer* ran two series by reporters Jonathan Neumann and William Marimow on the subject in 1977 alone, one devoted to police killings and the second on cop violence in the streets. The *Inquirer*'s 24-27 April 1977 series, "The Homicide Files," includes this description:

> "A four-month investigation by The Inquirer has found a pattern of beatings, threats of violence, intimidation, coercion and knowing disregard for constitutional rights in the interrogation of homicide suspects and witnesses...
>
> "The illegal interrogations follow a pattern:
>
> "• They are conducted by teams of detectives at police headquarters—known as the Roundhouse—at Eighth and Race Streets. The suspect or witness is often handcuffed to a metal chair, which is bolted to the floor. Some of these sessions have lasted 24 hours.
>
> "• Some of the techniques used in the beatings leave no severe marks. Those techniques include placing a telephone book on a suspect's head and hammering it with a heavy object; beating his feet and ankles; twisting or kicking his testicles, and pummeling his back, ribs and kidneys.
>
> "• Other techniques do leave marks. Testimony about interrogations that judges have ruled illegal has shown that suspects have been beaten with lead pipes, blackjacks, brass knuckles, handcuffs, chairs and table legs. One suspect was stabbed in the groin with a sword-like instrument....
>
> "'What we're living in at the Roundhouse,' a former homicide detective said, 'is a return to the Middle Ages'."

A Philly First: Feds Sue Over Police Brutality

The Justice Department's August 1979 civil lawsuit against the city of Philadelphia and the Rizzo administration charged a pattern of persecution which reads like a litany of police practices in apartheid South Africa. The suit cited "widespread, arbitrary, and unreasonable physical abuse" including "shooting nondangerous, nonviolent, fleeing

Rosenbergs...

(continued from page 9)

Buchanan and Pat Robertson are increasingly prominent in the Republican Party. (And as in the early '50s, these anti-Semitic anti-Communists are courted by the ADL and other Zionists.) Robertson, whose Christian Coalition dominates a sizable chunk of the Republican Party, is the author of *The New World Order*, an anti-Semitic screed whose depiction of an international Jewish conspiracy is lifted straight from the pages of the notorious *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a tsarist secret police forgery concocted in the late 1800s with the aim of instigating anti-Jewish pogroms and which denounced the Russian revolutionary workers movement as an "alien" force controlled by Jews.

While rightly emphasizing the anti-Communist character of the frame-up, the Rosenbergs were not oblivious to the anti-Semitic elements involved in their persecution and the broader anti-red purge. In a personal appeal for clemency to President Eisenhower three days before her execution, Ethel Rosenberg wrote: "Today, while these ghastly [Nazi] mass butchers, these obscene racists, are graciously receiving the benefits of mercy and in many instances being reinstated in public office, the great democratic United States is proposing the savage destruction of a small unoffending Jewish family, whose guilt is seriously doubted throughout the length and breadth of the civilized world!"

In the U.S., support for the Rosenbergs was limited by the McCarthyite anti-Communist hysteria, but around the world there was indeed an enormous outcry on their behalf, extending even to the Pope and the French government. *Le Monde* decried the threatened execution as a "ritual murder" and the Dreyfus family made a personal appeal for the Rosenbergs' lives. But President Eisenhower and the rest of the U.S. rulers turned a deaf ear to all pleas for clemency or a new trial. The night of the execution, machine guns ringed the U.S. embassy in Paris as tens of thousands of protesters gathered outside. The CP's popular-frontist illusions in American "democracy" notwithstanding, U.S. imperialism's rehabilitation and embrace of the Nazi mass murderers and its own murder of the Rosenbergs were two sides of the same coin: its unrelenting pursuit of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state, which has now been realized.

The then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party underscored the true meaning of the Rosenberg verdict: "The Rosenberg decision above all else was an act of ruling class terror by a state that is preparing a war of world conquest, a war directed primarily against the Soviet Union" (*Militant*, 27 October 1952). During World War II, when the Stalinists enlisted in U.S. imperialism's fraudulent "war against fascism," the Trotskyists became the first victims of the Smith Act—which was later extensively used against the CP during the witchhunt—for their revolutionary opposition to the imperialist war.

To the bitter end, when the gains of the 1917 Russian Revolution were finally extinguished as a result of Yeltsin's counterrevolution, we Trotskyists called for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and advanced a program of proletarian political revolution to sweep away the bureaucratic betrayers in the Kremlin. We hailed heroic Soviet spies—like Kim Philby, Richard Sorge and Leopold Trepper—who put their lives on the line in defending the Soviet Union against imperialism. At the same time, the monstrous security apparatus built up by the Kremlin Stalinists was brutally employed to extinguish those who fought to revive the proletarian internationalism that animated Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks.

That Soviet security could be wielded both in defense of the USSR and to murder those, like the Trotskyists, who alone had a program for genuine defense of the world's first workers state, reflected the contradictory nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy. On the one hand, this parasitic caste derived its bureaucratic position from sitting atop the gains of the October Revolution. At the same time, it served as the transmission belt for the pressures of a hostile world imperialist market that ultimately destroyed the Soviet Union.

Speaking of his courageous parents, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, Robert Meeropol said two years ago, "By refusing to falsely accuse themselves and others, they became powerful symbols of resistance." Today such symbols of resistance are to be found in former Black Panther activists Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) and Mumia Abu-Jamal. Geronimo has spent 25 years in prison for a crime the government knows he did not commit, repeatedly denied parole specifically for his defiant refusal to repudiate his political beliefs. Mumia sits on death row, with an August 17 execution date hanging over his head, for his impassioned championing of all the oppressed.

In the coming weeks, every potential victim of this capitalist state's apparatus of frame-up and repression must exert every effort to mobilize the mass, labor-centered protest which is key in the fight to ensure that Mumia Abu-Jamal does *not* suffer the fate of the Rosenbergs. All honor to the Rosenbergs! Free Geronimo! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty! ■

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard skips alternate issues in June, July and August.

Our next issue will be dated August 25.

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criminal suspects" or "suspects who cease flight," "shooting criminal suspects who make gestures or verbal comments while surrendering," and "physically abusing the witnesses (including victims) of shootings to discourage them from disputing the justification of the shooting fostered by the Homicide Division." Justice Department lawyers also charged that the medical examiner's office participated in coverups: "Once they had done an autopsy, they sit down with the police department to try to fit their findings in with a justifiable shooting" (*Washington Post*, 19 August 1979).

After studying the city's own police and prison files, the Justice Department provided a list of *thousands of people*—271 pages of names—who had been shot or beaten by the police. Earlier the same year, a group associated with the Philadelphia Bar Association had determined that 299 killings by Philadelphia police between 1970 and 1978 were illegal by the standards of bourgeois law. The Justice Department suit demanded a court injunction against the abuses and asked that federal aid to Philadelphia be cut off until reforms were made. Mayor Rizzo responded by calling the suit "hogwash" and boasting that his cops were so powerful "we could invade Cuba and win." In October 1979, a federal judge, without passing judgment on the substance of the Justice Department's accusations, dismissed most of the suit on jurisdictional grounds.

The Justice Department suit was precipitated in part by the August 1978 attack by the FBI and Philadelphia police on MOVE. In that attack *600 cops* brutally assaulted MOVE's Powelton Village home; when one cop was killed in the crossfire, 12 MOVE members were framed up and thrown in prison for years. When the *Inquirer* ran a series of chilling photos of cops savagely stomping MOVE member Delbert Africa, 400 off-duty cops picketed the newspaper's office in an attempt to close it down. One year later, when three cops were indicted for the beating, 500 police marched on City Hall, and the head of the Fraternal Order of Police cried, "They should have killed him" (*New York Times*, 14 August 1979). In reporting on this hideous atrocity, Mumia Abu-Jamal came to sympathize with MOVE, and also earned the enmity of Rizzo, who threatened the "new breed of journalism" Jamal represented.

There was bitter irony in the federal government suing the city of Philadelphia for police abuse since some of the most sinister police measures were instituted in direct collaboration with the Justice Department. In 1964, when the black ghetto in Philadelphia was one of the first in the U.S. to explode, the police set up the notorious Civil Defense (CD) squad, which worked with the FBI to infiltrate or spy on virtually every civil rights or political organization in the city. Lieutenant George Fencl, who headed the CD unit, boasted that "we have some 18,000 names" on file. The Philadelphia "counterintelligence" program served as a model for the FBI's COINTELPRO program targeting the Black Panther Party and others for murder or frame-up. The close collaboration between Philly police and the FBI was manifested in the murderous 1985 assault on MOVE when the feds supplied the explosives for the police bomb. And, as we showed in our article, "Mumia Abu-Jamal: The COINTELPRO Files" (*WV* No. 624, 2 June), 700 pages of recently obtained FBI files prove that during years of surveillance Jamal was a special target of this operation.

Ligato/Philadelphia Bulletin

UPI

In racist obscenity, Rizzo's killer cops lined up Philadelphia Black Panthers naked on the street after 1970 raid (left); Osage Avenue neighborhood burnt down after Mayor Wilson Goode okayed police bombing of MOVE commune in 1985 (right).

The 1979 federal lawsuit against Philadelphia was the culmination of years of public hearings and studies which documented the cops' Gestapo methods and the unchecked police powers in that city. In 1972, the Pennsylvania State Committee of the federal Civil Rights Commission noted that the city's police were a "paramilitary institution" which acted like "a law unto itself" and had "avoided" the tradition that "military forces in this country have been under civilian control." It cited the fact that "the police have become an organized political force which uses the 'law and order' issue to play on the fears of many" so that "city officials and those who aspire to political office tend to avoid the enmity of the police and often abdicate the issue of civilian control" (*Police-Community Relations in Philadelphia*, June 1972).

A Web of Police Power

Police victimization of blacks and Hispanics is not limited to the Philadelphia PD: it pervades the entire judicial system, including the district attorney's office and the courts, and is backed up by the mayor's office. Revealing the absurdity of the bourgeoisie's claims of "checks and balances" and a "separation of powers," the police, courts, city administration and even Congress are staffed by the same pool of people. D.A. Abraham, Judge Sabo, Mayor Rendell, U.S. Senator Specter are all veterans of the machinery of Rizzo's police city-state. Today, in Sabo's court, you can see how the cops, prosecution and judge make up a well-oiled machine, geared to carry out the execution of Jamal. As we wrote in "The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal" (*WV* No. 625, 30 June): "*Mumia Abu-Jamal did not have a fair trial, he could not have had a fair trial and he would not now be allowed to have a fair trial.*"

This is the state machinery of death that is increasingly central to the system of racist repression in this period of capitalist decay, with inner city ghettos that are vast reservoirs of the unemployed and homeless, beset by every social ill and held in check by police who act like an occupying army. "Rizzotown" is perhaps the starkest expression of the general trend to police bonapartism—untrammeled cop power—in the U.S. today, and Mumia Abu-Jamal has been in their cross hairs for decades. But the system of capitalist oppression this epitomizes is far broader. It's no accident that President Bill Clinton, who interrupted his 1992 campaign to rush back to Little Rock to oversee the execution of a brain-damaged black man, should ostentatiously support the Philly cops. (After attending the annual national police bash in mid-May, Clinton later presided over the swearing in of 153 new Philadelphia police officers on the White House lawn.) The government's new "Omnibus Counterterrorism Bill" is a recipe for police-state powers to regiment the entire population.

This is a bipartisan program, carried out by both Republicans and Democrats, as the example of Philadelphia shows: Rizzo switched from Republican to Democrat to become police commissioner, he was elected mayor as a Nixon Democrat, and in 1986 he switched back to the Republicans; black Democrat Wilson Goode, who beat Rizzo in the 1983 primary, approved the '85 bombing of MOVE that was carried out with "technical support" (C-4 explosives) supplied by Republican Reagan's "Justice" Department. By the same token, as the murder of Philly MOVE and the attempt to lynch Jamal have been supported by both capitalist parties, the struggle to free Mumia must be a fight against the capitalist system which has produced this terrible machine of state murder. From South Africa to Europe to the U.S., workers, youth and fighters against racial injustice are taking up the cause of freedom for Jamal. This growing support is key to stopping legal lynching.

In the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee place no confidence in the capitalist courts to dispense "justice." Rather, we seek a massive mobilization of the social power of the proletariat, in this country and internationally. As we wrote in "The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal" in our last issue:

> "This sinister web of spying, intimidation and frame-up is not an aberration which can be cleansed from the system, as liberals would have it. Rather it goes to the very core of the capitalist state which, with its cops and courts, its prosecutors and executioners, is an instrument for the repression of the working class and the oppressed. This is part of the Marxist understanding of the capitalist state, and as Marxists we understand that it will take nothing less than a workers revolution to sweep away this machinery of state terror whose purpose is to keep profits and interest payments flowing into the coffers of Wall Street."
>
> —*WV* No. 625, 30 June ■

FOP Rally...

(continued from page 16)

striking Philly transit workers. Scandalously, this was *saluted* by the Communist Party! The CP is not alone in the treacherous reformist view that the cops are some kind of "workers in uniform" who can be won to labor's side through struggle. It is shared by other self-proclaimed "leftists" like the International Socialist Organization.

As we warned in our article, "Victory to Philly Transit Strike!" (*WV* No. 620, 7 April), the FOP is no "union" but an outfit of armed strikebreakers of the ruling class. Its "support" was a kiss of death to the transit strikers:

> "From hauling off arrested air traffic controllers in their 1981 strike, to the 1985 bombing of Philadelphia MOVE and the destruction of the Osage Avenue neighborhood, to running scabs through Teamster picket lines during the 1994 trucking strike, the cops are the sworn enemies of labor and the oppressed. Mobilizations by the cops in whatever guise, reflect their own agenda and are sinister attempts at police bonapartism, to slip the leash of civilian control. Cops out of the labor movement!"

The Philadelphia cops have a long, bloody and notorious history of operating like an out-of-control gang of white ethnic toughs whose idea of "justice" would insult the Mafia. An ongoing federal investigation into police corruption in Philadelphia has uncovered a trail of vicious frame-ups. The exposures of five Philly cops who issued phony search warrants, manufactured and planted evidence, and bought off prostitutes to give fabricated testimony has to date led to overturning 39 convictions.

Among their more recent rampages, on July 8 a hit team of cops stormed a wedding in a black church and seized the groom at the altar. Earlier on the day of the FOP's racist siege of the union hall, 1199 president Nicholas had pointed out in a news conference that there is a relationship between this violation of a church and "the beating of our union brother at a South Philadelphia hotel" (*Philadelphia Tribune*, 21 July). The previous day some 1,500 unionists had protested the savage beating of a union official representing striking Philadelphia hotel workers by Holiday Inn security guards. FOP head Costello, who was ranting that the suspension of three cops who headed up the church bust was "politically motivated," doubtless had his appetite for vengeance whetted by the 1199 president's protest.

Speaking to the danger of the "liaison" between the leaders of the Philadelphia transit workers union and the cops, we warned last April: "The FOP's threat to kill Philly's 'voice of the voiceless,' Mumia Abu-Jamal, is also a threat against labor." Now this is being brought home in the FOP's sinister threats against Philadelphia's 1199 hospital workers union.

The call to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal has been taken up by unions across this country and around the world. Championing the cause of this eloquent and powerful spokesman for the oppressed could be a vital component to revitalizing a fighting labor movement in this country. That is what the racist strikebreakers of the FOP want to stop.

Black rights and union rights go forward together or fall back separately. Unchain labor/black power! Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

"Capital of Capital Punishment"

Police-State Philadelphia

W.R. Everly III

Philadelphia Daily News

Frank Rizzo, racist demagogue who terrorized black Philly as police commissioner and mayor in the 1960s-'70s. Left: MOVE member Delbert Africa is stomped by police after cop assault on MOVE's Powelton Village home in 1978.

In their drive to kill Mumia Abu-Jamal, the former Black Panther and crusading journalist whose execution is scheduled for August 17, the Philadelphia police and the "justice" system have stopped at nothing. In Jamal's 1982 trial, the prosecution intimidated witnesses who contradicted the state's story, pushed others to falsely testify, knocked blacks off the jury, lied to the jury—all to convict and sentence Jamal to death for his political beliefs. *It's a legal lynching.* In appealing for a new trial, Jamal's lead attorney, Leonard Weinglass, told ABC News (25 July):

> "We are also basing our appeal on the fact that the prosecution withheld evidence, that the prosecution manufactured evidence, that the prosecution gave out favors to prostitutes in return for their testimony."

Mumia Abu-Jamal was a special target of the Philly cops who has been railroaded by a racist *system* of unchecked police power.

In fighting to free Jamal, we have emphasized that the blatant frame-up of this courageous fighter for the oppressed was prepared by years of harassment and attempts to set him up by the capitalist *in*justice system. This travesty of "justice" is an object lesson in the class nature of the state. The entire apparatus of bourgeois repression—the cops, the courts, the secret police—was mobilized to destroy Mumia for the "crime" of opposing, exposing and denouncing this system of racist oppression. The savage crusade against Mumia was spearheaded by the brutal regime of Frank Rizzo, the racist demagogue who, first as police commissioner beginning in 1967 and then as mayor during 1972-80, ran Philadelphia for more than a decade as a local police state.

It was under Rizzo's successors that Jamal was gunned down in 1981 and then framed up, and that the home of the black MOVE commune was bombed in 1985, killing eleven black men, women and children. The fact that these atrocities were carried out in "Rizzotown," where the hired guns of the bourgeoisie act as if they are lording it over a backwater of the Jim Crow South, left an indelible stamp. A recent profile of Philadelphia District Attorney Lynne Abraham in the *New York Times Magazine* (16 July) shows how the entire police and prosecutorial apparatus in this city that is the "capital of capital punishment" is filled with Rizzo's protégés. In the misnamed "City of Brotherly Love," the cops are used to calling the shots. As Rizzo once told a court magistrate, "All right, you're the boss in here, but we're the boss on the street."

Since long before Rizzo, Philadelphia police have spread murderous terror against the black and Hispanic population. They have carried out widespread spying and harassment of even "respectable" bourgeois critics, openly threatening everyone from newspaper editors to judges and the city council. Intimidation, torture, frame-ups, and at the center of it all, the death penalty: this is "law and order," Philly-style.

Lately, Philadelphia has been full of the stench of police corruption with several simultaneous investigations being carried out into police brutality and frame-ups of innocent victims. An investigation by the FBI going back several years has centered on manufacturing of evidence and lying in court by cops of the 39th District in North Philadelphia. Five cops recently pleaded guilty in federal court to violating the civil rights of people they arrested, framed and sent to prison. In one case they set up a 53-year-old grandmother, Betty Patterson, on charges of cocaine and crack dealing in order to manufacture evidence against her sons in a murder investigation. In another case, they tried to frame a Temple University student, Arthur Colbert, as a drug dealer, including kidnapping, beating, putting a revolver to his head, and hiring a prostitute to testify against him.

So far, convictions in 39 drug cases in the 39th District have been overturned. But as

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Philly Cops Threaten Organized Labor

FOP Rally to Kill Jamal

On July 19, the union hall of Local 1199C of the National Hospital and Health Care Employees Union in Philadelphia was to have been the site of a fund-raiser for Mumia Abu-Jamal, who faces death at the hands of the state's executioner on August 17. Instead, the union hall was besieged by a gang of 300 Philadelphia cops. They brought signs reading, "Lethal Injection for Convicted Cop Killers Now!" and chanted with bloodthirsty glee, "Four More Weeks!"

Sounding like the leader of one of the lynch mobs who tried to run the lawyers for the Scottsboro Boys out of town in the "Old South" of the 1930s, the head of the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police, Richard Costello, told reporters: "Let these out-of-town lawyers, these out-of-town terrorists, get the hell out of here and leave Philadelphia to us." But the FOP doesn't have its sights trained simply on "outsiders." Sinisterly equating the fund-raiser with "advocating the murder of a police officer," Costello demanded an "apology" from the union and said that he was going to push the AFL-CIO District Council to bring "sanctions" against 1199 president Henry Nicholas.

This is a deadly threat aimed at the heart of organized labor. Last spring, the FOP made a bid to woo the unions by declaring its "solidarity" with the

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Shadd/Philadelphia Inquirer

Philadelphia, July 19—Mob of 300 racist Philly cops besiege headquarters of hospital workers Local 1199C, denouncing union support for Mumia Abu-Jamal.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 627 | 25 August 1995

International Outcry Wins Stay of Execution

Battle for Mumia's Freedom

WV Photo

Philadelphia, August 12: Thousands of demonstrators surge down Market Street from City Hall to Independence Mall.

Abolish the Racist Death Penalty! Mobilize Labor/Black Power Now!

Cheers rang out in a Philadelphia courtroom on August 7 when Judge Albert Sabo announced a stay of execution for black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal, who had been scheduled to die on August 17. The ruling came in the midst of the battle being waged by Mumia and his defense team to reverse his frame-up conviction and death sentence for the 1981 shooting death of policeman Daniel Faulkner. Mumia is up against a cabal of the racist Philly cops, a District Attorney maniacally committed to pursuing the death penalty whenever she can, and Judge Sabo, who presided over Jamal's 1982 "trial" and has sent far more people to death row than any other judge in the U.S. They seek to silence forever his impassioned, articulate voice on behalf of the oppressed. Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man who should never have spent a day in prison. And class-conscious workers and all opponents of the barbarous and racist death penalty around the world must not rest until he is freed.

Ever since the current hearing began on July 12, Sabo declared that he would not be moved by the protests in defense of Mumia that have mushroomed around the globe. Assistant D.A. Charles Grant (who has subsequently quit the prosecution team) sneered about "politically motivated people" trying "to undo or redo what 12 simple people in this town, and not in Sweden and not in Denmark or New Zealand, said the facts were." But as Rachel Wolkenstein, Partisan Defense Committee staff counsel and one of Mumia's co-counsels, declared on August 7: "It is absolutely clear that without the international support coming from all quarters, from trade unionists, from civil libertarians, from authors and writers and students, it would not have been possible for the stay to be granted."

While the big business press has castigated the movement for Jamal as only a rehash of 1960s "radical chic" promoted by, in Philly D.A. Lynne Abraham's words, a "well-oiled, well-financed propaganda machine," America's capitalist rulers have clearly been taken aback by the scope of these protests, enlisting broad sections of the labor movement internationally and even including leading capitalist politicians around the world. On August 12, some 8,000 marched through the streets of Philadelphia. The bourgeoisie now seeks to defuse the protest movement. Jamal warned of this danger, writing in his column, "The Stay":

> "The state of Pennsylvania still has every intention of killing me—just not right now.
>
> "Thus, the stay is a limited victory, not just for the Jamals and the Africas, but for thousands and tens of thousands of people from every corner of the globe....

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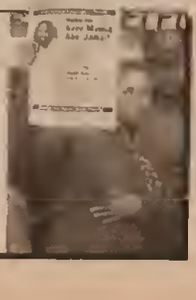
Hiroshima, Nagasaki: U.S. War Crimes

See Page Four

Young Spartacus

Eyewitness Report

South African Unions Take Up Jamal's Fight as Their Own



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The BT and the Wall Street Journal on the Jamal Campaign

Poison Pen Pals

New York
10 August 1995

To the Editor of *Workers Vanguard*:

Monday's stay of execution was vital to the battle for the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal. Its achievement is a crucial tactical victory, which can open the way to the more profound victory we need—getting him off death row and freeing him.

This tactical victory was a result of mobilization by thousands of leftists, trade unionists and blacks throughout the world. The more profound victory will be possible only through the mobilization of even broader layers, and in larger activities. With the consistent application of united-front methods, Mumia Abu-Jamal will be freed.

The Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee have done an admirable job in publicizing Mumia's case and mobilizing in his defense. But your recent article, "Anti-Communist Smear Targets Jamal Campaign" (*Workers Vanguard*, 28 July) can only undermine the effort required to save Mumia from the executioner's needle. Supposedly a response to attempts to sabotage the fight for Mumia's freedom, it in fact resorts to Stalinist-style cop baiting to further the narrow organizational interests of the Spartacist League.

In the article you claim that the polemics of the Bolshevik Tendency exposing your cult-like internal regime are really aimed at sabotaging the fight for Mumia and bringing down state repression on your heads. You write that "defamatory ravings about the SL as a 'cult' feed into the *Wall Street Journal*'s vintage redbaiting, which is aimed at *spiking the necessary mass protest that is essential in fighting for Jamal's freedom*" (emphasis in original). You write further that the BT "has always sought to be the instrument of bigger forces with its provocative slurs and slanders against the Spartacist League," insinuating that we (along with other left groups mentioned in your article) are in league with sinister forces (like the FBI, maybe?) to "get" the SL.

You find particularly sinister the *WSJ* article's mention of the fact that we "deride [our] old party as 'Jimstown,' a takeoff on Jonestown." What the *WSJ* reporter didn't know, however, is that the term "Jimstown" (from our article, "The Road to Jimstown," published ten years ago) was only indirectly derived from Jonestown. Its immediate antecedent was your characterization of Jack Barnes' Socialist Workers Party as "Barnestown." You also fail to mention that for years you have publicly labeled the Healyites, the Revolutionary Workers League, the Freedom Socialist Party and other left groups "cults." When, during the Gulf War, you pointed to the years-long role of David North's Workers League as paid publicists for Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq, and as apologists for the murder of members of the Iraqi Communist Party, the Workers League responded to these charges in exactly the same way that you respond to ours: they claimed you were attempting to set them up for government repression. Was the SL seeking to become "the instrument of bigger forces" against these other groups? Your accusations against them are no less a matter of public record than our claims about the SL, and are no less accessible to the *Wall Street Journal* or any other bourgeois newspaper. Or what about your remark in German-language *Spartacist* (Winter 1989-90) that we have "similar appetites" to those of the Mossad (Israeli secret police)? Did you think that such an insinuation posed no danger to our German comrades, in light of the resurgence of anti-Semitism in that country? The Spartacist League evidently believes it has a right to say *anything* about other left groups, but goes into a frenzy the minute it gets a taste of its own medicine.

Even more appalling is the fact that you explicitly equate any criticism of yourselves with an attack on Mumia Abu-Jamal. You are hardly the only group active in the fight for his freedom. We, along with yourselves and others, have participated in demonstrations for Mumia in every part of the world where we have comrades, including the San Francisco Bay Area, Berlin, Hamburg and London. An English supporter got a resolution for freeing Mumia passed in the Birmingham Trades Council. Our New Zealand section has initiated two demonstrations calling to free Mumia, the first in 1990. A New York comrade got his union (Local 2110, UAW) to send a protest letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania on Mumia's behalf. Our Toronto group has helped to build two demonstrations for Mumia so far, and is now participating alongside your members in efforts for another mobilization on 14 August. Our name appears on the PDC poster for this rally as one of the endorsers.

According to your logic, Trotskyists in the 1930s, by pointing to the bureaucratic internal regime of the U.S. Communist Party and its cult of Stalin, were sabotaging the campaign to defend the Scottsboro Boys. The Stalinists themselves seized every opportunity to make this point. But Trotskyist exposures of Stalinist betrayals from Germany to Spain, or their condemnations of the Moscow Trials, never prevented them from defending the Soviet Union against imperialism, or from defending American Stalinists from McCarthyite witchhunts. Similarly, our knowledge of the cult-like practices of the SL leadership does not prevent us from seeking united fronts to defend Mumia, nor from defending the SL against repression by the state.

For many years the Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee, to their credit, campaigned for Mumia's freedom before many were familiar with the case. More became involved when Mumia's death warrant was signed, including many of the SL's competitors on the left. Rather than welcoming these organizations to the fight, your reflex has been to defend your turf in truly sectarian fashion, writing that other leftists' "venomous hatred of the Trotskyist Spartacist League far outweighs their *professed* defense of Jamal" (emphasis added). In other words, you are Mumia's only *real* defenders on the socialist left. Some of your members even went so far as to claim that our protest letter to Pennsylvania's Governor Ridge, which states that "For each activist you strike down, ten will arise to take his or her place," means that we somehow conceive of Mumia's murder as a positive development!

In the wake of your recent altercation with the International Socialist Organization, you write "that their 'support' to the campaign for Jamal isn't worth the paper it's printed on," and that "united-front action[s] are completely alien to the ISO, which has been noticeably absent (or represented by token teams) at recent demonstrations for Jamal." Yet at one major recent demonstration for Jamal in New York City (Saturday, July 22), where approximately 400 showed up, the ISO had many times more members than the SL, who turned up with fewer than ten people. In a city where you could have mobilized 50 of your own members at the very least (not to mention your periphery), this is truly shameful. Could this lack of enthusiasm be explained by the fact that the demonstration was called by the Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition, and not the SL or PDC? It would seem that united-front actions are somewhat "alien" to the SL as well. The SL, in fact, rarely engages in united-fronts it does not initiate and unilaterally control. While there has been an unevenness in your methods internationally, on the whole your approach has been more reminiscent of the Third Period Stalinist "united front from below" which allowed Hitler to take power in Germany, than to the Trotskyist approach of negotiations among as many organizations as possible to mobilize the maximum forces in united action.

The campaign to save Mumia places the Spartacist leadership in a particular bind. On the one hand, it wants to maintain the SL's reputation as Mumia's best defenders, and build a broad campaign on his behalf. On the other hand, the leadership is uncomfortable about the fact that such a campaign will inevitably bring SL members into wider contact with other leftists—a development the SL leadership tries to avoid for fear that the rank and file may begin to question the leadership's claims to infallibility. Hence the reluctance to participate in non-SL events and the need for cop-baiting attacks in the pages of *Workers Vanguard*.

It is this kind of sectarian behavior, and not the fact that we and others dare to criticize the Spartacist League, that truly sabotages the fight for Mumia's freedom. Yet we insist that one need not be a fan of the SL leadership to keep working with the SL and anyone else who is willing to fight for the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

On behalf of the International
Bolshevik Tendency,
David Eastman

WV replies: The anti-communist smears of the *Wall Street Journal* aimed at spiking the outpouring of international support for Mumia Abu-Jamal are of no consequence to the Bolshevik Tendency. Why would they be?

For eight years the International Communist League, the Partisan Defense Committee and its fraternal legal and social defense organizations around the world, have fought to spark an international campaign in Jamal's defense. Throughout this entire period, you can scour the pages of the BT's main international journal, *1917*, and not find one substantive article on Jamal's case.

It's hardly as if the BT numbers among those leftists who claim they did not take up Jamal's defense because they were "not familiar with the case." On the contrary, for over a decade, this outfit—whose leadership is composed mostly of people who quit our organization in the

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Friedrich Engels, Pioneer of Modern Communism

TROTSKY

LENIN

August 5 marks the hundredth anniversary of the death of Friedrich Engels, who together with his close comrade Karl Marx laid the foundations of scientific socialism. Their 1848 pamphlet, The Communist Manifesto, *pointed to the working class as the force for eliminating capitalist exploitation and oppression and ushering in a classless society. They fought to organize an international party of the working class, first in the Communist League (1847) and then the First International (1864). Engels made a definitive contribution to the struggle for women's emancipation with his 1884 book on* The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State, *uncovering the roots of women's oppression in the family and class society. While many reformists pay lip service to Engels, they scorn the concepts of the dictatorship of the proletariat and materialist dialectics which he defended and developed. In honoring the memory of this founder of the communist movement, we publish an excerpt from an 1895 obituary by Russian revolutionary V.I. Lenin*

On August 5 (new style), 1895, Frederick Engels died in London. After his friend Karl Marx (who died in 1883), Engels was the finest scholar and teacher of the modern proletariat in the whole civilised world. From the time that fate brought Karl Marx and Frederick Engels together, the two friends devoted their life's work to a common cause. And so to understand what Frederick Engels has done for the proletariat, one must have a clear idea of the significance of Marx's teaching and work for the development of the contemporary working-class movement. Marx and Engels were the first to show that the working class and its demands are a necessary outcome of the present economic system, which together with the bourgeoisie inevitably creates and organises the proletariat. They showed that it is not the well-meaning efforts of noble-minded individuals, but the class struggle of the organised proletariat that will deliver humanity from the evils which now oppress it. In their scientific works, Marx and Engels were the first to explain that socialism is not the invention of dreamers, but the final aim and necessary result of the development of the productive forces in modern society. All recorded history hitherto has been a history of class struggle, of the succession of the rule and victory of certain social classes over others. And this will continue until the foundations of class struggle and of class domination—private property and anarchic social production—disappear. The interests of the proletariat demand the destruction of these foundations, and therefore the conscious class struggle of the organised workers must be directed against them. And every class struggle is a political struggle....

The services rendered by Marx and Engels to the working class may be expressed in a few words thus: they taught the working class to know itself and be conscious of itself, and they substituted science for dreams.

—V.I. Lenin, "Frederick Engels" (Autumn 1895)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The closing date for news in this issue is August 22

No. 627 **25 August 1995**

Brazil Protests Demand Freedom for Jamal

Luta Metalúrgica photos

Top: August 9 rally for Jamal in "steel city" Volta Redonda featured young musicians and *capoeira* martial arts performance. Above: Some 200 protested outside the U.S. embassy in Brasilia, August 2.

With the world's largest black population outside Nigeria and a powerful, combative labor movement, Brazil has seen a rapid growth of the campaign to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal. Brought to the country last November by our fraternal comrades of Luta Metalúrgica (Metalworkers Struggle), the Jamal campaign has been embraced by a wide range of trade unions, black organizations, human rights, political and cultural forces, as well as receiving extensive press and television coverage.

In Brasília, the nation's capital, the Professional Journalists Union, the United Black Movement, bank and postal workers unions and a host of other labor and black groups have energetically taken up the case, forming the Brasília Campaign to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal. Bullhorning in front of the central bus station, young black and union activists have gathered more than 2,300 signatures on petitions for Mumia.

On August 2, about 200 protesters participated in a spirited labor/black rally in front of the U.S. embassy in Brasília. The protest was announced by a union sound truck and bright red posters plastered across the city. A circular for the rally by the CUT (United Workers Federation) of the federal district showed a picture of Jamal framed by the words, "This Man Is Supposed to Die, But We Can Stop It."

Chaired by Journalists Union secretary Jacira Silva and punctuated by traditional Brazilian drum music, the event opened with a call by Américo Antunes, president of the National Federation of Journalists, on the unions to mobilize for freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal. Jamal's courageous work as the "voice of the voiceless" was stressed by Chico Pereira, president of the Interstate Radio Journalists Federation. Aguinaldo Moraes of the Judicial Workers Union (made up of secretaries, court reporters and employees other than police and prison guards) stated: "Around the world the courts serve the rich and powerful against the poor and oppressed.... The resources of our union are at the disposal of this campaign."

A number of national and district congressmen addressed the rally, including representatives of the PT (Workers Party), People's Socialist Party and Communist Party. In addition to speakers for Luta Metalúrgica (LM) and the International Communist League, left groups included the PSTU (United Socialist Workers Party) and Causa Operária (Workers Cause). The Brasília demonstration received extensive coverage in the national press. On the day of the rally, the daily *Correio Braziliense* cited Leon Trotsky and Mumia Abu-Jamal as figures known for their "defense of the cause of all the working people."

Across the country, in Volta Redonda (state of Rio de Janeiro) a labor/black rally for Jamal was held on August 10. Volta Redonda is "steel city," known throughout Brazil for the 1988 army massacre of striking workers who were occupying Latin America's largest steel plant. First called by Luta Metalúrgica in leaflets for its July election campaign in the steel workers union, the spirited rally of over 200 was co-sponsored by the Municipal Workers Union and drew support from 14 black, slum-dweller and left groups. A highlight of the event was a performance by the Agua Limpa Warriors street children's music group, bearing Mumia posters on their drums, and a group performing *capoeira*, a martial art invented by Brazilian slaves.

The rally was held at the Memorial to Zumbi (known as "the Black Spartacus"), heroic leader of a "republic" of escaped slaves at Palmares who was murdered by the slavocracy 300 years ago this November. Quoting from a letter by Jamal to a black activist in Brasília, several demonstrators held signs saying, "'Zumbi is one of my heroes'—Mumia Abu-Jamal." A huge LM banner with the slogans of the international campaign dominated the area, and the Brazilian Socialist Party hung up a large banner calling for Jamal's freedom. Speakers cited a proclamation by the mayor and city council scoring the racist political persecution against Jamal, demanding his freedom and declaring that "the death penalty must be banished from the face of the earth."

Labor/black support for Jamal in Brazil has escalated particularly since May, when LM took the campaign to the conference of Anti-Racist Trade Unionists of the CUT, where hundreds of

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Join the Campaign!

The international campaign of protest has temporarily stayed the executioner's hand, but Mumia Abu-Jamal is still under the shadow of death. The struggle for his freedom continues. As Mumia said himself in "The Stay," Judge Sabo's August 7 ruling was an attempt "to blunt the edge off of a growing and militant anti-death penalty movement... Let us utilize this precious time to build a stronger and broader movement, to not 'stay' one execution, but to halt them all!"

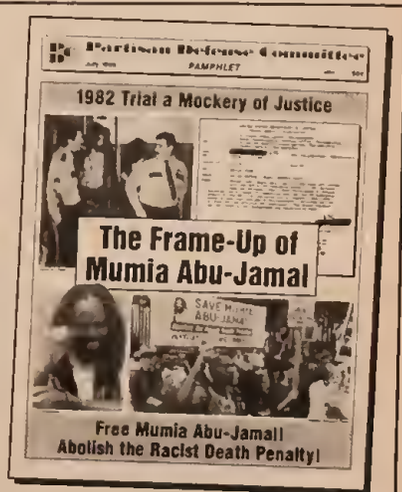
1 **Organize protest!** Pass motions demanding Jamal's freedom in your unions, campus, community and church organizations. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Jamal. Publicize Jamal's case in your union or organization's newsletter. Get on the Partisan Defense Committee phone tree to organize in your area.

2 **Spread the word!** The current issue of the PDC's *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* is devoted to the struggle to save Mumia Abu-Jamal. And the new PDC pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, exposes in detail the prosecution's case of lies, the coercion of witnesses and the FBI's COINTELPRO terror campaign against Mumia and the Black Panther Party. Order bundles of the special campaign issue of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* and *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, 25 copies of either publication for $10. For only $1, buy the PDC's new button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" Get your local bookstore to stock Jamal's powerful *Live from Death Row*. Contact the PDC for speakers, to arrange showings of the PDC's video, *From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal*. The video can be purchased for $30 from the PDC at the address below. Contributions of $5 or more to the PDC include a year's subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*.

3 **Send protests to:** Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120. Ridge changes his phone and fax number daily to try and stay ahead of the growing movement for Jamal! As we go to press, the numbers are: phone (717) 789-2500; fax (717) 783-3369.

4 **Funds are urgently needed!** To get a new trial and overturn the death sentence could cost over a million dollars. **Make a contribution today** to the Bill of Rights Foundation (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense") and mail it to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

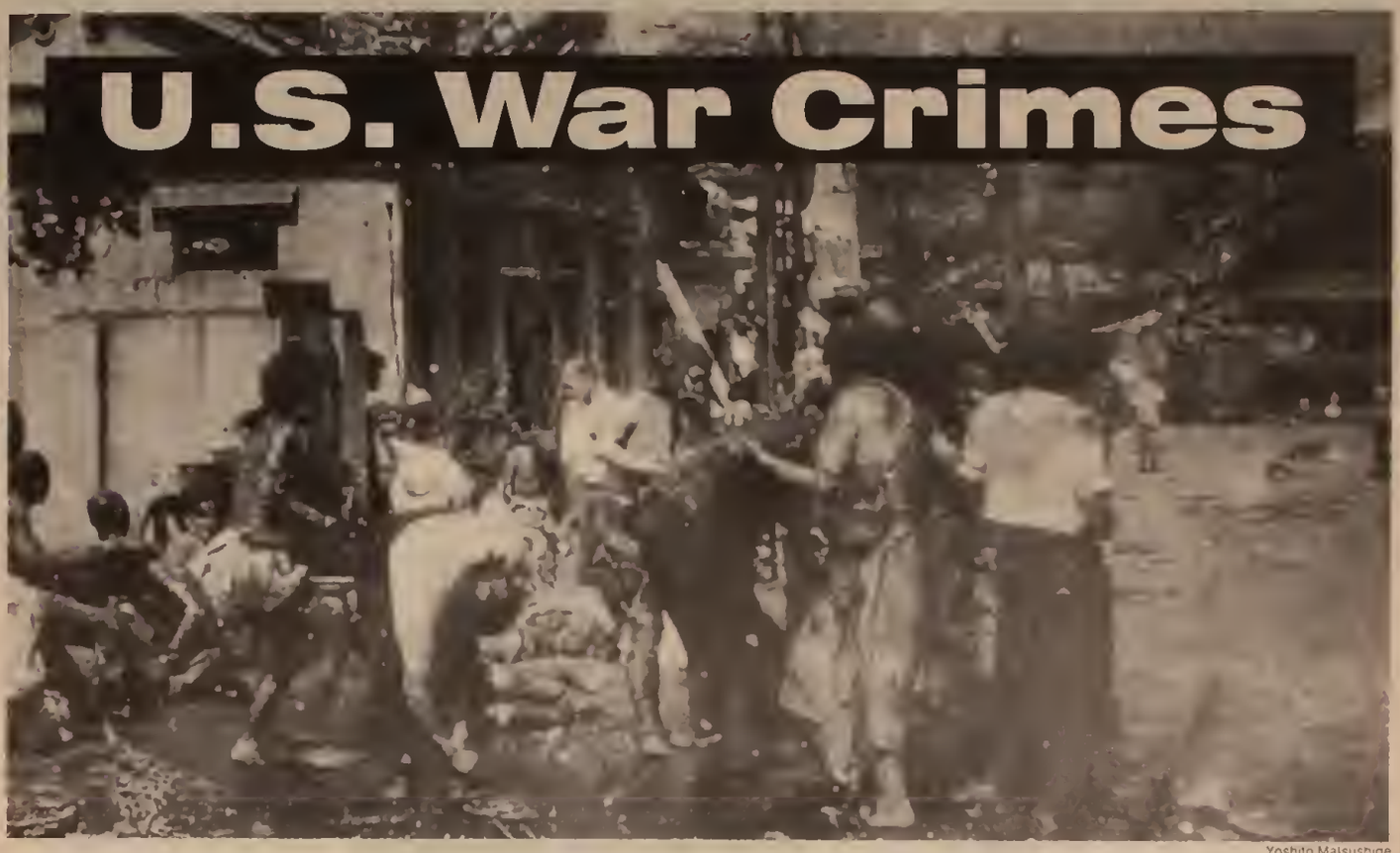
5 **Write to Jamal to express your solidarity:** Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090.



Spread the word: order bundles of the new PDC pamphlet!

For more information: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013 • (212) 406-4252

Hiroshima, Nagasaki: U.S. War Crimes



Yoshito Matsushige

Hiroshima, 6 August 1945: Three hours after the atomic blast, burned survivors wander the city in agony.

The 50th anniversary of the end of World War II and of the horrendous U.S. A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki this month comes amid an orgy of racist Japan-bashing. Early this year, a hysterical campaign by jingoists and militarists forced the Smithsonian Institution to cancel a planned exhibition on Hiroshima featuring the *Enola Gay*, the B-29 which dropped the A-bomb on that city, because the presentation included photographs showing the horrors suffered by Japanese civilians. The fact is that the racist rulers of imperialist America used already defeated Japan as a human testing ground to prove to the world—and above all to the Soviet Union—that they would stop at nothing in their bloody drive for global domination.

Today, following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, as interimperialist rivalries intensify and chauvinist protectionism paves the way toward a new interimperialist war, the lessons of World War II are as urgent as ever. We reprint below a section of a statement which was recently published by our comrades of the Spartacist Group Japan (Japanese *Spartacist* No. 17, August 1995). The SGJ's internationalist declaration was sold in Japanese and English at 50th anniversary commemorations in Hiroshima.

* * *

Fifty years ago, on August 6 in Hiroshima and three days later on August 9 in Nagasaki, U.S. imperialism committed one of history's greatest crimes—the nuclear bombing of two major Japanese cities. In a matter of seconds these two cities, one an industrial center and the other a port city, were reduced to irradiated rubble, and an estimated 200,000 people were incinerated in a ruthless display of military might intended to intimidate the Soviet Union and proclaim to all the hegemony of arrogant U.S. imperialism in the postwar order. The bombs that obliterated Hiroshima and Nagasaki, primitive by today's nuclear standards, are an ominous portent of what the next world war will bring.

Tens of millions died in the imperialist-created slaughterhouse called World War II that was fought, in the main, between competing ruling classes over the redistribution of markets. The world proletariat had no interest in which set of exploiters emerged victorious; the side of the international working class in World War II was with the defense of the USSR, created by the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, and the uprisings in the colonies that sought to throw off the chains of imperialist subjugation.

The expectation of a postwar "American Century" was short-lived: the Chinese Revolution and later America's long, dirty war against Vietnam exploded U.S. imperialist triumphalism. Soon, too, the defeated imperialist powers Japan and Germany had rebuilt powerful capitalist economies, while the U.S. remained the unchallenged "world policeman," borrowing and spending for armaments instead of industrial investment. Interimperialist rivalry was muted in the interests of Cold War unity against the USSR and all the deformed workers states. Today, the collapse of Stalinism, quickly ushering in capitalist counterrevolutions in the former Soviet Union and East Europe, has created the "new world disorder": the intensification of trade rivalries and interimperialist conflict is already laying the basis for another global conflagration.

Nuclear Nightmare

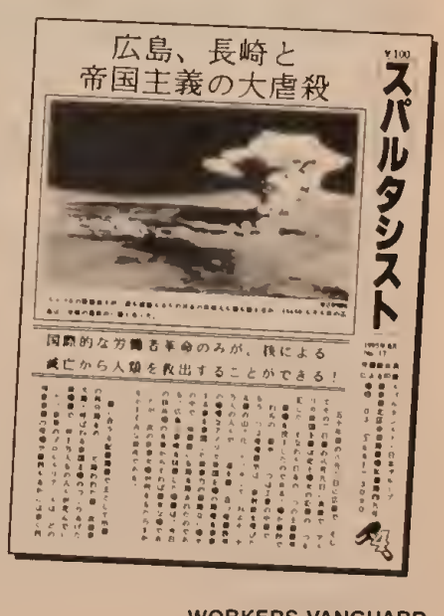
On the morning of 6 August 1945, in a matter of seconds, Hiroshima was transformed from a thriving urban center to a killing field of unimaginable proportions. A survivor described the horror: "With a violent flash that ripped the sky apart and a thunderous sound that shook the earth to its foundation, Hiroshima was pounded to the ground in an instant. Then, from where a whole city once was, a huge column of fire hounded straight up toward heaven.... The dead and wounded lay fallen, piled up, everywhere; the carnage was like a scene in hell. Then, fires broke out all over and soon merged into a huge conflagration.... As a fierce whirlwind blew, half-naked and stark naked bodies, darkly soiled and covered with blood, began moving.... One after another fell down and died" (*Hiroshima Genbaku Sensaishi* [Record of the Hiroshima A-Bomb War Disaster]).

Ground Zero in Nagasaki was the Urakami District, a valley that was home to Nagasaki's main residential communities, schools, churches and factories. Compared to Hiroshima, the blast damage was even more severe. Forty percent of all buildings were destroyed and 6.7 square kilometers of the city were completely demolished and reduced to rubble. According to one eyewitness, "fires erupted all at once over a huge area, and burned furiously until, all at once, the huge conflagration died down. For a while, the whole earth was roaring and belching fire" (Juji Takatani, *Bakushin no Oka ni te* [On a Hill Near Ground Zero]).

In a 22 August 1945 public speech, American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon delivered a stinging indictment of this conscious, murderous act:

> "What a commentary on the real nature of capitalism in its decadent phase is this, that the scientific conquest of the marvelous secret of atomic energy, which might rationally be used to lighten the burdens of all mankind, is employed first for the wholesale destruction of half a million people."

In both cities, a fireball with a temperature reaching millions of degrees at its center was formed one ten-thousandth of a second after the explosion. The fireball expanded and reached its maximum size one second following the explosion. Thirty minutes later, moisture condensed on rising ash and dust and came down as "black rain," laden with atomic fallout, to contaminate food and drinking water. Fifteen percent of the energy from



Japanese *Spartacist* No. 17, publication of the Spartacist Group Japan, distributed at 50th anniversary commemorations in Hiroshima, now available for $1 from Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116.

an atomic bomb is released in the form of radiation, and approximately 20 percent of the deaths in both cities were attributed to initial exposure to gamma rays and neutrons emitted within one minute of the explosion. Hall of the *hibakusha* (atomic bomb survivors) were marked for life with keloid scars, the result of thermal radiation burns. They suffered from massive bleeding, lowered white-cell and platelet counts, leukemia and multiple myeloma, cancers of the thyroid, breast, lungs and salivary glands. Delayed growth and congenital malformations such as microcephaly (an abnormally small head, often accompanied by mental retardation) appeared among thousands of children exposed to radiation in utero. The aftereffects of this nuclear nightmare continue to affect the survivors and their descendants from these two devastated cities.

World War II, Imperialist Savagery and Racism

While Hiroshima and Nagasaki stagger the imagination with imperialism's capacity to inflict death and destruction upon the world's people, this savage war crime expresses the logic of 20th century imperialist war. World War I inflicted massive casualty rates in the trenches that shocked the world, but World War II technologically extended this wholesale destruction of human life to the civilian population of most of the combatant nations. This imperialist savagery was especially directed against the USSR degenerated workers state, where 27 million lives were lost, and prerevolutionary colonial China, where Japanese imperialism slaughtered millions upon millions.

World War II in the Pacific, fought over which competing imperialist power would rape China, was also fueled by the U.S. bourgeoisie's deep-seated anti-Asian racism. Using the attack on Pearl Harbor as a rallying cry to whip the American population into a war fever, American war propaganda continually depicted their Japanese adversaries as "sneak attackers," and the most common epithet for the Japanese was "yellow monkeys," portraying them as animals with no inherent right to exist. Anti-Asian "yellow peril" racism in the U.S. has a long history, going back over a century to the anti-Chinese exclusion laws. Shortly after Pearl Harbor, nearly the entire West Coast Japanese population was rounded up and carted off to barren concentration camps, while their homes, shops and farms were confiscated. Ernie Pyle, a famous American WW II GI reporter, described this racist attitude when he transferred from Europe to the Pacific in 1945: "In Europe we felt that our enemies, horrible and deadly as they were, were still people.... But out here I soon gathered that the Japanese were looked upon as something subhuman and repulsive; the way some people feel about cockroaches or mice." This racist disdain was warmly reciprocated by the Japanese army officer corps.

American racism was perfectly mirrored in the war propaganda of the right-wing militarist regime in Japan. The press was a barrage of anti-scientific Japanese-chauvinist garbage, from the grossly anti-Semitic cartoons—borrowed from Hitler's Nazis, with whom Japan was allied—and other racist crap aimed against the Americans. Government propaganda trumpeted endless mystical-fascistic "eugenic" and "cultural" glorifications of Japan's "destiny" to dominate the other peoples of Asia. Even today this racist government refuses to acknowledge the thousands of Korean forced laborers who also died in these atomic blasts, and forbids memorials to these victims inside the official "Peace Parks."

Japan's debilitating 1943 naval defeat at Midway determined the eventual outcome of the war, but the American ruling class consciously planned not merely to defeat Japan but to inflict genocidal mass murder. By 1945, with Japan's military defeated and in disarray, the U.S. military continually flew murderous incendiary bombing raids on the Japanese civilian population centers; by August 1945, 58 Japanese cities had been leveled by intensive U.S. bombing. A concentrated March 1945 air raid on Tokyo in one day inflicted 100,000 deaths and burnt to the ground major portions of Japan's capital. By 1945, the bombing tonnage delivered by the mass-produced B-29s employed in the Pacific theater had surpassed the savage bombing carried out in Europe.

Deutsche Fotothek Dresden

Kyoda

Even without nuclear weapons, "democratic" imperialists carried out horrendous war crimes. U.S. and Britain incinerated Dresden; U.S. firebombing of Tokyo slaughtered over 100,000.

This imperialist savagery reached its apex with the nuclear destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, a ghastly bloodletting driven by racist spite, since the defeated Japanese bourgeoisie had been actively seeking a peace settlement weeks before the B-29s flew their nuclear sorties. Martin Sherwin makes the point that in doing research for *The World Destroyed—The Atomic Bomb and the Grand Alliance*, he never found a document where Germany was mentioned as a potential nuclear target. It was U.S. government policy to drop the bombs without prior warning to "make a profound psychological impression," to target an area with a "war plant employing a large number of workers and closely surrounded by workers' houses," an area undamaged by conventional bombing so the bomb's effects could be accurately measured. Both Hiroshima and Nagasaki met this criteria.

U.S. president Harry Truman, upon receiving the news that Hiroshima had been leveled, exulted that "This is the greatest thing in history!" and gloated: "With this bomb we have now added a new and revolutionary increase in destruction to supplement the growing power of our armed forces.... We are now prepared to obliterate more rapidly and completely." U.S. imperialism used these nuclear weapons for both racist and political reasons. *Workers Vanguard* wrote 15 years ago: "With racist calculation the already defeated Japanese were chosen as the human testing ground to prove to American imperialism's opponents—especially the USSR—that the USA will stop at *nothing* to maintain world dominion."

The Japanese bourgeoisie's racism and chauvinism was brutally evident everywhere. Castigating their imperialist opponents as cowards, mongrels, beasts and hairy barbarians, Japanese officers routinely ordered the execution of American and British prisoners, rationalizing that only cowards who deserved to die would surrender. But the chauvinist and genocidal frenzy of Japanese imperialism was mainly unleashed on the masses throughout Asia whom its "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" was designed to conquer. While claiming they were fighting a war of liberation to free Asia from Western and white colonial domination, the new Japanese masters of East Asia imposed their own style of imperialist exploitation that proved just as vicious and oppressive as the former British, Dutch and American overlords.

Japanese imperialism's racist atrocities were especially directed against the Chinese, both in mainland China and among the overseas Chinese populations throughout East Asia. Newly commissioned Japanese officers were often tested for combat readiness and *samurai* spirit by being ordered to behead bound and emaciated Chinese prisoners. Infantrymen learned bayonet techniques on live Chinese POWs. The viciousness of Japanese occupation policies in Asia was vividly demonstrated by the Guangdong (Kwantung) Army's massacre, rape and torture of unarmed civilians after the fall of Nanjing (Nanking) in December 1937.

The seizure of Asian women to serve as "comfort women," the *ianfu*, was widespread and systematic. These women were forced into sexual slavery to service the Japanese army in the field, from Manchuria to Indonesia (see "Japanese Imperial Army Enslaved Women," *Women and Revolution* No. 41, Summer-Autumn 1992).

A large percentage of forced laborers and *ianfu* were taken from Korea, then a Japanese colony since 1910. Dozens of slave labor camps were built throughout China in a program reminiscent of Nazi Germany. Forced laborers worked in coal mines for 16 hours a day, subsisting on a starvation diet, penned in with electrified barbed wire fences, and fed opium to make them "less conscious of exhaustion, hunger and pain, allowing them to work much like robots" (*Korea Times*, 15 July 1993).

This is the real legacy of the Second World War: imperialist carnage. Nanjing, Hiroshima and Nagasaki were chilling examples of the slaughter and devastation that will be repeated in a coming war if the imperialist bourgeoisie is not overthrown by proletarian socialist revolution.

Revolutionary Opposition to Imperialist War

During World War II, the American and Japanese social democrats supported their own bourgeoisies while the Stalinist parties, following their line of "anti-fascist" class collaboration, took the side of the "democratic" Allies. It was only Trotsky's Fourth International, founded in 1938, that stood on Lenin's 1914 position of revolutionary defeatism on all sides of the imperialist conflict, and fought for unconditional military defense of the USSR against German imperialism, as well as for victory of all anti-colonial struggles. The FI fought for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy which undermined the defense of the USSR and imperiled the remaining gains of the October Revolution, and for world socialist revolution to break the imperialist encirclement of the USSR.

The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) of today stands on the shoulders of the Fourth International and the then-revolutionary American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), who opposed U.S. imperialism during World War II and immediately denounced the criminal nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945. We also honor the heroic Soviet spies, the "Red Orchestra" network of Leopold Trepper, which operated in Nazi-occupied Europe, and Richard Sorge and Ozaki Hotsumi, who were executed by Japanese imperialism on 7 November 1944 for their courageous defense of the USSR (see "All Honor to Richard Sorge and Ozaki Hotsumi!" translated in *Australasian Spartacist* Nos. 155 [Summer 1994-95] and 156 [Winter 1995]).

In May 1940, an emergency conference of the Fourth International was held and its main document, written by Leon Trotsky, on "Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution," concluded:

> "At the same time we do not forget for a moment that this war is not our war. In contradistinction to the Second and Third Internationals, the Fourth International builds its policy not on the military fortunes of the capitalist states but on the transformation of the imperialist war into a war of the workers against the capitalists, on the overthrow of the ruling classes of all countries, on the world socialist revolution....
>
> "Independently of the course of the war, we fulfill our basic task: we explain to the workers the irreconcilability between their interests and the interests of bloodthirsty capitalism; we mobilize the toilers against imperialism; we propagate the unity of the workers in all warring and neutral countries; we call for the fraternization of workers and soldiers within each country, and of soldiers with soldiers on the opposite side of the battle front; we mobilize the women and youth against the war; we carry on constant, persistent, tireless preparation for the revolution—in the factories, in the mills, in the villages, in the barracks, at the front, and in the fleet.
>
> "This is our program. Proletarians of the world, there is no other way out except to unite under the banner of the Fourth International!" ■

David North "Abolishes" the Right to Self-Determination

Part One of this article, polemicizing against a pamphlet by David North's International Committee of the Fourth International (ICFI), titled "The Road to Tuzla," appeared in WV *No. 626 (28 July)*

From Sri Lanka...

In his speech, "Permanent Revolution and the National Question Today," North says he drew inspiration for the ICFI's opposition to self-determination from Keerthi Balasuriya, a former leader of their largest section, the Revolutionary Communist League (RCL) of Sri Lanka.

Following Sri Lanka's independence in 1948 from the racist colonial rule of the British and the subsequent passage of a Sinhala-only language law in 1956, the national chauvinism of the Sinhalese ruling class has led to an increasing, and increasingly bloody, communal

PART TWO OF TWO

polarization of the Sinhala and Tamil peoples of the island. This reached a watershed with the 1983 government-inspired pogroms against the Tamils. Hundreds upon hundreds of Tamils were murdered in bloodcurdling wholesale massacres, Tamil homes and businesses in Colombo were burnt to the ground (often with the occupants inside), economic and geographic interpenetration of the two peoples was severed in blood as the Tamils were increasingly compacted in the North and East of the island.

Sinhala communalism, designed and instigated by the Lankan ruling class, has always been wielded to assert its own class domination over both the Tamil and Sinhalese working people and oppressed, to head off any popular revolt by preventing *class unity*. From our inception as a tendency in the 1960s, we have championed the rights of the oppressed Tamil people. At the same time, we oppose Tamil nationalism, which, for example, dismissed the struggles of the strategically placed Tamil plantation workers in the central highlands of the island. In fact, the Tamil nationalist politicians *wrote off* these stateless "Indian Tamils" who had lived and worked on the island for more than a century. In fighting against the popular-frontist betrayals of the once-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP), we pointed out that their class collaboration was rooted in an accommodation to anti-Tamil Sinhalese chauvinism.

We had always called "For the Right of Self-Determination of the Tamil People!" From the time of the 1983 anti-Tamil pogroms, we raised the demand for *the right of Tamil Eelam*. As we wrote in "Massacre in Sri Lanka" (*WV* No. 336, 12 August 1983):

> "The impact of the bloodletting and mass population transfers can only be described as a catastrophe....
> "What is posed now as a minimal democratic demand is a plebiscite of the Tamil working people to decide on the formation of an independent state in the North ...
> "What is desperately necessary is the building of an internationalist Trotskyist party in Sri Lanka, necessarily substantially based among the exploited Tamil masses. The struggle against the hideous national oppression of the Tamils and communalism is central to forging such a party."

AP

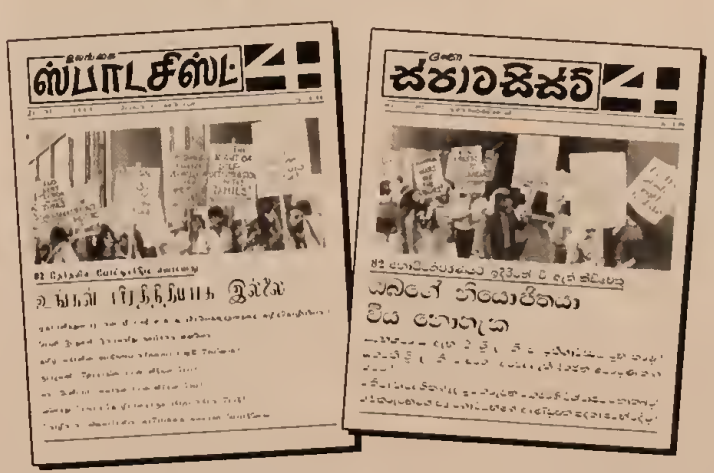
Tamil guerrilla fighters slaughtered by Lankan army in northern area around Jaffna in July. Denouncing struggles for self-determination, David North's Workers League refuses to call for army out of Tamil areas.

In the early 1970s, Healy's ICFI stridently opposed the national rights of the oppressed Tamil people, arguing that a separate Tamil state would only serve imperialism. By the late '70s, however, they were uncritically cheering the petty-bourgeois nationalist "Tamil Tigers" (LTTE). In the late 1980s, the RCL did manage to approximate a decent and correct line—defending the right of self-determination for the Tamil minority, opposing the intervention of India, demanding the withdrawal of the Sinhalese government troops from the Northern and Eastern Provinces and calling "For a United Socialist States of Tamil Eelam and Sri Lanka."

Now, RCL leader Wije Dias repudiates the Tamil struggle for self-determination. For all North's denunciations of Healy, he and his supporters have come full circle to the original chauvinist position (as articulated by Michael Banda) of Healy's ICFI. In Dias' words:

> "If the LTTE established a separate Eelam state, it would, like any other comprador regime, offer the masses of Tamils as cheap labour to the transnational corporations. This is inevitable, as there exists no possibility of implementing any programme of national development under the present capitalist global system of production . . . These nationalist aspirations lead not to national liberation, but to national subjugation to imperialism."
>
> —*International Worker* [Britain], 22 January 1994

This is truly Orwellian—to "prevent" national subjugation to imperialism one must preserve national subjugation to the dominant state power and to...imperialism. Even the demand for withdrawal of the Lankan army from the Tamil areas is missing from articles in the ICFI's *International Workers Bulletin*—rather contradicting all the bombast about the RCL's opposition to what is euphemistically termed the government's "racist" war. The Northites even mimic the chauvinism of the Sinhalese rulers by referring to the Tamil areas with quotation marks around the term traditional homelands.



Spartacist publications in Tamil and Sinhala in 1982 called "For the Right of Self-Determination of Tamil People!"

This chauvinist denial of the right of self-determination for the Tamil people is alibied in the name of "proletarian internationalism." But the Northites' opposition to Tamil national rights is not simply confined to the "here and now." The RCL's previous call for "A United Socialist States of Tamil Eelam and Sri Lanka" has been changed to the call for a single "Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka and Eelam." J.V. Stalin had a similar idea when in 1922, as Commissar of Nationalities, he highhandedly sought to subordinate the national independence of the Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaijani soviet republics by turning their nascent Transcaucasian federation into a single federated republic. When Lenin then objected to Stalin's subsequent plans to bring the Transcaucasian republics into the *Russian* republic, Stalin stubbornly persisted by incorporating the Transcaucasian federation again as a single republic into the new Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The last fight of Lenin's life was against the Great Russian chauvinism which was the initial signature of the emerging Stalinist bureaucracy.

Of a piece with their new appreciation of the Tamil national question in Sri Lanka, in "The Road to Tuzla" the Northites write, with apparent alarm, that "India is faced with the threat of dismemberment." Citing the fact that "The Marxist movement opposed the partition of India and Pakistan along ethnic and religious lines in 1947"—a partition that was engineered by British imperialism as the culminating act of over 300 years of colonial "divide and rule"—they oppose legitimate national struggles such as those in Kashmir and of the Sikhs in the Punjab. This is nothing other than an apology for the maintenance of bourgeois "secular" India, a living hell for oppressed castes, women and myriad different peoples and nationalities.

...to Quebec

In Canada, leading up to the electoral victory of the bourgeois-nationalist Parti Québécois (PQ) in the Quebec elections last fall, the Northites were screaming like a bunch of Alberta prairie yahoos: "A PQ victory would throw the continued existence of the 127-year-old Canadian nation-state into question and raise the specter of a Yugoslav-style civil war in North America" (*International Workers Bulletin*, 29 August 1994)! The idea that Quebec is about to become the next Bosnia is truly dérangé. Unlike the Balkans, where the bloody nationalist conflicts are inspired by the competition of *interpenetrated* peoples for the same territory, Quebec is a separate French-speaking nation with a common people, common language, common culture and common history. Although Native Indians would certainly continue to get it in the neck should Quebec secede (not that they aren't presently abused and denigrated by the English-Canadian imperialist rulers), independence would hardly require "ethnic cleansing" to drive out another people or nationality.

Quebec was forcibly incorporated into British North America following the 1759 defeat of the French garrison on the Plains of Abraham. In 1867, the national subjugation of the Québécois was the cornerstone of Canadian confederation. Almost 100 years later,

the belated emergence of Quebec from clerical-dominated backwardness produced an upwardly mobile French-speaking petty bourgeoisie, and at the same time there emerged one of the most militant and class-conscious proletariats in all of North America. Opposition to Anglo chauvinism and the suppression of the national and language rights of the Québécois fueled an upsurge in labor militancy in the late 1960s and early '70s.

The Quebec labor bureaucrats channeled the militancy and combativity of the Québécois working class into support for the bourgeois-nationalist Parti Québécois. In this they were assisted by the Anglo chauvinism of the labor misleaders in the rest of Canada, who militantly opposed the legitimate national and language rights of the Québécois. The fact that Quebec is a separate nation, with corresponding national rights—i.e. the right to independence—is similarly not even given a nod in the *Bulletin*'s articles on the question. Nor do they mention, much less oppose, the raving Anglo chauvinism against Quebec in English Canada.

Today, such chauvinism is particularly represented by the prairie-based Reform Party, which is now one of the two major opposition parties in the Canadian parliament. The other major opposition party is the Bloc Québécois—the federal analogue to the PQ which now rules Quebec. This alone should give some idea of the dominance of the Quebec national question in Canada and the extent to which it poisons relations between the workers of Quebec and English Canada.

Our Canadian comrades of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste have consistently championed Quebec's unconditional right to independence, not out of support to the emergent Québécois bourgeoisie's aspirations to become *maitres chez nous* (masters in our own house), but out of a proletarian internationalist commitment to remove the national barriers to the class unity of the English- and French-speaking workers of North America. The Northites, however, although claiming to fight "to unite workers in Canada with their class brothers in the US and Mexico," *refuse* to defend Quebec's right to independence. This is antithetical to an internationalist struggle for revolutionary working-class unity.

On the contrary, it is simply a backhanded endorsement of the "unity" of the Canadian bourgeois state. In the words of Lenin:

> "The proletariat cannot remain silent on the question of the *frontiers* of a state founded on national oppression, a question so 'unpleasant' for the imperialist bourgeoisie. The proletariat must struggle against the enforced retention of oppressed nations within the bounds of the given state, which means that they must fight for the right to self-determination. The proletariat must demand freedom of political separation for the colonies and nations oppressed by 'their own' nation. Otherwise, the internationalism of the proletariat would be nothing but empty words; neither confidence nor class solidarity would be possible between the workers of the oppressed and the oppressor nations; the hypocrisy of the reformists and Kautskyites, who defend self-determination but remain silent about the nations oppressed by 'their own' nation and kept in 'their own' state by force, would remain unexposed."
>
> —"The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (January-February 1916)

Counterfeit "Orthodoxy"

While the Northites' open rejection of the right of nations to self-determination may be a new innovation, getting there was not a very big step. They have long sneered at racial and other forms of oppression born of capitalist exploitation as somehow irrelevant to the "class struggle"—by which they meant the pursuit of a crude workerist adaptation to the racist Cold War labor bureaucrats. At the

Labor Challenge

Steve Liss

Canadian troops were sent to occupy Montreal city hall during 1969 labor and youth unrest (left). Mass demonstration for Quebec independence in 1990 (right).

height of the Vietnam antiwar protests and struggles for black freedom, the *Bulletin* put forward a program for a labor party which took up neither opposition to the war nor the fight for black liberation!

In a long series of articles in the U.S. Workers League's *Bulletin* titled "The Politics of the Spartacist League," written in the mid-1980s, the WL denounced us for "An Obsession With Race." Why? By the Northites' lights, *Workers Vanguard* featured too many articles on the question of black oppression, racist terror and opposition to fascism, and not enough on "workers." Never mind that blacks are heavily represented in the ranks of organized labor and that the fight against racist and fascist terror is integral to the defense of the labor movement as a whole. But obviously not for the *Bulletin*. In 1983, it ran an article smearing the SL-initiated November 1982 labor/black mobilization in Washington, D.C.—in which over 5,000 black workers and youth came out and *stopped* the Klan—as "an adventure which played right into the hands of the police"!

Even Gerry Healy wrote of "D. North's whiter than white socialism." In American society, where the forcible segregation of blacks at the bottom is a keystone of U.S. capitalism, labor must champion the cause of black liberation if it is to break the chains of capitalist exploitation and degradation. This, the Northites claimed, is to "counterpose... struggle against racism" to "the struggle of the working class."

The same *Bulletin* series reviled us for the simple (and eminently truthful) statement that the hard-fought 1986 strike by Hormel meatpackers had been knifed by the "labor traitors that currently make up the top leadership of the American labor movement." The Workers League sneered that this was only further evidence of our "virulent hatred of the working class and deep pessimism." The Northites' equation of the trade-union misleaders with the unions themselves has been one of their few political constants. Now they have simply reversed the equation. From squealing that to attack the labor bureaucrats was some kind of "proof" of "hatred of the working class," they have gone on to pronouncing that the unions as a whole can no longer be considered workers organizations! A few years back, in one of his ponderous speeches, titled "The End of the USSR," David North declared that "to define the AFL-CIO as a working class organization is to blind the working class" (*Bulletin*, 10 January 1992).

The unions have been grievously undermined by the pro-capitalist labor tops to the point where organized labor in this country is increasingly a hollow shell. Nonetheless, even though now only representing a small percentage of the working class, the unions are still the economic organizations *of* the working class. To transform them into fighting organizations *for* the working class and all of the oppressed requires a political struggle to break the trade-union bureaucracy's stranglehold and replace these sellouts with a class-struggle leadership.

But it is precisely such a political struggle that is excluded in either incarnation of the Northite line on the unions. From appealing to the AFL-CIO tops to do everything from launch general strikes to form a labor party, the Northites now equate all of organized labor with the bosses and their government. Such a view of the unions is one that is obviously not shared by the capitalists or their state, which have poured some billions of dollars into mercenary strikebreaking outfits. Far from promoting working-class struggle, the Northites' appeals for the workers to junk their unions neatly dovetail with the interests of the union-busting bosses.

There are, of course, so-called "unions" which have fit North's description as "direct instruments of imperialism." Solidarność in Poland is one, *and one which the Northites eagerly and vigorously supported*. Another is the "Union of Democratic Miners" in Britain. Consisting of a bunch of scabs on the heroic British coal strike of 1984-85, this "union" was set up at the behest of the Thatcher government to destroy the National Union of Miners (NUM).

Healy/North's ICFI had its own hand to play against the British miners union. On the eve of the strike, Healy's press made a big splash by scandalizing NUM leader Arthur Scargill for his correct opposition to Solidarność as "anti-socialist." This scurrilous anti-Communist campaign was instantly picked up by the Fleet Street tabloids as well as the Labour Party/Trades Union Congress right wing with the aim of isolating the miners union and trying to crush it. The campaign to smear and discredit Scargill was taken up by the British secret police of MI5 as part of a full-scale mobilization of all the forces of the capitalist state *aimed* at destroying the miners union. Yet even now the Northites' only criticism of Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) when it comes to the British miners is that it supposedly "ruled out any criticism of Scargill" (*International Workers Bulletin*, 25 April 1994)!

Classless Demagogues

In the concluding portions of "The Road to Tuzla," North's ICFI statement declares that Cliff Slaughter's WRP "has been transformed as the result of a protracted national opportunist degeneration into a bourgeois tendency." That just about finishes it. North's organization has written off the unions, the social-democratic and ex-Stalinist parties, all of what they perceive as their major "Trotskyist" contenders—from Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat to Slaughter's WRP—as thoroughly bourgeois organizations. As Hegel and Marx would say, the Northites have obliterated all contradictions—to the end of portraying themselves as the last, the only, proletarian leaders on the face of the planet.

The Northites' description of Slaughter's organization sounds all too much like their own, particularly the statement that the positions of the WRP serve to "ideologically" condition its membership "to reject any connection between the party's politics, on the one hand, and the class interests of the proletariat and the principled positions of Marxism, on the other." More than ten years ago, in responding to the *Bulletin*'s smear of our anti-Klan mobilization in Washington, D.C., we wrote that the leaders of Healy's ICFI were "classless demagogues, all-purpose mock extremists whose radicalism has nothing in common with socialist struggle" ("Smash Fascist Smear of SL," WV No. 379, 17 May 1985).

Every few years, the membership of North's ICFI have their heads put through another "dialectical" wringer. From prostration before bourgeois-nationalist regimes, it is now pronounced that any and all struggles for self-determination must be vigorously opposed. After years of pandering to the AFL-CIO tops, the membership is now told that the unions are the "direct instruments of imperialism" and must be destroyed.

North's grand speeches proclaiming "decisive turning points" for the proletariat not only serve to justify and reinforce his organization's distance from the class struggle, they are a direct echo of the interests of the imperialists. The ICFI's "theories" are nothing but cowardly rationalizations for sneering at struggle against chauvinist oppression, and for writing off the economic defense organizations of the working class, in order to boost their own petty advantage. The Northites' policies are those of poseurs seeking a niche as spoilers. Otherwise, they are utterly devoid of, and antithetical to, a program which can lead the international working class and oppressed to a socialist victory over their exploiters. ■

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Young Spartacus

South African Unions Take Up Jamal's Fight as Their Own

The campaign to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal has reverberated throughout South Africa, where black and "coloured" (mixed-race) working-class militants see in the political persecution of this outspoken opponent of racist injustice in the U.S. a mirror of their own repression by the apartheid state. In the late spring, comrades of the Spartacist League/U.S. and Partisan Defense Committee made a trip

Eyewitness Report

to South Africa to raise support for Jamal's case and to engage leftist and working-class organizations in political discussion on the strategy to combat the continued racist oppression and capitalist exploitation of Mandela/De Klerk's neo-apartheid regime.

We reprint below a speech by comrade Don Alexander, which he gave upon his return at a Spartacist forum on July 8 in Berkeley, California. In the weeks that have followed, support from South African trade unions and civic organizations has multiplied (see "South African Workers Fight to Save Jamal," WV No. 626, 28 July). Most recently, South African president Nelson Mandela sent a letter to Pennsylvania governor Ridge asking him to commute the death sentence imposed upon Mumia Abu-Jamal.

AP

July 26 march to the U.S. embassy in Pretoria protested threatened execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

The power of labor is being brought to bear on behalf of Mumia Abu-Jamal in South Africa. A comrade with whom I worked in South Africa spoke to a rally of 15,000 black workers in Johannesburg on June 19 where they chanted slogans to stop the execution of Mumia and to abolish the racist death penalty. This is an important development. If, for example, there were a one-day political strike to save Mumia by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, COSATU, which represents 1.5 million workers, and if it were joined by the other black labor federation, NACTU, the National Council of Trade Unions, that would reverberate around the world.

The tremendous receptivity to the international fight to save Mumia was powerfully expressed in South Africa, where I was for two weeks in late May and part of June. The black trade unions, principally COSATU and also NACTU, are rallying to this fight. I and other comrades talked to a number of militant blacks, coloureds, Indians, anti-racist whites and left organizations and death penalty abolitionists who know that the barbaric racist death penalty is the expression of racial subjugation and legally sanctioned state murder. While I was there, the Constitutional Court abolished the death penalty. However, the neo-apartheid capitalist government of Mandela and De Klerk continues to try to weaken and break the powerful black labor movement.

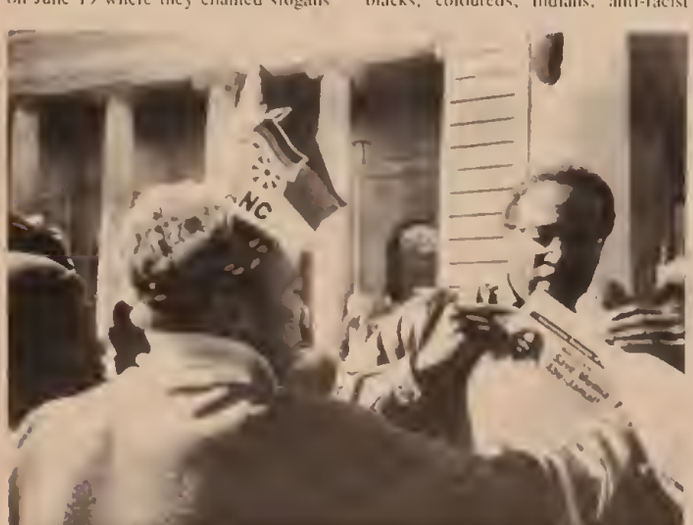
It was the struggles of the militant black working class that broke down the rigid apartheid of the white-supremacist racist police state, only to see installed black front men for the Randlords who preside over continued racial oppression and capitalist exploitation. In Johannesburg and Cape Town, we brought to class-conscious workers and militant youth our program for international class-struggle defense to free Mumia and for world socialist revolution. In numerous discussions, we posed the necessity for workers revolution to sweep away racist capitalist domination.

A week before I arrived, over 100 black miners, a number of whom were migrants from various places in southern Africa, were killed in a mining disaster. An underground train jumped its tracks, fell into a shaft, snapped the cables controlling an elevator and plunged 1,650 feet to the bottom. There were no safety mechanisms in place to stop it, to break the fall of the train or the elevator. The gold magnates, the owners of the Anglo American mine called the Vaal Reefs Mine, didn't want to spend the money because black life is cheap, though it's been the sweat and blood of black workers that is the source of the enormous riches of the racist bosses. This was industrial murder, and it underscores the reality of the brutal superexploitation of black labor which is the bedrock of apartheid.

This was the context in which I visited the "new" South Africa. Traveling around Johannesburg, through the townships and in Cape Town, I saw the horrible poverty of the black and coloured masses, millions of whom are squatters within earshot of major cities. The tin roof hovels, the lack of elementary sanitation facilities—these were the visible signs of the "new" South Africa, embodied in the so-called power-sharing neo-apartheid capitalist regime. The Government of National Unity promised massive housing construction, but what is the reality? Supposedly under the Reconstruction and Development Program, the RDP, a million houses in five years were going to be built. Eight hundred have been built out of an initial target of 50,000 in the first year. It is estimated that nine million blacks are jobless, and youth unemployment is in the 70 to 80 percent range in most of the townships. Women workers, mainly black and coloured, are the first to be laid off—which has taken place in certain industries like textile, food and beverage. Also, there are dwindling gold reserves in South Africa; a lot of miners are being let go. And trade-union membership is plummeting.

Hardly a day passed in which I didn't either hear or read about the deportation of immigrants, especially Mozambicans and Zimbabweans, who are being scapegoated for the bankruptcy of the capitalist system. There's a lot of talk about a crime wave that has hit big cities, especially Jo'burg; there's taxi-war shootouts, vicious competition along the lines. But of course this desperate poverty is a product of the capitalist system that cannot provide jobs and housing and education. And the main response on the part of the government is gun control—just like it is here—to take the guns out of the hands of the black workers and youth in order for the capitalist state to maintain a monopoly on the means of violence. Also one of the things that the Mandela/De Klerk government warned was that the main danger at the moment was ...the left. The government admitted the considerable number of street crimes that are being committed by the *pabee*, who seek to supplement their income.

South Africa cries out today for a revolutionary leadership, for a revolutionary workers party that will lead a fight for state power, for a black-centered workers government based upon the simple proposition that those who labor must rule. An important step in that direction is the growing support in South Africa for Mumia. A lot has happened since I left a month ago. There was a meeting in a black township 60 miles from Johannesburg. Militant black youth and other residents from the squatters' settlement called Serafina also came to this meeting. We visited these places, and when we asked people what they thought of the government Reconstruc-



WV Photo

Comrade Don Alexander publicizing meeting for Jamal at June 6 trade-union demonstration in Johannesburg.

tion and Development Program, the so-called pro-poor, pro-working-class program, one resident snapped, "Oh yeah, the RDP. You mean Rich People Developing Poor People. Oh, that program."

The meeting in this township near Johannesburg attracted leaders of the working class from different political parties—AZAPO, the Azanian Peoples' Organisation; the Pan Africanist Congress; African National Congress. They crowded into a room wall to wall, shoulder to shoulder, to watch the video on Mumia. And they were very vocal about the opposition to the frame-up of Mumia. They took leaflets to raise this among broader layers of the working class and the oppressed.

On June 6, I went to a massive march to the Chamber of Mines, over 100,000 black workers in Johannesburg that shut down a major part of the city. In a march in South Africa, you really march. You run. They call it the *toyi-toyi*. You use every part of your body. It makes aerobics tame by comparison. It was a very militant and defiant demonstration of black workers, men and women who want to fight for their interests. And there were a lot of pro-socialist slogans at this demonstration because they haven't bought the bourgeois lie that communism is dead.

Unfortunately, the pro-capitalist leadership of the march—at which Mandela spoke—simply want to modify the reactionary Labor Relations Act, which is aimed at crippling the labor movement by subordinating the unions to the capitalist state. The purpose of the march was to pressure the state to come up with a less repressive labor law governing the relations between labor and capital, whose interests are irreconcilably opposed.

We explained to people on the march the direct connection between the recent industrial murder at the Vaal Reefs Mine and the state's attempt to silence Mumia. The capitalist class that in South Africa wants to maintain the brutal system of superexploitation of black labor is the same capitalist class that in the U.S. wants to kill Mumia and crush all of those who stand up for the "voice of the voiceless." We were mobbed when we started passing out Mumia leaflets. Word passed along that the leaflets were being distributed to stop the execution of a political prisoner in the U.S. who was black, and there was great interest and excitement.

We were also there to meet people and tell them about our public forum the next night. The public meeting in Johannesburg for Jamal at the Workers Library was a success. People came from unions, youth from left organizations like the South African Communist Party, the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action, shop stewards in the NUMSA union, the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, which is one of the more militant COSATU affiliates. They came to watch the video and to join the fight to free Mumia. Blacks, coloureds, Indians and whites gathered to express their solidarity with Mumia. The video and our comments afterward emphasizing the urgency of this struggle had a big impact.

Now, once again I want to emphasize that the South African working class, the proletariat, are very class-conscious. But it's hard to overemphasize the jolt to their consciousness when they learned about the realities of life in racist capitalist America. People didn't know about the brutal nature of racism and exploitation taking place in this country. They thought that America was some kind of haven of democracy. For many, it was shocking and an eye-opener to see, in the video, the racist murder of MOVE in 1985, to see cops kicking in heads of black youth, to find out about the cops that killed Black Panthers in their beds for defying the racist capitalist oppressors, to learn that Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) has been in prison for 25 years for a crime he didn't commit, and also to learn that in Clinton/Gingrich's America, there's a massive bipartisan assault on rights of the working class and of the oppressed.

There was genuine surprise when they learned how closely especially black Americans pay attention to their struggles because they saw and see in the savage white-supremacist capitalist regime of South Africa a mirror of their own oppression. It was a revelation for many to learn that black workers in the U.S. form a strategic component of the multiracial working class who have been inspired by their struggles for liberation in South Africa and who under revolutionary leadership have the power to lead a fight to bury the racist capitalist system in the U.S.

So there was a deeply felt solidarity with Mumia and the struggles against racism in the U.S., and we worked hard to gather their support. The South African Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union, SACCAWU, a militant union which waged a hard-fought struggle last year against the Pick 'n Pay grocery store chain, sent a letter to Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge:

> "In South Africa we have long struggled against racism and oppression and the use of jails and death sentences to silence political protest. In this regard we drew strength from millions of activists and other citizens of countries throughout the world who protested against the Apartheid state's attacks on the lives of black people and democrats of all communities. We know from bitter experience how a state criminalises the activities of political activists in order to silence them. The case of our first democratically-elected President is but one such example."

In a May 25 statement, the Food Farming Beverage and Allied Workers Union of South Africa remarked that, "Comrade Mumia is a victim of imperialist and capitalist racism. He is not only on the wrong side of the colour-line, but he has also dared to challenge the *status quo*." Now, this is a clear recognition of not only the racist nature of the death penalty, but its use as a class weapon to destroy opposition to the reactionary attacks of the capitalist ruling class.

The National Union of Metalworkers, one of the most powerful unions in South Africa, representing 187,000 workers, also added their voice in support of Mumia. We also gathered support from the African National Congress. We met with Mandela's secretary in Jo'burg. They know all about the case, particularly now. In Cape Town, where the legislature and the parliament is, we met with Cyril Ramaphosa, who is a former leader of the National Union of Mineworkers and is now secretary general of the African National Congress. Ramaphosa sent a letter in support of Mumia. Also, you can read in the current *Workers Vanguard* the powerful letter from Paul Trewhela, co-editor of *Searchlight South Africa*, to Mandela asking him "to urge that the execution be set aside."

We also met with Moses Mayekiso, a former Metalworkers leader, now a leader of the South African Communist Party and a member of parliament. Mayekiso was very responsive. Ten years ago, he was one of the Alexandra Township Five who were framed and faced execution by the apartheid state. We were also able to mobilize black workers who support Mumia in the Metalworkers union and the Turning Wheel Workers' Union, a newly formed union that last year staged a militant truck blockade that tied up the roads. The Mandela/De Klerk government had jailed some of the leaders of that union and warned the workers what would happen to them if they defied the government.

Shopsteward

Tens of thousands of black workers demonstrated in Johannesburg, chafing under fetters of the Mandela/De Klerk neo-apartheid "power sharing" regime.

The impressive labor support is a promising beginning in the struggle to root this solidarity firmly in the powerful labor movement and in the townships. The recognition that there are common interests of the oppressed and exploited worldwide is crucial. From South Africa to the U.S., the campaign against the racist death penalty is part of the fight to smash the whole chain of oppression of the capitalist state in the struggle for international working-class revolution.

The absence of revolutionary leadership and a revolutionary party is keenly felt in South Africa. There must be a determined struggle to break the black working class and the oppressed non-white masses from the nationalist misleaders of the African National Congress, to break the so-called Tripartite Alliance between the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party, COSATU, who are in a coalition with the so-called "democratic" capitalists of the National Party. The government that exists in South Africa is a nationalist popular front, a coalition between workers organizations and sections of the ruling class in defense of capitalist private property. We stand with Trotsky's program of permanent revolution, that in backward capitalist countries in which the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the past have not been achieved, the working class must take power in order to carry out elementary democratic tasks, from giving land to those who till it, to achieving genuine political democracy and national independence.

All talk of healing and reconciliation and "letting bygones be bygones"—and while I was there, the big world rugby tournament in Cape Town was hailed as a "vehicle of reconciliation"—is a fraud, for the simple reason that there are antagonistic interests between the oppressed black masses and the privileged white minority. Under capitalism, under the system of the private ownership of the means of production, there can be no equality between the oppressed and the oppressors, between the capitalists and the working class. So while there are more blacks in parliament and a few black millionaires, state power remains in the hands of the white capitalist class and its armed bodies of men defending the capitalists' property. The economic and social dominance of the white minority remains intact.

Now, we talked to a lot of different groups. Our pamphlet *Black History and the Class Struggle* calling for proletarian revolution in South Africa was very powerful. In many of our discussions with South African leftists, one illusion that surfaced time and again was that there will be a stable multiracial bourgeois order in South Africa. So many of the youth and workers with whom we spoke believe that the task is to make the centerpiece of the government's program, the Reconstruction and Development Program, work for them, to make capitalism work. We had long arguments on how the whole program of the popular front, which is a reformist program, has paved the way for bloody defeat for the working class, from Spain in the 1930s to Chile in the 1970s.

There's nothing in the RDP that deals with the burning needs of the masses. The ANC and Mandela have betrayed the black masses and turned their backs on their earlier populist promises of nationalization, land distribution and even "one man, one vote." The masses

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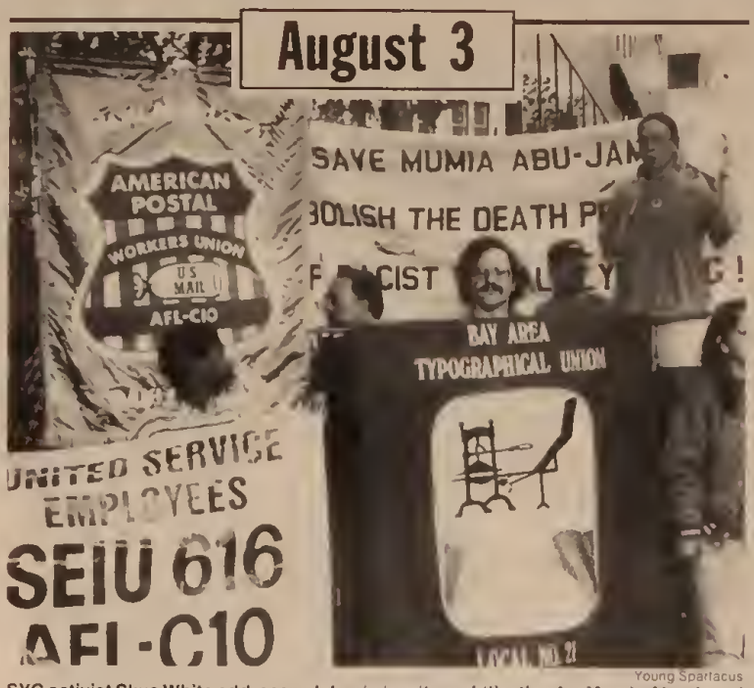
Paralus

Former ANC guerrilla leaders Joe Modise (right), now defense minister, and his deputy Ronnie Kasrils (center) share a laugh with apartheid army commander Georg Meiring.

SYC Speaker: Free Mumia Now!

We reprint below an edited speech by Spartacus Youth Club member Skye White that was given at the Partisan Defense Committee-initiated labor/black mobilization to free Mumia Abu-Jamal in Oakland, August 3.



SYC activist Skye White addresses labor/minority mobilization for Mumia Abu-Jamal which drew hundreds of unionists and anti-racist militants in Oakland, August 3.

People say all sorts of things about the "X generation"—the "slacker generation." What is behind this? Actually, it's the ruling class saying youth have no value. Not schools but prisons. No welfare, no drinking, no sex, no jobs! Mumia Abu-Jamal himself wrote: "This is not the lost generation ...they are probably the most aware generation since Nat Turner's.... They are all potential revolutionaries with the historic power to transform dull realities." But we can accomplish this only by allying with the social power of the working class.

In the Spartacus Youth Club, we see the death penalty as but one tool in the broad arsenal of weapons possessed by the ruling class in order to subjugate and oppress minorities, youth and the working class. If, we mobilize enough social power to save Mumia's life, we will be striking a blow against the *entire* racist institution of legal lynching.

Over 100 years ago, Friedrich Engels said: "The state is an organization for the protection of the possessing class against the non-possessing class." Look at the cases of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Geronimo Pratt, unionist Bob Buck and huge numbers of other political prisoners in the prison hellholes of this country. Look around at what happens on the streets of American cities which are controlled by the cops. Last week a 14-year-old Latino, Antonio Gutiérrez, was shot in cold blood by the LAPD in Lincoln Heights. Two months ago, Aaron Williams was beaten to death by 12 San Francisco cops. The same system that has locked Jamal into the halls of prison torture, the courts which today seek to thwart justice for Jamal at every turn, are vital for the very existence of capitalism and function solely so that the few can continue to exploit the many. In the U.S., one half of one percent of the population owns 40 percent of everything. There is no possibility of reforming capitalism; this society is in the death throes of its own decay.

In 1917 there was a revolution in Russia that brought workers to power. The revolution was led by the Bolsheviks headed by Lenin and Trotsky. The only real solution is building a revolutionary workers party like the Bolshevik Party. For over 70 years, we Trotskyists fought to defend the USSR from world imperialism. With the counterrevolution in the USSR, which was the result of years of Stalinist betrayals, the ruling class of the U.S. is now engaged in a vicious battle to dominate the world's markets and resources.

In Mexico, the Democrats, the "liberal imperialists," are starving Mexican workers and peasants with the North American Free Trade Agreement, which is designed to pit American workers against their class brothers and sisters in Mexico. At home, this means scapegoating immigrants, denying health care and an education to anyone who isn't a citizen. We say: Full citizenship rights for *all* immigrants!

These days, *any* minority or working-class kid in this country no longer has the right to an education! Frederick Douglass keenly understood that the struggle for literacy was a struggle against the institution of slavery. With the abolishing of affirmative action, the bourgeoisie is declaring that education is a privilege for the rich, they are saying that they have no need to educate youth who they cannot use as workers. While California schools deteriorate, the prisons are booming. This is the meaning of the "war on drugs" and the "three strikes you're out" bill—in reality this is a class war on blacks, labor and the poor. We must fight to defend affirmative action. In the Spartacus Youth Clubs, we say: Open admissions, no tuition and a living stipend for all students!

A revolutionary workers party, tribune of all the people, would pose a real, class-struggle solution at every turn when faced by the vicious cutbacks, take-backs and rollbacks, on the road to leading the working class to power through a socialist revolution!

The legacy of slavery has left the working class cruelly divided along race lines, and history has shown us that black and union rights march forward together but slide back separately. With the complicity of the labor bureaucracy, the working class has remained fettered by racism through the "lesser evil" of the Democratic Party. The bottom line is that the war against blacks, immigrants, youth, homeless, workers, is a class war. NOT race against race, but class against class!

Mumia was right when he remarked that every inch of ground won has come through militant struggle. And again in the words of the revolutionary Abolitionist Frederick Douglass: "Without struggle, there is no progress." The turnout here today is what we need to free Jamal and needs to be a lesson for students and youth: Ally with the power of labor, not the racist school administrations, not the ruling-class Democratic Party! Abolish the racist death penalty! Free Mumia Ahu-Jamal! ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 9)

have been told to tighten their belts so that the white capitalists and the new black elite can rake in their profits undisturbed. The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank—the architects of murderous poverty and misery for the poor and oppressed people throughout the world—are calling the shots in South Africa.

Capitalist politicians here—black and white, Democratic and Republican, Jesse Jackson and Bill Clinton and their reformist tails like the Communist Party and Socialist Action and many other groups—went into a kind of religious frenzy with the coming to power of Mandela, hollering "Free at last!" as if the murderous apartheid system was simply a matter of legally sanctioned racism—as opposed to an entire people made foreigners in their own country. The International Communist League told the truth, the simple truth from day one that Mandela and the ANC would betray the black masses.

Well, what are they doing? The bourgeois-nationalist government is demolishing squatters' settlements of blacks and of coloureds. The former head of the CP who was the housing minister, Joe Slovo, called for an end to "the culture of the nonpayment of rents." So while I was there, the government started turning off the electricity and lights in the townships. The South African National Defence Force, the army, is crushing the struggles of the blacks for land—in a country where whites, who are 13 percent of the population, own 86 percent of the land and 90 percent of the total wealth.

We talked to many leftists in several organizations—the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action, Comrades for a Workers Government, International Socialist Movement—who have big illusions in the so-called neutrality of the capitalist state. They put forth the line that the cops, the capitalist police, are workers, that there are "good cops," that there are "progressive" cops. Now, there's a very large black so-called police union, called Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union, POPCRU, that has been very active in South Africa, staging protests for higher pay, against racism on the police force, for bigger guns—the usual things. The cops in South Africa, like in every capitalist country that has ever existed, defend the interests of the possessing class, the capitalists, against the exploited and the oppressed. And we should never buy the lie that they are workers because it's not only a lie; it's a deadly illusion. Every ruling class in history has had armed bodies of men defending to the death their so-called right to exploit. So we had big fights on this question. We did get some revolutionary minded youth to step back and rethink this question because they and we know that this is no abstract question, but goes to the heart of making a revolution in which a revolutionary vanguard party that is a tribune of the people can lead the working class in insurrection to smash the capitalist state machine.

We also laid out in our discussions with serious militant workers and youth who have been through some battles that the capitalist system cannot be reformed. A number of them want to do social work in the townships. We don't argue against the need for electricity and more spigots. But we struggled with the comrades on the need to win the advanced layer of the working class to build an internationalist revolutionary party that will stand at the head of the struggle for national and social liberation in South Africa; that would fight for the nationalization of the urban lands to wipe out homelessness; to expropriate without compensation the white-owned agribusinesses, to give the land to the black agricultural workers who are without any; that would fight for jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to spread the available work; that would stand up for women's rights, for equal pay for equal work, and for free abortion on demand, which is a hot issue increasingly in South Africa; that will defend democratic rights for gays; that will fight for full citizenship rights for foreign workers in the struggle for the establishment of a black-centered workers government fighting not only for socialist revolution in South Africa, not only for a socialist federation of southern Africa, but for world revolution.

Especially in the context of the collapse of the Soviet Union, which served as a counterweight to bloody U.S. imperialism, imperialism has been emboldened. From the U.S. imperialist slaughter of over 100,000 Iraqis—not counting the subsequent death by starvation inflicted on the Iraqi masses—to the racist colonialist invasion of Somalia and Haiti, U.S. imperialism and its rulers, Reagan, Bush, Clinton and whoever is elected next, are racist mass murderers. There will be no successful workers revolution in South Africa apart from the struggle for international working-class revolution, centrally in the industrial centers of Western Europe, Japan and North America.

Everything depends upon building a fighting international revolutionary vanguard party that genuinely bases itself upon the call to action of the first Communist International, that workers of the world must unite—we have nothing to lose but our chains. If we are to change the world, this is what must guide us in this fight to free Mumia. We have a world to win against imperialist bandits and mass murderers in the White House, Congress and the Pentagon, the bloodiest ruling class that history has ever known. Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty! ■

Debate the Philly Cops?!

Refuse and Resist: The "Street Fighting" Face of Liberalism

Refuse & Resist Challenges the Fraternal Order of Police to Debate!

Put Up or Shut Up!

The FOP is constantly running off at the mouth about how the case against Mumia Abu-Jamal is ironclad, and how anybody who protests the railroad doesn't know the facts. At the same time prison authorities have gagged Mumia so he is not allowed talk to the press, Hanging-Judge Sabo has gagged the defense and not allowed them to call most of their witnesses, and the FOP (in the finest tradition of Nazi stormtroopers) tries to strongarm any establishment that would hold a pro-Mumia program.

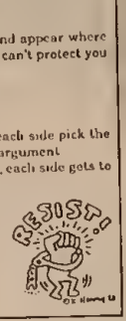
All this is because you don't have a case against Mumia. But if you think different, here's your chance.

We challenge the FOP to stop hiding, and appear where Judge Sabo and the editors of the *Daily News* can't protect you from the embarrassing facts.

The rules would be simple:
1) a neutral and impartial moderator
2) equal speaking time for both sides, each side pick the person or persons they want to present their argument
3) a large public venue in Philadelphia, each side gets to distribute one half of the audience tickets.

How about it FOP? Or does the thought of a fair debate and the public learning the facts send you ducking for cover?

We're waiting
Our phone number is 215-387-5213



Grotesque offer from Refuse & Resist to "debate" racist FOP: R&R's militant posture cloaks dangerous illusions in the state.

For the past several years, Refuse & Resist has been heavily involved in the campaign to free Mumia Abu-Jamal. But while their hearts are in the right place, their strategy is frequently elsewhere. On August 9, they issued two leaflets in a single day. The first called for a protest, "Justice for Mumia! Stop business as usual at Penn Station!" (in the heart of Manhattan) and "Whatever you think it takes... Do it." The second leaflet urged a debate with Philadelphia's Fraternal Order of Police (FOP)! Titled "Put Up or Shut Up!" the leaflet stated: "The FOP is constantly running off at the mouth about how the case against Mumia Abu-Jamal is ironclad, and how anybody who protests the railroad doesn't know the facts.... We challenge the FOP to stop hiding, and appear where Judge Sabo and the editors of the *Daily News* can't protect you from embarrassing facts."

Carla Williams of the New York Spartacus Youth Club addressed R&R's peculiar brand of activism at an August 10 Spartacist forum:

> "On the one hand, there is this call for 'no business as usual'.... On the other, there's a call to 'debate' the Fraternal Order of Police in racist Philadelphia! These two things may not seem alike, but what's glaring is an appalling lack of comprehension of the bourgeois state and what social power exists to combat it: the power of the working class."

For the entire three weeks that Mumia's lawyers argued the case for a new trial last month, the FOP mobilized an armed contingent of thugs to be in court every day, menacing Jamal's family and supporters and sneering their approval to every contemptuous attack from Sabo against Jamal and his defense team. The day Sabo was finally forced to issue a stay of execution, one of the FOP bullies was quoted by the *New York Times* (8 August) as sneering, "It makes you wonder, maybe we should have executed him at 13th and Locust." When the court recessed on August 15, Mumia's supporters rose and raised fists in his honor, while the cops rose in response, gave the "thumbs down" sign and bayed for Mumia's death. This is the extent of "debate" possible with the FOP!

Many R&R members have already been on the receiving end of such "debates": police beatings and jail. More than sowing illusions in the state, the call to debate the FOP makes a joke out of the racist, murderous intent of the cops who are the strong arm of an increasingly repressive system. The way the FOP "debates" its opponents can be seen in the cops' savage beating of Delbert Africa in their attack on a MOVE house in 1978, and in the police bombing of the MOVE commune and murder of eleven black people in 1985.

On August 10, R&R followed up their earlier leaflet by berating the FOP for *not* showing up to protest outside a fund-raiser for Mumia at Local 1199C hospital workers headquarters. Titled "Fraternal Order of Punk-Outs a 'No Show'," the press release states, "By ducking out, the FOP also avoided having to answer the challenge from Refuse & Resist to the FOP to hold a public debate on the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal." What exactly would it mean for these thugs *not* to "punk out"? In late July, the FOP massed more than 300 armed cops outside the 1199C headquarters, because that union had dared to support Jamal. Some Refuse & Resist members have argued for the debate challenge with the line that "the cops would never accept anyway." But what if they *did* accept? In its August 10 leaflet, R&R is virtually *asking* for the cops to stage another armed demonstration outside the headquarters of an integrated union.

The Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) has thoroughly imbued R&R with the messianic moralism of the RCP's Maoist politics—in reality just another version of the class collaboration preached by Stalin and all his heirs (including Mao). They don't even call to abolish the death penalty, because they support its use under Stalin and Mao!

The R&R members who see their "resistance" politics as being a step on the road to revolutionary politics are sadly mistaken. Those won to struggle under R&R's leadership are never broken from liberal bourgeois ideology. Liberal, moral conceptions of "justice" and "righteousness" replace a scientific analysis of exploitation and a class understanding of the forces necessary to overthrow imperialism. R&R members are sincere anti-racist militants and fighters for Jamal, but from a worldview which does not fundamentally challenge the capitalist status quo.

Some R&R members actually see the multiracial American working class as bought off by the racist rulers and incapable of struggle. As SYCer Joe Sol said at the August 3 labor/black mobilization for Jamal in New York:

> "Over the years, the absence of labor struggle has led many youth to look everywhere but to the power of the multiracial working class—from individual confrontations with the cops, to seeing the most oppressed as the most revolutionary. The leadership of the unions—potential organs of workers power—has been firmly in the stranglehold of the Democratic Party. And any struggles that have broken out have been throttled by the agents of the ruling class in the unions."

The Spartacus Youth Clubs, Sol emphasized, fight to link the struggles of youth against police repression to the social power of the multiracial working class.

In contrast, the RCP feeds off a despairing outlook bred by defeats, seeking to find a substitute for the social power of labor by encouraging and developing a radical-liberal milieu in R&R.

As the international campaign in defense of Jamal is embraced by organizations representing millions of workers, the RCP looks in the other direction, toward the "middle class." In an article headlined "What Will It Take to Save the Life of Mumia Abu-Jamal?" they write:

> "The battle around Mumia has the potential to help turn this around—to change the equation and bring tens of thousands of middle class people into the struggle to defend a revolutionary voice of the oppressed. The imperialists greatly fear this kind of alliance—that's why they put so much emphasis on threatening and ridiculing people from the middle classes (like prominent artists) who take up this cause."
>
> —*Revolutionary Worker*, 25 June

The fact that prominent artists, intellectuals, black politicians and other liberals were mobilized to protest Jamal's threatened execution is certainly part of the reason Judge Sabo was finally pressured into granting a stay. But to base your strategy on mobilizing such support is to limit the struggle to save Jamal to what the liberals find acceptable. And that's just the kind of class collaboration typified by the American Communist Party. These liberals who have faith in the courts are worried—even death penalty advocates now worry—that Mumia's case could undermine faith in the legal system, of which the death penalty is a key component. Liberals like Jesse Jackson see the execution of Jamal as an ugly blotch on their shining American "justice" system. Who but liberals would have any interest in a debate with the FOP? The liberals want a new trial for Jamal in order to refurbish the image of the racist American state. If you base your strategy on appealing for "middle-class" support, as the RCP does, refurbishing the image of the state is exactly what you do.

The Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee see the struggle to save Mumia Abu-Jamal as part of the fight necessary to rearm the American working class to struggle in its own interests against the capitalist state. In our propaganda and in our agitation around Jamal, we emphasize that Mumia's case is no aberration: it's what the death penalty is all about, it's what American "justice" is all about. We point out that the American capitalist order is built on the bedrock of black oppression; the fostering of racism and racial divisions is a key tool in the arsenal of the ruling class.

In waging this political fight to get the working class to take up Mumia's cause as its own, we are building the long-term political class consciousness necessary, not only to unleash the social power of the working class to free Mumia, but to bring down the entire rotten imperialist world order. That's a fight anti-racist youth should want to join. ■

Brazil Protests...

(continued from page 3)

unionists—including CUT president Vicente Paulo da Silva—signed statements demanding "Mumia Abu-Jamal Must Not Die!" A series of black women's groups in São Paulo have taken up Jamal's case; and as support spread three state governors, the Federal District legislature and renowned novelist Jorge Amado issued statements in defense of Jamal. In the last month, smaller events on behalf of Mumia have been held in São Paulo and in the city of Rio de Janeiro, called by the Unified Black Movement and CUT unionists.

Brazil's white capitalist elite has long pushed the myth of "racial democracy," claiming that after slavery was abolished in 1888 by Princess Regent Isabel, the country has been one big family without "race problems." This lie has traditionally been echoed by the dominant forces in the labor movement and virtually the entire spectrum of the Brazilian left. Yet brutal racist oppression—which in recent years has included the systematic murder of thousands of black street children—has been the bedrock of Brazilian capitalism since its inception and key to maintaining superexploitation through one of the world's lowest minimum wages. The recent massacre of landless peasants in the Amazon state of Rondônia once again shows the bloody face of state terror in "democratic" Brazil.

At the Volta Redonda rally, LM speakers underlined the need to mobilize the power of the international working class in the fight to save Jamal: "We of Luta Metalúrgica, together with our brothers the Spartacists, want all the peoples of the earth to be equal. The life of Mumia Abu-Jamal represents the lives of our brothers killed in [racist massacres at] Vigário Geral, Candelária and Carandirú and landless peasants killed by the landlords." LM signs called to "Break with the Popular Front, For a Multiracial Revolutionary Workers Party!" and "For the Internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky."

Rightist forces in Brazil are currently pushing to introduce capital punishment, with Rio de Janeiro's mayor praising New York governor Pataki's pro-death penalty campaign. As a sign at the V.R. protest read: "From Philadelphia to Volta Redonda, Capitalism Means Racist Terror." By joining the international campaign to defend Mumia Abu-Jamal, workers, blacks and youth strike a blow against racist capitalist oppression in Brazil and around the world. ■

Mumia's Freedom...

(continued from page 1)

> "Although many radicals and progressives expressed joy at news of the stay, other political analysts saw it as a clever move by a clever judge, who did what higher courts would've done and, in so doing, attempted to blunt the edge off of a growing and militant anti-death penalty movement, in Philadelphia and beyond, thereby stymieing a series of planned demonstrations.
> "Whatever the reasoning, let us utilize this precious time to build a stronger and broader movement, to not 'stay' one execution, but to halt them all! *Down with the racist U.S. death penalty!*"

The protests for Jamal; the unabashed bias against him shown by Sabo, which has been reported in newspapers around the world; the brisk sales of Mumia's book, *Live from Death Row*, now in its sixth printing: all this has helped make Jamal's case an embarrassment for the U.S. ruling class. The sight of thousands marching against America's racist "justice" system is particularly untimely as the Democratic White House joins with the Republican Congress to beef up police powers and accelerate the rate of executions. This program was codified in Clinton's "anti-crime" legislation and now by the "counterterrorism" bill, which guts *habeas corpus* protections against wrongful imprisonment, the primary means by which death sentence reversals have been achieved. On July 26, Congress did its bit for death by eliminating funds for 20 regional law centers which specialize in death-penalty appeals.

Jamal has always linked his fight with the struggle to abolish the death penalty. Recently, Jamal pleaded with fellow Pennsylvania inmate Leon Moser to fight his execution, scheduled a few days before Mumia's. Moser, however, was killed by lethal injection on August 16 after the U.S. Supreme Court intervened twice in two days to reverse stays of execution granted by a U.S. district judge who was seeking a hearing on Moser's mental competency. (Moser had earlier been treated at Fairview State Hospital for the criminally insane.)

After the second stay was upheld by an appeals court at 9:00 p.m. on August 16, the U.S. Supreme Court acted at literally the eleventh hour to reverse it. Less than 30 minutes later, Moser was strapped to the gurney and the lethal drugs began to flow, *while the federal judge's law clerk was in communication with Governor Ridge's general counsel, pleading to conduct the competency hearing by telephone!* The week before, Oklahoma death row prisoner Robert Brecheen, who was scheduled to die in a few hours, tried to commit suicide. Prison guards promptly revived Brecheen...in order to carry out his execution by lethal injection. In Moser and Brecheen's cases, the state majestically declared it would brook no challenge to its sovereign "right" to kill its subjects.

In the wake of the swelling tide of protests for Jamal, important sections of the ruling class would prefer to see him locked away for life instead of killing him and turning him into a martyr. They want to entomb Jamal in what he describes as "prison hell." Philadelphia's daily newspapers have repeatedly editorialized along these lines. They have now been joined by the *Washington Post* as well as the U.S. bourgeoisie's "paper of record," the *New York Times*, which wrote in a 17 August editorial, "[Jamal's] supporters are right to fight his execution." The *Times* continued, "They should be careful, however, in portraying him as the hapless victim of vindictive prosecutors and shoddy defense attorneys.... The trial record tells a different story."

In fact, the 1982 "trial" was a blatant frame-up based on a tissue of lies, presided over by a notorious hanging judge. It was held in a climate of vicious cop persecution of the black MOVE group, who in 1985 were to suffer eleven dead when the Philly cops, in league with the FBI, bombed their West Philly home. Getting Mumia was part of the cops' campaign to destroy MOVE, and was the culmination of years of FBI/cop targeting of Jamal going back to the government's war against the Black Panther Party.

WV Photo

Contingents of workers marched with union banners in Philadelphia rally for Jamal, August 12. Mobilize the power of labor to free Mumia!

Sabo: "Justice Is Just an Emotional Feeling"

Jamal's defense team, headed by Leonard Weinglass, has been waging a herculean battle against a virulently hostile court to overturn the 1982 conviction and sentencing. The Post-Conviction Relief Act (PCRA) papers forming the core of Jamal's defense paint a clear picture of his innocence and the state's murderous vendetta against him, including evidence that was not available, or not made available, in 1982. A new book published by Common Courage Press, titled *Race for Justice*, includes these papers. An amended version of the PCRA submitted this month includes more new evidence.

On August 15, the PCRA hearing was recessed until September 11, when "findings of fact" will be presented and final oral arguments heard. While the prosecution pushed to have the defense rest its case, Jamal's attorneys argued that potential witnesses are continuing to come forward and must be heard. No one who has sat through any part of the hearings can expect Sabo, who presided over the original trial, to rule in favor of Jamal's appeal. Ever since refusing on July 12 to remove himself from hearing the case, Sabo has tried to thwart Jamal's defense in any way he can. Outrageously, he routinely ruled against defense demands for discovery of information which the prosecution has kept covered up. Sabo, a retired member of the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP), oozes with contempt for Jamal and his attorneys, at one point telling Weinglass, "Objection is overruled, whatever it was." Sabo has also threatened to arrest demonstrators outside, whose shouts of "Free Mumia!" and "Sabo Must Go!" have been heard in court.

When Sabo ordered evidentiary proceedings to begin on only two days' notice, Jamal's attorneys appealed to the state Supreme Court, which ordered Sabo to grant an extra week before the hearings began. Sabo quashed over 25 defense subpoenas for witnesses, refused to allow evidence on four claims of constitutional violations, and ruled for the prosecution and against the defense on virtually every objection raised in the hearing. In "L'affaire Mumia," an exasperated *Philadelphia Inquirer* (13 August) editorialized that Sabo "seemed to be fighting the last war—ridiculing, interrupting and generally feeding the worst suspicions of Abu-Jamal's supporters."

On August 2, when Wolkenstein objected to the quashing of subpoenas and the disallowing of any evidence challenging Pennsylvania's death penalty on the grounds of racial bias, Sabo ordered her taken into custody, handcuffed and thrown into jail. In an interview with reporter Sally O'Brien, Jamal, ridiculing the charge that he had disrupted the 1982 trial, pointed out that "what should be clear to everyone is that the behavior of the judge hasn't changed one iota." On August 11, Weinglass was slapped with a $1,000 fine for taking "too long" to hand over autopsy slides. "Explaining" these blatant attempts at intimidation, Sabo told the defense, "Counselor, justice is just an emotional feeling."

Jamal's attorneys began their case by calling character witnesses who testified to the enormous respect Mumia was held in as a youth and later as a journalist. One of those testifying, black Pennsylvania State Senator Dave Richardson, a longtime friend of Mumia's, died suddenly of a heart attack on August 18. *None* of these witnesses were presented when Mumia was railroaded 13 years before. His court-appointed attorney at the time, Anthony Jackson, also testified at the PCRA hearing, confirming defense claims that he was grossly ineffective as counsel and that he was provided almost no resources to conduct a defense.

Also called to the stand was Gary Wakshul, the cop who guarded Jamal from his arrest until he was treated in the hospital. A key element of the 1982 frame-up was the tale that Jamal had "confessed" before entering the hospital emergency room—a "confession" first reported *two months* after the incident. Wakshul, however, had submitted a report after his shift stating that "the negro male [Mumia] made no comments." On the stand, Wakshul incredibly claimed that he was too shocked by the "confession" to remember it ...until a month or two later, at a meeting called by the D.A.'s office to orchestrate the cops' testimony. This was the first time this meeting had ever been made public.

Several witnesses gave evidence that Jamal did not shoot Faulkner. One, William Singletary, said not only that he saw another man shoot the cop and run away, but that Jamal then approached Faulkner asking if he could help him. Singletary described being pressured to submit false testimony. He was held for hours at the Police Administration Building, where cops repeatedly "tore up" or "threw in the trash" the statements they did not approve. Finally, a Detective Green warned him "to write what he wanted me to write [or] they would take me in the elevator and beat me up."

Another witness, William Harmon, who was called to the stand by Sabo over defense objections that they had had virtually no time to interview him, testified that two men shot Faulkner, and that neither was Jamal. In order to denigrate his statements, prosecutors pointed to Harmon's criminal record, and even asked whether the fact that he had often been arrested without serving time had to do with his being a cop informant. But three out of four of the D.A.'s key witnesses in 1982 had criminal records. One of them, the prostitute Cynthia White, had 38 arrests to her name and was allowed to work the streets under police protection after giving their line. In contrast, Harmon, a black man currently in state prison, risks being denied parole for another six years as a result of speaking out.

Yet another witness, Arnold Howard, testified how he and two other black men were arrested the night of the shooting because police thought one of them might be the fleeing shooter. Police tested their hands for nitrates—to see if they had fired a gun—a test they didn't perform on Jamal!

WV Photo

New York, August 3: Labor/black mobilization for Jamal, initiated by Partisan Defense Committee, drew 1,000 people, including contingents from SSEU Local 371, Local 1199 hospital workers, Mail Handlers and Teamsters. Speaking at podium, Jim Webb, president of Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

The final 1982 eyewitness to be called was Robert Chobert, a white cab driver whose license had been revoked and who had a prior conviction for arson, a fact which Sabo kept from the jury in 1982. Chobert first reported to police that he saw Faulkner's assailant run away. This could not have been Jamal, who was found sitting on the curb bleeding from his wound. Chobert changed his testimony for the trial, claiming that Jamal was the shooter. At the PCRA hearing, he admitted that then-prosecutor Joseph McGill had promised to "look into" getting his driver's license back. Chobert never did get it back, but managed nevertheless to drive without a license for the next ten years without being charged!

Central to the evidence exonerating Jamal are 800 pages of FBI files detailing years of FBI/cop surveillance and "dirty tricks" against him, including an attempt to frame him for a murder in Bermuda that occurred while Jamal was working in Philadelphia. Sabo ruled these papers "irrelevant." When Wolkenstein attempted to submit a deposition from a Pennsylvania Corrections Department official showing that privileged correspondence between Jamal and his attorneys had been intercepted, opened and given to the governor's office, Sabo screamed that was not his doing and again threatened her with arrest.

Many who have joined the protests for Jamal center their demands on the call for a "fair trial," which they feel would surely result in reversal of the death sentence. If things were being done strictly "by the book," even the truncated version of Jamal's defense allowed by Sabo should be enough to at least grant his petition for a new trial. According to the *Brady* rule, for example, failure by the prosecution to disclose evidence favorable to the defense is grounds for invalidating a guilty verdict. In addition to the D.A.'s and cops' coercing false testimony from witnesses, the PCRA hearings revealed that a bullet fragment taken from Faulkner's body had "disappeared."

But the capitalist legal system is anything but fair when it comes to such an outspoken black opponent of racism and exploitation. For many youth, what is happening in the courtroom and on the streets is a real eye-opener. The events daily demonstrate the truth of Russian revolutionary Marxist V.I. Lenin's description of bourgeois democracy as "democracy only for the rich, for the minority." In the U.S., with centuries of subjugation of black people first as chattel slaves and then as wage slaves, the state apparatus—cops, courts, prisons—is racist to the core.

In these hearings, Sabo once again led a "legal lynching" posse with the D.A.'s office and the FOP. Early in the hearings, Wolkenstein protested that the FOP contingent in attendance was allowed to waltz into court with its weapons while Mumia's own family was harassed as they passed through a "Frisk-Em" metal-detecting gate. Portraying Mumia's supporters as some sort of terrorist band, Sabo responded that the cops were "protecting" him.

In a column printed in the *New York Times* (13 August) and several other newspapers, D.A. Lynne Abraham, whose office seeks the death sentence more than any other jurisdiction in the U.S., sneers that the notion that Mumia "was a famous journalist whom the police framed to silence his unpopular political views" is "ludicrous." What's ludicrous is that Abraham would write this when Philadelphia newspapers are filled daily with exposés of police frame-ups, corruption and violence. Currently, over *1,100* arrests may be overturned as a result of investigations into the 39th precinct in North Philadelphia alone.

Anyone coming out for Jamal in Philly is a potential target of the cops. The largest union in the city, hospital and health care workers Local 1199C, was besieged by 300 gun-toting cops for daring to rent its hall for a Jamal benefit in July. In Los Angeles, Boulder, Colorado, New York City and other places, dozens have been arrested for demonstrating for Jamal, some of whom face felony charges. We demand the dropping of all charges against these protesters!

Frame-ups, cop terror and judicial railroading are inherent in the capitalist *system* of racist *in*justice. It will take massive social struggle, tapping the power of the organized working class, to win his freedom. Nothing short of workers revolution will destroy this repressive machinery—and with it the racist death penalty—and open up the vista of freedom from oppression and human degradation.

For United-Front Defense of Jamal

The protests calling to stop the execution of Jamal have made this issue front-page news around the world and a political question of growing importance. French president Jacques Chirac directed his ambassador in Washington "to take, in a strictly humanitarian sense, and respecting American law, any step that might help to save the life of Mr. Mumia Abu-Jamal." German foreign minister Klaus Kinkel wrote to Pennsylvania governor Ridge to protest Jamal's impending execution as well as the death penalty. The Belgian government and Italian parliament called for stopping the execution. In South Africa, where there have been weekly protests outside the U.S. consulate in Cape Town, president Nelson Mandela, pointing to the recent abolition of the death penalty there, wrote to Governor Ridge to "use your power as Governor of the State of Pennsylvania to commute the death sentence imposed upon Mumia Abu-Jamal." There continue to be demonstrations throughout Germany and other European countries.

Jamal's fellow writers have increasingly been speaking out for him. Journalists unions in Germany, Britain and South Africa have made Jamal an honorary member, as has the National Writers Union, organized by the UAW, in the U.S. The International PEN writers group held emergency press conferences in Paris and New York on August 1. Recently, the Union of Journalists of Cuba wrote: "Judicial monstrosities like those in Mumia Abu-Jamal's case are inconsistent with those who describe the American society as a model of respect to freedom of speech, of conscience and other basic human rights." Such solidarity is like garlic to a vampire in the case of the wretched National Association of Black Journalists in the U.S., which refuses to even demand a new trial for Jamal, calling instead for "judicial review" of his case.

The Partisan Defense Committee has always stressed the centrality of mobilizing the labor movement in the fight for Jamal. In early August, a series of united-front demonstrations initiated by the PDC from New York, Oakland, Chicago and L.A. to Toronto and Vancouver, Canada and Melbourne and Sydney, Australia brought out key trade unions which pledged to continue this struggle. A 1,000-strong demonstration in New York on August 3 drew contingents from Social Services Employees Union Local 371, AFSCME District Council 37, Local 1199 health and hospital workers union, Teamsters Local 808 and others. Among the more than 700 who marched the same day in Oakland, California were contingents from the ILWU longshore union and several locals of the SEIU service workers, along with speakers from the Alameda County and San Francisco Central Labor Councils.

The New York City rally tied the fight for Mumia with the struggle against racist cop terror at home. Margarita Rosario, whose son Anthony and nephew Hilton Vega were executed by cops, shot in the back while lying face down on the floor, spoke movingly: "We want justice for Mumia as much as I want justice for my son." In Oakland, Larry Wright, co-chair of the stewards council of ILWU Local 10, compared Jamal's case with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, executed in 1953 in a climate of anti-Communist hysteria, calling it a "political attempted execution" that is racist and "against the working class.... That's why the Longshoremen have taken a strong stand to free Mumia."

United-front actions, where organizations can speak in their own name and carry their own signs and banners, are critical in building mass support for Jamal's freedom. Unfortunately, in a clear act of political censorship, organizers of the August 12 Philadelphia demonstration, initiated by the National People's Campaign (NPC), refused speakers for the PDC, Refuse & Resist and MOVE, all of whom have long been active in Mumia's defense. At the same time, a representative of crackpot ultra-rightist Lyndon LaRouche was allowed to speak. In response to the exclusion of the PDC from a rally called by the "Coalition to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal" in Vancouver, a vice president of the local postal workers union wrote: "Political exclusionism is not the way to achieve victory in this case. Especially at a time when we need the broadest base of forces dedicated to Mumia's defense."

Where to Take the Fight to Free Mumia

Such sectarianism is aimed above all at the Trotskyists who have long defended Jamal and play a key role in the campaign for his freedom. Thousands of workers and youth are debating which road to take in this struggle. Liberals call for a "fair trial" for Mumia, as if he could ever get such a thing in the racist courts. During the civil rights struggles of the 1950s and '60s, liberals and reformist "leftists" preaching reliance on the capitalist courts and the federal government helped derail the fight for black freedom into the dead end of the Democratic Party. Now Workers World Party/NPC is making Mumia's cause a focus of their "caravan" to Washington to plead that the Democrats fight the Republicans' "Contract With America."

In Jamal's case, it's not hard to see the bankruptcy of this strategy, as the courts conspire with the governor's mansion and a national cop network to ram through Jamal's execution. But what strategy should militants adopt? Following the August 3 New York rally, there was a spirited debate at the AFSCME DC 37 hall after a screening of the video, "From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal." Various anarchists, Refuse & Resist supporters and others desperately looking at the approaching August 17 execution date advocated civil disobedience and symbolic acts like shutting off lights across the city at a given time. What the "radical" proponents of "CD" share with liberals is a lack of any perspective of mobilizing mass support for Mumia. In particular, they despair of bringing out the forces of organized labor, which has been hamstrung by its pro-capitalist leadership while the bosses have decimated the unions in their war against working people and the poor. It is precisely through getting the unions to fight for the masses of the ghettos and barrios that labor will steel itself for its own battles.

The core of the New York labor-centered rally on August 3 were the black- and Hispanic-centered unions. Several union speakers at the rally pointed to their own experience in fighting for freedom for Angela Davis in the 1970s, and in fighting union-busting today. As a PDC speaker at the rally remarked: "The struggle for workers' rights and black rights must go forward together or we will all fall back separately." This sentiment was echoed by Larry Adams, president of Mail Handlers Union Local 300, who declared: "To the degree that the trade unions take up this struggle is the degree to which we will forge the necessary social force to save Mumia, all political prisoners, and to in fact rid society of all forms of oppression and exploitation."

The labor-centered demonstrations initiated by the PDC have laid the basis for further organizing in the unions with the aim of pulling out many tens of thousands of workers in alliance with the minority poor. The need to unleash labor/black power is inseparable from the question of revolutionary leadership of the working class. As Don Alexander of the Spartacist League told the August 3 rally in Oakland, "The fight to free Mumia can be a turning point in reviving the labor movement, which is on its back because it is chained to the parties of the rich." What is needed, Alexander continued, is "a complete break from the Democratic Party and the pro-capitalist union leadership, and the forging in struggle of a revolutionary workers party."

Spread the campaign—Free Mumia! Abolish the racist death penalty! ■

AP Susan Schary

Jamal entering court in handcuffs. Court artist's depiction of defense attorney Rachel Wolkenstein being dragged to jail in handcuffs on orders of "hanging judge" Sabo.

One-Day Strike Shuts West Coast Ports

SAN FRANCISCO—On August 7, longshoremen shut down every major port on the West Coast in a one-day strike that took the bosses by surprise. At 23 ports from San Diego to Vancouver—including the San Francisco Bay Area, L.A. and Long Beach (the busiest port in the country)—freight ground to a halt. The stoppage "demonstrated a clout that organized labor has lost in other industries," the *Los Angeles Times* (9 August) lamented, describing the reaction of shipping employers. This was indeed a small taste of the enormous potential power of the integrated working class.

A statement of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) cited "long-simmering disputes" with the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA), the shipping bosses' organization, including "intentions to cease operations at certain small ports," threats against ILWU clerks' jobs, and a drive to privatize those ports now publicly owned, as well as harassment of unionists. The strike came five days after an arbitrator upheld disciplinary action against two former union officials and members of ILWU Local 19 in Seattle. Pat Vukich, former local president, and Wayne Erickson, former business agent, were suspended for 15 days following a provocation by two foremen brought in from Tacoma—one of whom reportedly wore a wire to set up the union members.

The power of the ILWU is the product of hard class struggle. But the PMA's attacks on the union have been greatly encouraged by decades of deals struck by union tops bargaining away the union's basic strength, from Harry Bridges' M&M ("Mechanization and Modernization") contract in 1961 to the last contract in 1993, which codified a vicious *four-tier* wage system. In 1992, a serious union-busting attack by Southern Pacific—which fired 350 ILWU members at a key container yard at Carson in Southern California—was met with a "sickout" to blow off steam without a serious attempt to shut down the facility and defend the union jobs. What's needed is to mobilize the union's manifest power in defense of longshoremen and on behalf of the exploited and oppressed.

In particular divisions in the union, which are fostered by the union bureaucracy and exploited by the PMA, must be erased with hard class struggle. "Casual" workers, often working only a few hours each month, spend years without benefits or union membership before they can become "B" men—who in turn must wait additional years to become "A" men with full union rights. The ruling class is on a racist rampage against blacks and immigrants as part of an assault on all working people and the poor. Nowhere is the power of the working class to stand against them clearer than in the strategic, heavily integrated West Coast longshore union. There must be a fight for jobs for all—including "B" men and casuals—at full pay and pensions, with special training and recruitment programs for minorities and women.

At the time of the 1992 multiracial upheaval over the acquittal of the racist cops who brutally battered Rodney King, we called on the ILWU and other key unions to undertake political strike action against the martial law imposed by Republican governor Pete Wilson (with the agreement of Democratic L.A. mayor Tom Bradley). But under a leadership wedded to the racist, capitalist Democratic Party, the ability of the union even to defend itself is hampered. The ILWU tops have erected election billboards for mayoral candidate Willie Brown atop the Local 10 hall in San Francisco. The favorite of the SF Labor Council, Brown is notorious for brokering the California budget cuts that have slashed welfare and dealt such a blow to the state teachers unions.

The subordination of the unions to the bosses' parties and the capitalist courts and anti-labor laws is precisely what has produced the unions' "loss of clout." A leadership must be forged in struggle against that strategy, to make the unions what they should be—weapons of the workers and oppressed in the fight for power.

Poison...

(continued from page 2)

early 1980s—have pursued a singular (and hostile) obsession with every word, every speech, every meeting and intervention of the Spartacist League with the aim of demonstrating our supposed "bureaucratic degeneracy."

Even now when virtually every radical newspaper in the world has banner headlines on Jamal, the most recent issue of *1917* features only a photo box of themselves at a Jamal demonstration in Montreal. Perhaps they feel tender about mentioning that Jamal is a supporter of the MOVE organization. The BT was horrified when the New York SL invited MOVE supporters to speak at a memorial meeting for the victims of the 1985 bombing of the Philly MOVE commune.

The BT had not a word to say in protest against the racist murder of eleven black people at the hands of the Philadelphia police, the FBI and the Reagan White House, who all collaborated in the bombing. The BT's only "comment" was an article in the very first issue of *1917* (Winter 1986) attacking the Spartacist League for not making polemics against MOVE philosophy the center of our memorial meeting.

Now, the BT accuses us of somehow trying to hog the campaign for Jamal's freedom for our own organizational and sectarian advantage. Their letter, which was distributed at a recent Spartacist forum in New York, alleges that the SL and PDC think of ourselves as "Mumia's only *real* defenders." Quite the contrary, since we took up this case in 1987 we knew only too well that we would have to get much broader forces involved if there was going to be any chance of saving Jamal's life, much less winning his freedom.

This has finally started to happen, partly due to our efforts but also due to the efforts of others who got involved earlier on, and particularly as the result of the publication—again through the work of others—of Jamal's book, *Live from Death Row*. Within our frame of reference when we took up this case, we have been successful in making Jamal's cause known domestically and internationally as a compelling example of what the death penalty is all about in the U.S., and in getting other social forces involved in the fight to save his life. In other words, a battle has been joined.

A myriad of other groups and individuals are now working for Mumia's freedom. And certainly nobody ever stood in the way of the BT getting involved or taking up Jamal's defense in their own right. Yet now they whine that our "approach" to mobilizing united-front actions in defense of Jamal "has been more reminiscent of the Third Period Stalinist 'united front from below' which allowed Hitler to take power in Germany"!!

No one could ever accuse these guys of having a sense of proportion even in their slander-mongering. Speaking of united-front mobilizations against the fascists, we can't help but note that the BT has generally absented itself from the mass labor/minority demonstrations initiated by the SL and the PDC that have stopped the Klan and Nazis. But they did spill a lot of ink denouncing us for abandoning trade-union work in favor of "community organizing" when we initiated labor/black struggle leagues linked to the SL, attempting to build on the success of these anti-fascist actions.

The BT's counterposition of their idea of organized labor to the black plebeian masses echoes the racist poison spewed by the AFL-CIO bureaucrats. In our fight to mobilize the social power of the multiracial working class in Jamal's defense, we have emphasized that for labor to become a fighting force against union-busting and strikebreaking it must actively champion the defense of the desperately impoverished populations of the ghettos and barrios.

The BT writes that we are "uncomfortable" with trying to build the broadest possible campaign in Jamal's defense because the SL leadership is afraid of bringing "SL members into wider contact with other leftists." We don't know exactly what kind of contact the BT has in mind here (except that they have no objection when the International Socialist Organization "contacts" our members' heads with their fists). At the united-front rallies and demonstrations initiated by the PDC in Jamal's defense, we have welcomed all those, whatever their political views, who have come together behind the slogans "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" to participate with their own propaganda, placards, chants and speakers—including the BT.

Another letter from the International Bolshevik Tendency to our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain argues that we have undermined Mumia's defense by not setting up a "united-front committee." We don't know what world the BT lives in, but we have a lot more grasp of social reality and our own social weight than to believe that a "Free Mumia Committee" of ourselves, the BT and a bunch of other small leftist organizations would be able to rally the social forces necessary to win Mumia's freedom.

In any case, to argue as the IBT does in its letter to the SL/B, that the absence of such a committee kept other left organizations from really mobilizing for a PDC-initiated demonstration in defense of Jamal that was held in London on July 22 is laughable. The very same day, at the very same time, these very same "leftists" had mobilized their forces for a pro-imperialist demonstration calling to "Stop the Rape of Bosnia." This was a quite conscious decision for all of these groups whose demonstration was called some time *after* the Jamal protest had been widely advertised. Remarkably, but not at all surprisingly, the BT has not a word to say against those whose own perceived sectarian advantage and capitulationist political priorities led them to counterpose their "Workers Aid for Bosnia" march to a demonstration in defense of Jamal.

Other than themselves, the New York BT takes up the cudgels for the International Socialist Organization (ISO), taking great offense at our statement against those "'socialists' whose venomous hatred of the Trotskyist Spartacist League far outweighs their professed defense of Jamal." Well, you don't even have to take our word for it. The ISO puts it quite baldly in their own words in the recent "I.S. Notes" of their Canadian section:

> "Internationally, there has been growing support for the campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal from the death penalty. Unfortunately, until very recently it was completely dominated by the Partisan Defense Cttee, a Spartacist League front group and some equally unfriendly anarchist groupings.
> "With the approach of the date set for Abu-Jamal's execution, Aug. 17, there has been an opening to organize around the issue—preferably without the PDC."

The ISO's means of trying to get rid of the SL and PDC can be seen in their vicious thug attack on our comrades outside an ISO conference in Chicago. This the BT oh-so-politely describes as "our recent altercation" with the ISO. Now the BT's sudden interest in Jamal's case comes at a time when the PDC has been censored from speaking at events in defense of Jamal in Philadelphia and Vancouver.

We are revolutionary communists, and absent a broader tide of revolutionary social struggle, larger forces to our right will try to exclude us from any issue they choose to interest themselves in. Conveniently, now the BT pops up, providing arguments in advance for those leftists, anti-communist liberals and black nationalists who, now that the case has become popular internationally, would like to see us pushed aside. The BT says it's all our fault. What does this say about them? ■

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Balkans...

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complained hitterly that they were ordered to "retreat without firing a hullet."

Unlike 1991, the Serbian army did not intervene on the side of the vastly outmanned and outgunned Krajina Serbs, nor did the Bosnian Serb forces send in reinforcements. As it attempts to strike a deal with the imperialists aimed at lifting the suffocating embargo of Serbia, the Belgrade regime has grown increasingly frustrated with the hardline stance of the Croatian and Bosnian Serb leaders. Milosevic sent in a regular Serbian army general to take command of the Krajina army and also moved to assert control of the Bosnian Serb high command, while sidelining ultranationalist Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic. On August 4, an editorial in Belgrade's government-run newspaper, *Politika*, declared that the Krajina Serb leadership was no longer fit to hold office. A day later, it no longer did.

The outlines of a Serb/Croat deal aimed at dividing up Bosnia with imperialist blessings, first discussed by Milosevic and Tudjman as far back as 1991, have been clear for months. In late April, the Croatian army overran the Serb-populated region of western Slavonia, again with little resistance, driving out 15,000 Serbs. Then, in July, Bosnian Serb forces took the UN "safe havens" of Zepa and Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia near the Serbian border, expelling some 40,000 Muslims. Now, with Tudjman's "ethnic purification" of Krajina, there has been a big step toward compacting the Serb, Croat and Slavic Muslim peoples into distinct territories.

Western imperialist politicians who for years have hypocritically droned on about Bosnia's "multiethnic democracy" are now rejoicing how the map of ex-Yugoslavia has suddenly become "tidier." As the *Washington Post* (10 August) reported: "The Clinton administration is hoping to persuade the Western allies to support a new carve-up of Bosnia that would technically preserve the nation's existence but effectively divide it between neighbors Croatia and Serbia." The Muslim-clericalist regime of Alija Izetbegovic would be left with a thin sliver in the middle, a "Greater Sarajevo" (as a *New York Times* op-ed piece by Ronald Steel headlined), an entity which could easily be gobbled up by Croatia and Serbia. Even as the NATO imperialists were vowing to defend the Muslim enclave around Gorazde with massive air attacks against the Serbs, one official glibly remarked, "The eastern enclaves were always just bargaming chips for Sarajevo, though we could never say so" (*New York Times*, 2 August).

They can say so now because the imperialists think they've got a deal. After initially denouncing the Croatian offensive, France and Britain—which have the largest "peacekeeping" contingents in Bosnia—have now endorsed Washington's proposal. Returning from a meeting with his patrons in Moscow, Milosevic declared he will only deal with the Americans, and even the Bosnian Serb "foreign minister" says the U.S. plan "could be acceptable for the Bosnian Serbs." But in the volatile Balkan powder keg, nothing is certain. Fighting continues to rage in at least three areas, and if Tudjman were to go for eastern Slavonia, for example, it would likely ignite an all-out war between Serbia and Croatia—with Serbia holding the military preponderance.

Even if the Western powers and Russia succeed in imposing a fragile "peace" settlement on the Balkan peoples, it would necessarily perpetuate national oppression and injustice, creating the conditions for future wars when the internal and international balance of forces change. The forced population transfers of over *2.5 million* people to date, seething with sentiment for revenge, can only fuel further fratricidal conflict and is already being manipulated to that end by the nationalist regimes. Thus, Milosevic hopes to channel thousands of the Krajina refugees into the predominantly ethnic Albanian region of Kosovo, long a flash point of tension between Serbia and Albania. As we have insisted from the outset of the bloody Balkan conflict, the only just resolution for all the peoples in the region lies in revolutionary struggle of the working masses to sweep away their respective counterrevolutionary nationalist regimes through socialist revolution.

For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!

In the new "tell it like it is" posture of the imperialist press aimed at justifying "American *Realpolitik*," the *New York Times* (18 August) observed: "The wars of Yugoslavia's destruction have essentially involved violent shifts of population aimed at carving ethnically uniform swaths of territory from the ruins of a mixed society." We have insisted on this point for years (see "'Ethnic Cleansing' and Nationalist Wars," *WV* No. 580, 16 July 1993) in debunking the lies of the *Times* and other imperialist mouthpieces, which placed sole responsibility for the Balkan bloodbath on supposed "genocide" by the Serbs, grotesquely equating this with the Nazi Holocaust. In fact, it was Tudjman's Ustasha antecedents who as the Nazis' allies murdered hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Jews and Communists.

Much of the fake left also joined in the imperialist crusade over "poor little Bosnia." In the case of the United Secretariat and other self-styled "Trotskyist" groups in West Europe, this took the form of open material support to the Muslim nationalist regime in Sarajevo through "Workers Aid for Bosnia," a stalking horse for direct imperialist intervention against the Serbs. Yet these "socialist humanitarians" turn a blind eye to the imperialist economic blockade of Serbia, which has devastated the country, leaving almost two million jobless and particularly victimizing the old, the very young and the poor.

The nationalist civil wars were a direct antecedent to and by-product of the *counterrevolutionary* destruction of the Yugoslav deformed workers state. Under capitalism, which is based on the nation-state, the conflicting national claims of geographically interpenetrated peoples (as in the Balkans, Israel/Palestine, the Caucasus, etc.) can only be resolved through forced population transfers—or simply genocide. The only just alternative requires proletarian power, eliminating capitalism and laying the basis for an internationalist solution. The victory of Tito's Communist Partisans against the German Nazis and Croat and Serb nationalists in World War II made possible the relative ethnic harmony which existed in Bosnia before capitalist restoration. Yet only the extension of socialist revolution to the advanced capitalist countries of West Europe could provide the economic basis for genuine national equality in the relatively impoverished Balkans.

As it was, Tito's "market socialism," which opened Yugoslavia to increasing imperialist economic penetration, reinforced and widened disparities between the various regions, fueling resurgent nationalism and eventually paving the way for capitalist restoration. Finally, in 1991, Germany provoked the secession of Croatia, triggering the breakup of Yugoslavia and the nationalist slaughter that continues. The German Fourth Reich aims to secure neocolonial control in the region to ensure its economic *Drang nach Osten* (drive to the East).

If the Serbs have been more effective in their pursuit of "ethnic cleansing," it is not only because they began with superior firepower, but also because they were dispersed more widely through the region. Serbs controlled most of the Bosnian countryside because they were largely peasants, while the Slavic Muslim population was concentrated in urban areas. Also, the internal administrative borders of the Yugoslav republics were drawn by Tito as part of a conscious policy of diluting the influence of the predominant nationality, the Serbs. Thus forced population transfers are inherent in the process of recreating capitalist states in the region. And the Croat and Bosnian Muslim nationalists have been no less ruthless than the Serbs when they had the chance. Since 1991, the Zagreb regime has expelled well over half a million Serbs, and many more Muslims, from its territory, while the far weaker Sarajevo regime has made its intentions clear by increasingly consolidating around Muslim clericalism.

As it was before World War I, the Balkan region has again become a slaughterhouse of peoples and a cockpit for escalating imperialist rivalries which will ultimately lead to another interimperialist world war. The bourgeoisie today trumpets the "death of communism"—actually the death of Stalinism, which in the end dragged the multiethnic peoples of Yugoslavia back to the slaughterhouse of capitalism. The fate of Yugoslavia is a clear example of the need for communism, for international workers revolution. It was out of the carnage of World War I, triggered by an earlier round of nationalist bloodletting in the Balkans, that Lenin's Bolsheviks succeeded in leading the Russian workers to power in the world's first socialist revolution.

Reflecting growing war-weariness among the peoples of ex-Yugoslavia, one Bosnian Serb soldier exclaimed, "Now we are fed up with war, we want this finished but we don't know how to end it" (*New York Times*, 14 August). National antagonisms can be overcome only through *working-class unity in struggle* against the new exploiters—the imperialists and their local agents. The first step toward a just and lasting peace is the formation of *revolutionary workers parties* capable of winning the masses away from the counterrevolutionary nationalist demagogues on all sides in the fight for a Socialist Federation of the Balkans as part of a Socialist United States of Europe. ■

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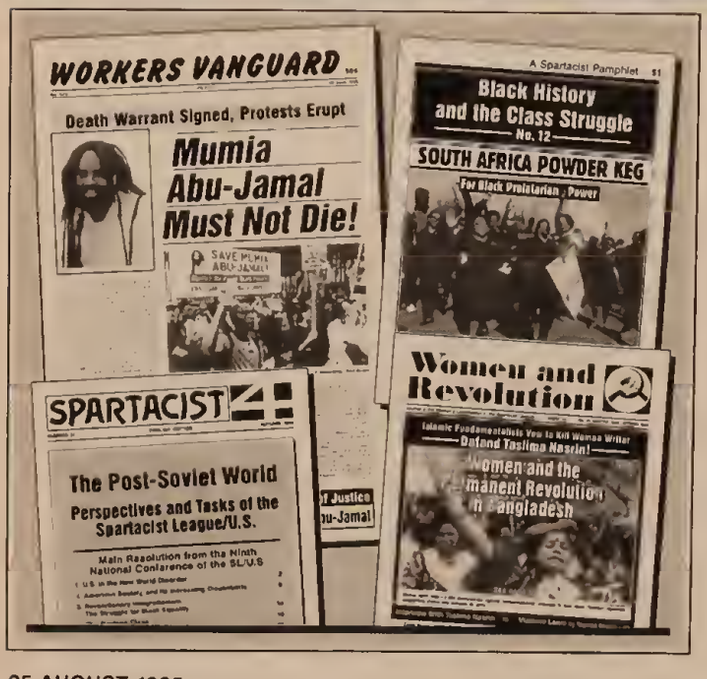

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WORKERS VANGUARD

U.S./UN/NATO Out of the Balkans!

U.S., Germany Sponsor Croatian Offensive

Sinisa Sunara

Invasion of Krajina by fascistic Croatian regime led to "ethnic cleansing" of 200,000 Serbs.

"Croatia's Army Redraws the Balkan Map," headlined the *Wall Street Journal* triumphantly. Encouraged and supported by the United States and Germany, Croatia's successful offensive against the Serb-populated region of Krajina early this month marks a major shift in the nationalist wars which have accompanied the breakup of Yugoslavia. Some 200,000 Serbs have been driven from the land where their ancestors lived for centuries, by far the biggest single act of "ethnic cleansing" in the four-year-long Balkan bloodbath. Frightened and desperate, they clogged the highways in flight as their possessions were looted and their homes torched by the Croatian army. Even as they retreated, the refugees were beaten and fired at, including several elderly Serbs who were gunned down at pointblank range.

Its imperialist sponsors in Washington and Bonn hailed Croatia's bloody escalation of war and the brutal uprooting of an entire population as a step toward "peace." Within days, President Clinton dispatched foreign policy adviser Anthony Lake on a tour of European capitals to secure NATO backing for a U.S.-brokered, imperialist-imposed settlement on the feuding Balkan nationalist regimes. Unwilling to risk the life of even a single American soldier in the Balkan quagmire, the U.S. has until now been stymied in its desire to project its influence in the Balkans and teach a bloody lesson to recalcitrant Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic. But particularly with the Republican-controlled Congress pushing for a unilateral lifting of the (nonexistent) embargo on military aid to Bosnia and the continuing stalemate in ex-Yugoslavia looming as an issue in the '96 elections, the Clinton administration finally decided to let the fascistic regime of Franjo Tudjman in Croatia do the dirty work for it.

A Clinton aide cynically admitted that Zagreb's invasion had been given "an amber light tinted green." "Operation Storm" was supervised from start to finish by the U.S. Despite the phony UN arms embargo, the U.S. has long been funneling arms and "advisers" to Croatia and Bosnia. The London *Independent* (7 August) reported: "After the 1991 [Serb-Croat] war, the US Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, General John Galvin, was in contact with the Croatian defence ministry, and another US general, Major-General John Sewall, has advised on military organisation."

Since the end of last year, some 15 high-ranking "former" U.S. military officers—headed by Major General Richard Griffiths, who "retired" only last December—have been working with the Croatian army under contract to a "private" Pentagon asset called Military Professional Resources, Inc. General Sewall has been counseling the Bosnian Muslim army on battle tactics. Meanwhile, for the first time since the Nazi occupation of Yugoslavia, German soldiers are now on the ground in Croatia, while last week German Tornado jets based in northern Italy across the Adriatic began flying overhead. Ironically, the base at Piacenza was used by the Luftwaffe in World War II.

Moreover, the U.S. ambassador to Zagreb, Peter Galbraith, was present at the mid-July meeting when Croatian and Bosnian Muslim officials agreed to launch the Krajina offensive under the pretext of lifting the siege by Serbian and dissident Muslim forces of Bihac in western Bosnia. As Croatian artillery bombarded the Krajina Serb center of Knin on August 4, U.S. Navy warplanes took out a Serb missile battery near the town. At the same time, U.S. war secretary William Perry openly alibied Washington and Bonn's Croatian clients:

> "The Croatian government has an obvious frustration with the move of the Bosnian Serbs and the Krajina Serbs into Bihac, and their actions are intended, among other things, to stop that."

This was echoed by German foreign minister Klaus Kinkel: "One cannot forget that Croatian patience was severely tested by years of Serbian aggression."

U.S., Germany Back Drive for Greater Croatia

In the ethnic civil wars that have raged in the former Yugoslavia since 1991, proletarian revolutionaries have opposed all the competing nationalist forces, as well as all imperialist intervention, including under a UN flag, and denouncing the starvation embargo of Serbia. In recent months, we have noted that NATO's insertion of beefed-up military strike forces has pointed to a change in the character of the war, "subordinating the Croat and Bosnian Muslim armies to an imperialist war against the Serbs" (WV No. 624, 2 June). The recent Croatian offensive has clearly been controlled by German and U.S. imperialism. At the same time, the offensive was marked by little real fighting on the ground—pointing to an imperialist-brokered deal between Zagreb and Belgrade.

As he strutted through "liberated" Knin, now bedecked with the Croatian coat of arms lifted from the World War II fascist Ustashi regime, Tudjman crowed that his army had ensured "the stability of the Croatian state for centuries to come." But the success of Tudjman's blitzkrieg was not simply a matter of Croat military prowess and imperialist backing. In fact, the Croatian sweep encountered virtually no resistance. As the Croats prepared to invade Knin, "the entire Krajina Serb army seemed to have vanished" (*Time*, 14 August). Soldiers

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Victory to Detroit Newspaper Strike!

On August 19, club-swinging cops attacked a picket line of 300 striking workers and their supporters outside a printing plant in the Sterling Heights suburb of Detroit. Four picketers were arrested as police repeatedly charged the line to run scab delivery trucks through. Some 2,500 pressmen, reporters, truck drivers and clerks have been on strike against the *Detroit News* and the *Free Press* since July 13. Drop the charges! Mobilize Detroit labor to shut down the presses and stop the scabs! For mass, militant pickets that nobody and nothing crosses!

Reuters

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 628 8 September 1995

No to Imperialist Diktat in the Balkans!

Down With U.S./UN/NATO Attack on Bosnian Serbs!

- **For Workers Revolution to Overthrow All the Bloody Nationalist Regimes!**
- **For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!**

SEPTEMBER 5—The massive NATO air attacks directed by Washington against the Bosnian Serbs mark a major escalation in the four-year-long Balkan wars. With over 500 bombing sorties thus far, this is the biggest military action ever undertaken by the Western imperialist alliance. This is not an isolated raid having little effect on the war but a move to change the balance of forces in favor of the U.S. and German clients in the region, Croatia and the Bosnian Muslims. After a four-day pause during the latest round of negotiations, the bombing is now continuing. As one senior NATO commander declared at the outset: "Our total strategy is to take away their military capability."

U.S. intervention to destroy or cripple the Bosnian Serb forces is emboldening the American ruling class in the belief that it can terrorize the peoples of the world at will, from colonial-type occupations as in Somalia and Haiti to the bombing of Third World capitals from Libya to Iraq, to imposing economic blockades on countries which refuse to bow to Washington's dictates. When the Bosnian Serbs shoot down NATO warplanes, they are not only justly defending themselves and their homeland but are acting in the

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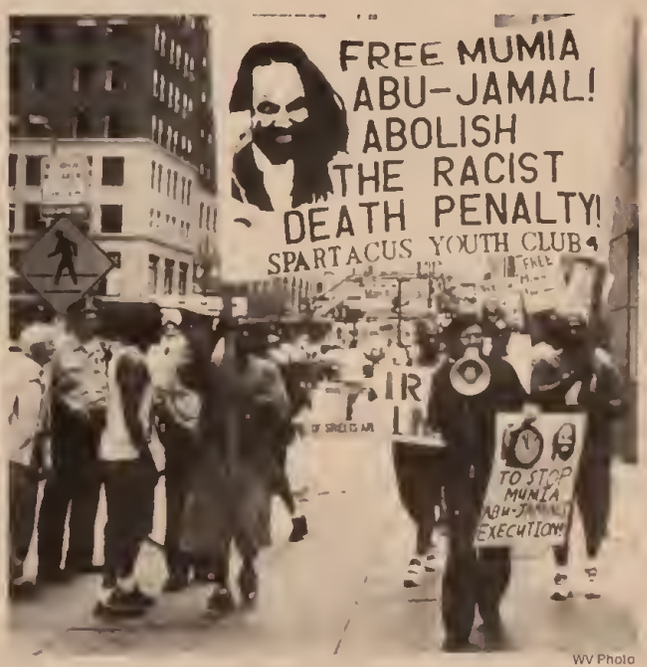
AP

Balkan war escalates as U.S. imperialists unleash NATO terror bombing of Bosnian Serbs.

Since 1980: 1 Million Jobs Lost, 1 Million More Prisoners

Bloody State Repression

Cole/L.A. Times



WV Photo

Left: L.A. cops' machinery of terror in action. As U.S. rulers speed up executions, campaign to save death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is galvanizing opposition. Right: demonstration in Chicago last month.

Three years ago, the videotaped beating of black motorist Rodney King by a mob of kill-crazy cops, followed by the cops' acquittal by a racist jury, produced a social explosion in Los Angeles and sent shock waves through the country. Now the Mark Fuhrman tapes, in which the notorious LAPD detective spews out racist epithets and boasts about brutalizing and torturing black people, persecuting interracial couples and routinely manufacturing evidence, have riveted national attention on the whole *system of racist cop terror* in capitalist America.

For years, both capitalist parties have been pounding away with their "war on crime," which has produced a mushrooming prison population, overwhelmingly black and Hispanic, and escalating police-state repression in the ghettos and barrios. In this context, the Fuhrman exposures have hit a raw nerve in this society, which is already massively distrustful of the government. What's necessary is to translate widespread outrage against the criminals in blue uniforms into effective social struggle.

The fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, the former Black Panther framed up by the Philadelphia police on charges of killing a cop in December 1981 and now facing execution, has become a major political battleground. Mumia's case has come to symbolize the barbaric death

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Free Mumia! Abolish the Death Penalty!

Brutal Anti-Immigrant Repression in L.A.

Killer Cops and Sweatshop Slavery

LOS ANGELES—A wave of killings of Latinos by L.A. cops and county sheriffs, coupled with the recent exposé of the virtual enslavement of Thai women garment workers here, have underlined that the entire working class must take up the fight for immigrant rights. The passage last November of anti-immigrant Proposition 187, currently tied up in the courts, has given the cops a green light to step up their attacks on all minorities in L.A. By denying basic rights to immigrants, Prop. 187 has also reinforced their brutal exploitation by the sweatshop bosses. Meanwhile, as a racist frenzy against affirmative action sweeps the state, the playing of tapes of the vile ex-detective Mark Fuhrman has exposed, once again, the whole system of racist police terror in L.A.—and indeed throughout the country.

Latinos were already fuming over the cops' killings of Santiago López García in April and Jesus Vargas in early July when, on July 29, 14-year-old José Antonio Gutiérrez of Lincoln Heights on L.A.'s east side was shot down by police as he was doing an errand for his mother. The shooting immediately sparked angry protests, which the cops met with a two-day virtual state of siege, arresting over 25 and beating people at will. Then on August 15 in the town of Torrance, south of Los Angeles, 18-year-old Richard Chacón was shot and killed by police who claimed he was a "gang member."

Jet

Cops arrest Latino youth protesting LAPD killing of 14-year-old José Gutiérrez in Lincoln Heights.

José Gutiérrez was similarly victimized by an "anti-gang" patrol called the "Community Resources Against Street Hoodlums" (CRASH). He was shot four times by CRASH cop Michael Falvo and then handcuffed as he lay dying. The cops even beat José's mother as she ran to his side. The coroner's report on the shooting showed that Gutiérrez was shot three times *in the back* and once in the side. His killing demonstrates the workings of American "law and order," where all black and Latino youth are "gang members" subject to summary execution by the cops.

The police followed this killing with a series of brazen provocations against neighborhood residents. On the second day of protests following the shooting, the LAPD shut down a fund-raising car wash organized by friends of the Gutiérrez family, cursing and handcuffing participants while outraged onlookers gathered. Several days later, people leaving a rosary service were harassed and searched. At an August 12 protest march, the cops continually walked through the crowd, videotaping and attempting to incite the protesters, hoping to set up a bloodbath.

Police have taken their cue from local politicians like Democratic city councilman Mike Hernandez, who initially called the shooting "justified," and Mayor Richard Riordan, who lashed out at groups "like the Brown Berets, the Communist Party and others" who "have only one motive in mind—that is to rile up the people." Feeling the heat of anger among Latinos, in July Mexico's consul general in Los Angeles felt compelled to protest to the sheriffs' department on behalf of the estimated 4.3 million Mexican nationals in Southern California.

Through its brutal repression of immigrants and minorities, the racist ruling class seeks to keep L.A. a low-wage haven for capitalist profit, with the trade unions weak and the workers divided by race and nationality. The true-life horror stories of slave labor in El Monte, 15 miles east of Los Angeles, give an idea of the kind of environment the bosses want to create for working people as a whole. Here young women who fled dire poverty in Thailand were forcibly kept inside an apartment complex-turned-sweatshop surrounded by barbed wire. They regularly toiled seven days a week from 7 a.m. until midnight—and sometimes longer—for $1.60 an hour, making clothes for toney retail stores, and also chains like Montgomery Ward. Some were held there for as long as seven years, subject to beatings by guards if they tried to escape.

Seventy-two workers were found when the California Labor Commission raided the El Monte factory on August 2. They were then shackled by Immigration agents and hauled off to jail. As a lawyer with the Asian Pacific-American Legal Center bitterly complained, "They were imprisoned at work and then by the INS." The Thai women are being given temporary work permits allowing them to stay in the U.S. long enough to testify against their slave drivers. But they are threatened with deportation after that, and have now become a political football as the Republicans and Democrats compete for votes by scapegoating immigrants for the falling wages and unemployment produced by decaying American capitalism.

All-purpose bigot Pete Wilson, who was re-elected California governor last fall under the banner of Prop. 187 and is now running for the Republican presidential nomination on his racist credentials against immigrants and affirmative action, ordered the August 2 raid and later denounced the Clinton administration for not cracking down on it earlier. (In fact, the El Monte sweatshop operated unhindered despite the knowledge of the federal government going back to Bush's term.) But Wilson hit a sore spot in Washington, prompting the feds to raid three separate L.A. garment factories on August 23, seizing dozens of Asian and Central American immigrants.

Superexploitation of immigrant labor has thrived whenever the capitalists have needed it, and is burgeoning today. From California fields and orchards to garment factories in New York's Chinatown. For decades, the flag-waving, pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy has turned its back on immigrants, saying they threatened "American jobs." This garbage only benefits the bosses, who relish pitting workers against each other in order to crush unions and drive down wages. Lately, garment, hotel and other unions have successfully organized some of the tens of thousands of immigrant workers in the L.A. region. For the labor movement to get off its knees requires actively fighting to defend immigrant workers and all of the oppressed. For starters, the unions must demand unconditional release of the imprisoned garment workers, no deportations and *full citizenship rights* for *all* immigrants.

It is precisely to sap the strength of the integrated unions that the government persecutes the foreign-born and unleashes its uniformed thugs on all minorities. After the shooting of José Gutiérrez, it was revealed that killer cop Falvo was one of 44 "problem officers" identified by the Christopher Commission in the wake of the police beating of Rodney King. Now, with the playing of the Fuhrman tapes, the revelation about Falvo has the local bourgeoisie terrified of the spectre of another multiracial social explosion like the one that rocked L.A. after the acquittal of the cop tormentors of Rodney King.

The only difference between Michael Falvo and Mark Fuhrman and the rest of the LAPD is that a few of the incidents in which they terrorized "suspects" have come to light. Now some activists around the Gutiérrez case have demanded "community control" of the police and called

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Racist Enforcers of Capitalist Rule

TROTSKY

LENIN

From the brutal attacks on Detroit newspaper strikers to the frame-up of death row prisoner and former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal to terrorizing blacks and Latinos in Los Angeles, the police are—as Marxists have always held—the armed fist of capital. The mustnamed "justice" system is in reality a web of racist injustice enforcing the interests of the bourgeoisie. The workers and oppressed must organize their own forces to defend themselves against the bosses and their uniformed thugs. The strike picket line is the embryo of the workers militia, to disperse the strikebreakers and fascist gangs. In their introduction to the basic principles of communism, Nikolai Bukharin and Evgeny Preobrazhensky explained the role of the cops and courts under capitalism.

The *police* and the *gendarmerie*. In addition to the regular army, the capitalist State has an army of picked ruffians, and of specially trained troops, peculiarly adapted for the struggle with the workers. These institutions (the police, for instance) have, indeed, the function of combating theft and of "protecting the persons and property of citizens"; but at the same time the police are maintained for the arrest, prosecution, and punishment, of discontented workers. In Russia, the police have been the most trustworthy protectors of the landlords and the tsar. Especially brutal, in all capitalist countries, have been the members of the secret police and of the corps of gendarmes—in Russia the secret police force or "political police" was known as the *ohrana* (protection). Large numbers of detectives, provocative agents, spies, strikebreakers, etc., work in cooperation with the official police.

Interesting, in this connexion, are the methods of the American secret police. They are in league with a vast number of private and semi-official "detective bureaux." The notorious adventures of Nat Pinkerton were really a campaign against the workers. The detectives palmed off bombs on the workers' leaders, incited them to kill the capitalists, and so forth. Such "detectives" likewise recruit vast numbers of strikebreakers (known in the United States as "scabs"), and troops of armed ruffians who murder strikers when opportunity arises. There is no villainy too black for these assassins, who are employed by the "democratic" State of the American capitalists!

The *administration of justice* in the bourgeois State is a means of self-defence for the bourgeois class. Above all, it is employed to settle with those who infringe the rights of capitalist property or interfere with the capitalist system. Bourgeois justice sent Liebknecht to prison, but acquitted Liebknecht's murderer. The *State prison service* settles accounts quite as effectively as does the executioner of the bourgeois State. Its shafts are directed, not against the rich, but against the poor.

Such are the institutions of the capitalist State, institutions which effect the direct and brutal oppression of the working class.

—N. Bukharin and E. Preobrazhensky, *The ABC of Communism* (1922)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 628 **8 September 1995**

Cross-Burnings and Anti-Union Terror

Fight Klan Terror! Unionize the South!

ATLANTA—Called "Freedom Summer '95," it was to be a substantial union organizing drive across the South, undertaken by the Laborers International (LIUNA) and United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) unions. Evoking the civil rights movement's Freedom Summer of over 30 years ago, the campaign was aimed at bringing unionization to poultry workers at plants from Mississippi to North Carolina. That the largely minority workers face many of the same enemies today, and that unionization of the South is inseparable from the fight for black equality, was dramatically driven home by a KKK-style cross-burning outside of an Alabama processing plant on the eve of a union recognition vote in June.

The conditions faced by tens of thousands of workers in these plants were exposed to the world four years ago, when 25 workers, mostly women and blacks, were the victims of industrial murder in an inferno at a chicken processing plant in Hamlet, North Carolina. Infernal conditions are still the rule in these hellholes, where temperatures reach 110 degrees and chemicals like chlorine burn skin and scar the lungs. The rapid and repetitious work exhausts the body and cripples the limbs of the heavily black, and today increasingly immigrant workforce.

The fight, with strikes, protests and marches, to win even the most elemental union defense for these brutally exploited workers has run smack into the whole apparatus of 1990s union-busting—backed to the hilt by the forces of the capitalists' government and the extralegal racist terror of the KKK. On the Eastern Shore of Maryland, in rural North Carolina and the Mississippi Delta, the courageous efforts of these workers to win unions underscore the necessity to forge a class-struggle leadership in the labor movement. It is vital to link the struggle to organize the South to the fight for black equality and immigrant rights against the racism and exploitation that are integral to capitalism.

AP

May 1995: Striking Case Farms poultry workers in North Carolina face down scab truck. Workers, mostly Latin American immigrants, later won union recognition.

Perdue and the KKK

The "Freedom Summer '95" campaign came to Dothan, Alabama, where workers at the Perdue chicken plant were scheduled to vote for a union on June 15. The night before, white plant supervisors burned a cross on company property to intimidate 1,100 mainly black poultry workers. Hung from the cross was a "Vote Yes" T-shirt. Preceding this provocation were burnings of Laborers union literature and of videotapes featuring Jesse Jackson appealing for unionization. A union loyalist was told he would be "carried out in a body bag," while others were physically attacked in the plant the day of the vote. Some of the same supervisors who burned the cross "visited" workers in their homes. These acts of race-terror are the stock in trade of the Klan. In this climate of blatant intimidation, the unionization effort went down to defeat.

Later that month, at another Perdue plant in Lewiston, North Carolina, the UFCW narrowly lost a union drive. On July 12, poultry processing workers at a Perdue plant in Robersonville, NC lost a union vote. In this instance Perdue threatened to close the plant (which is hugely profitable) while the local police chief in concert with company security harassed union activists daily. But the organizing drive has not just produced defeats. Also on July 12, some 500 mainly Guatemalan and Mexican workers at a Case Farms poultry plant in Morganton, North Carolina won union representation with the Laborers after a bitter fight.

Meanwhile, federal immigration cops are increasingly being used to intimidate workers. In July, Clinton's Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) went to work for the poultry bosses, sweeping down on poultry processing workers in Salisbury, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. "Six agents set up a roadblock a few hundreds yards outside the factory entrance and stopped every foreign-looking worker" entering Showell Farms, another Perdue plant (*Washington Post*, 23 July). Korean-born workers with papers were summarily handcuffed. Another 27 Mexican and Central American workers were deported, some within hours.

The hated INS (*la migra*) is carrying out a dragnet centered on the Southeast, called "Operation South PAW," which as of July 4 had seized 2,078 workers. This racist campaign stands for "Protect American Workers" and stems from the criminal call of Atlanta union tops for raids against undocumented workers laboring in numerous projects for the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta. The vile program of the labor traitors is a knife against *all* workers—black, Hispanic and white. In fact, in numerous struggles across the country, immigrant workers have breathed new life into unions crippled by the betrayals of the labor bureaucracy. A revolutionary leadership would unite the multiracial working class in the U.S. and across North and Central America by demanding *full citizenship rights for anyone who has come to this country*, and forging genuine solidarity in action to aid workers' struggle across the borders.

The recent surge of union organizing, particularly in the South, has drawn the attention of the *Wall Street Journal* (1 September) which headlined, "Some Unions Step Up Organizing Campaigns and Get New Members." This mouthpiece for big business cited a "major shift in strategy" by labor in turning attention to low-paid workers. The *Journal* highlighted the victory of Morganton's poultry workers as an example that "it can be done." But the immigrant workers at Case Farms had organized even before LIUNA arrived, showing their power by *striking the company* rather than relying on the bosses' government, as the hidebound bureaucracy does.

Many of the Guatemalan workers at Case Farms had been hounded from their homeland by U.S.-backed death squads. They were brought up from Florida to Morganton, where wages were a paltry $6.35 an hour. Out of this, workers had to pay for their own safety supplies and were limited to one bathroom break a day. In May, 300 workers staged a sit-down strike, refusing to leave the plant, and then walked out for four days. The company promised concessions on working conditions, but in the end only installed two microwaves. The outraged workers approached the Laborers, and in July the union won an NLRB election by a 238-183 vote. After the victory, workers were greeted by placards in Spanish declaring "First Triumph for Workers in Morganton" and "Long Live Your Union."

Integrated unions will play a decisive role in the fight against resurgent Klan terror and the heritage of Jim Crow segregation across the South. It is no accident that in February of this year 100 black newly organized textile workers in Union Point, Georgia formed the core of a protest march against that city's racist ban of 21 local black youth from entering downtown businesses. In the small towns where the large capitalist corporations build their plants, wages for blacks are wretched—but abysmal for whites as well. Racism and racial oppression are a mechanism for social control used to keep white labor bigoted, backward and unorganized. The bosses want a docile workforce to keep the South a bastion of the runaway, low-wage, non-union "open shop." The racist terror of the Klan is the ultimate defense of racist exploiters.

When the KKK staged a provocation in Atlanta in January 1989 under the protection of thousands of cops and National Guardsmen, the Partisan Defense Committee initiated a counter-demonstration that brought out 3,000 anti-Klan protesters, calling to "Mobilize the Power of Organized Labor and Minorities Against KKK/Nazi Killers!" This is what a fighting workers party would do. But the subservience of the union tops to Clinton and the Democratic Party stands as a roadblock to the sharp class struggle that is necessary. Who believes that the AFL-CIO bureaucracy will lift a finger against the cruel exploitation of workers by poultry king Don Tyson, Clinton's chief bankroller and Arkansas crony? Jesse Jackson's picket line appearances are a downpayment for the Democratic Party—brushing up his credentials so that he'll be better able to rope workers and blacks back into the voting booth for Clinton next year.

Poultry workers themselves have little economic clout, but a concerted union organizing drive can and must extend to the huge industrial belt that is springing up along the I-85 corridor, particularly auto and related industries, and elsewhere in the South. By 1990, North and South Carolina had more manufacturing production workers than any state except California. Pointing to this development, the document of the Spartacist League's Ninth National Conference (1994) noted:

> "A unionization drive could generate an embryonic workers party which would also become the political expression of the black community. 'Organize the South' and the call for integrated labor action to defend black rights are key slogans for Southern work today."
>
> —*Spartacist* No. 51, Autumn 1994

The social struggle to unionize the South and rid it of Klan terror requires a revolutionary leadership of the labor movement that will build a *multiracial workers party*, leading a fight against racial oppression and Klan terror and the capitalist system which spawns it. ■

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Oakland, California Phone: (510) 839-0851

Chicago
Tues. 5:00-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
161 W. Harrison St., 10th Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 663-0715

New York City
Tues. 6:30-9:00 p.m., Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St (one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, NY Phone: (212) 267-1025

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Young Spartacus

Defend Affirmative Action and More:

Fight for Open Admissions!

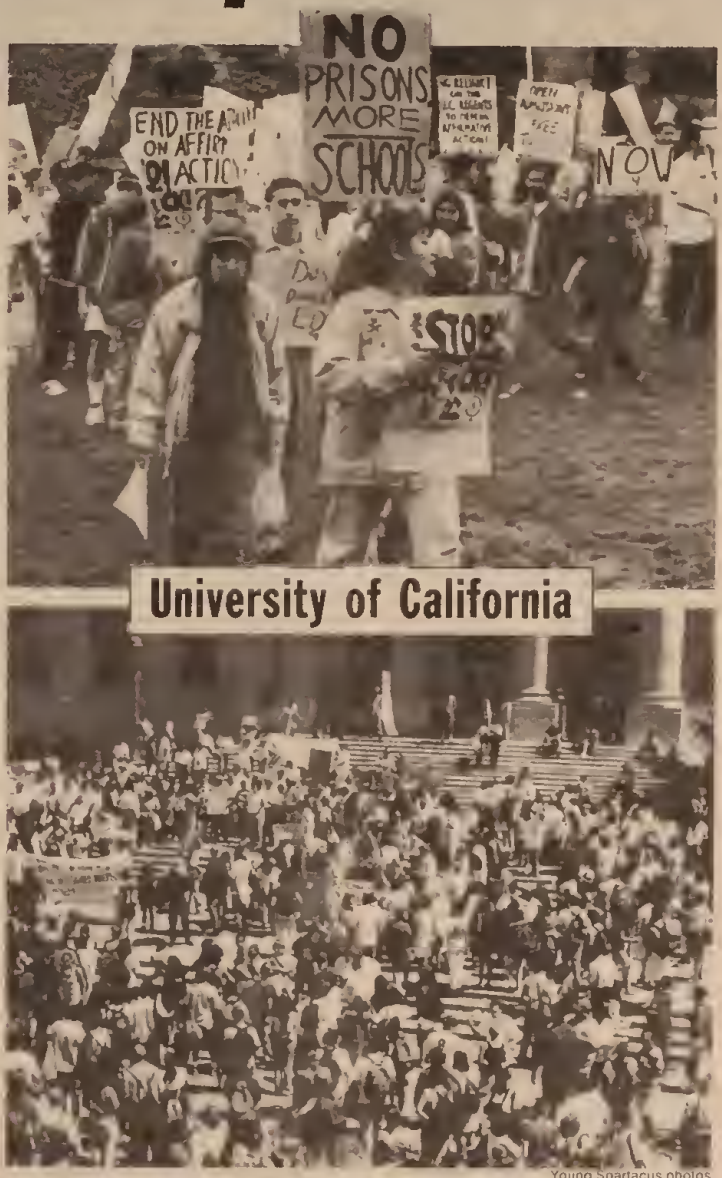
The University of California Berkeley campus opened the semester with big and very integrated demonstrations against the axing of affirmative action programs in university admissions and hiring. The Regents of the University of California system voted July 20 to kill affirmative action, one of the last by-products of the civil rights movement. On August 28, the UC Berkeley Spartacus Youth Club joined a multiracial protest of some 700 students and workers at Sproul Plaza. The Spartacus Youth Clubs defend affirmative action in university admissions because this has meant gains, however minimal, against the inherent race and class bias in higher education under capitalism. But such gains are at best limited and easily reversible, as the Regents' vote has clearly shown.

The SYC leaflet handed out at the August 28 demonstration argued sharply against the reformist "politics of the possible" which counsel reliance on the class enemy represented by the Regents, the administration and the Democratic Party. In capitalist America, even a basic democratic right like equal access to education requires a revolutionary fight. As our leaflet stated:

> "Having eliminated millions of manufacturing jobs, effected genocidal cuts in welfare and gutted the public health care system, the ruling class now wants to declare that they never have to hire a black person again. And they want to turn even the public universities into bastions of race and class privilege ...
>
> "We need to fight for education to be the *right* of everyone—not a privilege for the wealthy and chosen few. The only way to cut through the 'savage inequalities' of education in racist America is to fight for OPEN ADMISSIONS—with no tuition and a state stipend for all who want to go to school. Nationalize the private universities—no more class privilege in education! Massively expand remedial programs so that students deprived of the right to an education in inner-city holding pens misnamed 'schools' can catch up with those who had the advantage of well-funded suburban and private schooling. Abolish the Board of Regents and the administration! For student/teacher/worker control of the university!
>
> "The elimination of affirmative action in hiring means students already have powerful allies in the workforce at every UC campus and beyond.... We need to appeal to these workers to join us in our struggle. We also need to appeal directly to the ghettos and barrios throughout the Bay Area. We can do that if we make our fight at Cal their fight—for an education and future for *every* child. The workers in the UC system can appeal to the unemployed if they make their fight the fight for 'Jobs for All'—a shorter workweek at no loss in pay! Take control of hiring away from the racist capitalists—for union hiring halls and special recruitment and training programs for minorities! *The strategy necessary to win this struggle against the racist assault is one which seeks to build student/labor/minority mobilizations for open admissions and jobs for all.*"

There is *supposed* to be free public education in this country from kindergarten through 12th grade. Expand it! The SYC leaflet continued:

> "The concept of education as a right instead of a privilege challenges the class character of education in capitalist America where class and race are dividing lines. Therefore, for universities to really become public institutions of learning open to all requires a revolutionary struggle against the capitalist system itself. The Spartacus Youth Club is dedicated to building the revolutionary party, based on the multiracial working class, which is necessary to lead that struggle to victory in a socialist revolution."



Young Spartacus photos

Students rally to defend affirmative action outside UC Regents meeting in San Francisco (top) and at Berkeley campus (bottom). Democrats, Republicans join in racist purge of higher education.

The ruling class has its priorities: building prisons and shutting down schools, factories and hospitals. The values of this decayed capitalist society are revealed in one blunt statistic: by 1999 there will be more prisoners in California than UC undergraduates and graduates combined. One Democratic Party Senator in California has even proposed a state commission to compile a list of which campuses to shut down in order to pay for the costs of more jails and more cops.

There should be no illusions in pressuring the Regents and Democratic Party politicians for redress. Their whole system of class exploitation is based on denying the working people, who produce the wealth, the fruits of their labor. The political domination of the capitalist class is achieved largely by keeping the working class divided along race and ethnic lines. Thus affirmative action has become a major lightning rod to deflect domestic discontent as the ruling class politicians overtly play the race card in the upcoming presidential elections.

The Regents' vote to end affirmative action is expected to cause a slide in black enrollment to less than *2 percent* at UC Berkeley. It's *a racist purge*. The millionaire Regents, headed by Governor Pete Wilson who led the nation's racist drive against immigrants last year with California's vicious Proposition 187, are today sending a message to minorities that they are not to be seen in the hallowed halls of the ruling class' universities. At UC Berkeley, minority graduate students got a taste of this when David Saunders, who is black, Armando Vargas, a Latino, and two Native American women were denied entrance to an official reception for graduate students because some of them were carrying flyers defending affirmative action. Only after Saunders protested repeatedly, displaying his ID and relinquishing his flyers, were he and the others let in... *via the back door!*

Racist Rollback of Affirmative Action—"Mainstreaming" a Fascist Hobbyhorse

The rantings against affirmative action come straight from the racist pseudo-scientific tract *The Bell Curve*, which maintains that blacks are genetically "inferior" to white people (see "The 'Bell Curve' and Genocide U.S.A.," in the Spartacist publication *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 12). Minorities and women are under siege for supposedly having taken the place of "more qualified" white males. This lie is just the cover for a virulently racist rollback of *everything* won through the battles of the civil rights movement. Four decades after *Brown v. Board of Education* formally ended Jim Crow segregation in the public schools, Northern schools are more segregated than in the Deep South, with blacks attending inner-city public schools that resemble holding pens. Public schools have been left with no funding and no books; in the last few years many school districts have ended classes months early because there is no money left—at least for the poor.

School integration through busing has long been off the agenda. Programs like Head Start, which successfully gave youth from impoverished backgrounds a chance to survive in this racist society, have been gutted or dismantled altogether. Newt Gingrich vows to take poor children away from their mothers and put them into orphanages. Meanwhile, the Republicans' "Contract With America" would cut 50 percent in the capital gains tax for the *rich*. The growing gap between rich and poor is pushing the United States in the direction of many Latin American countries, with an impoverished mass at the bottom and a tiny layer of the super-wealthy at the top. In racist America, the income gap is also the color line. Make no mistake about it: dropping affirmative action in government-funded projects will mean that no black contractor in California will ever get a job again.

From the outset, the ruling class introduced affirmative action programs in a conscious effort to pit oppressed sectors of the working class against their better-off brothers and sisters. Affirmative action plans in hiring (initiated by President Richard Nixon [!] in the "Philadelphia Plan") were a pretext to bust unions

and destroy hard-won union gains such as seniority. At best, they represented tokenist measures which accepted racist discrimination as a given, now and for the future. As we wrote in "Defeat Racist Assault on Affirmative Action!" (*WV* No. 620, 7 April):

> "Affirmative action programs were set up as a sop to defuse social struggle and in order to create and co-opt a layer of black middle-class professionals. But these paltry, tokenistic efforts never made a dent in the deep-seated oppression of the black ghetto masses, whose condition has continued to deteriorate over the past few decades."

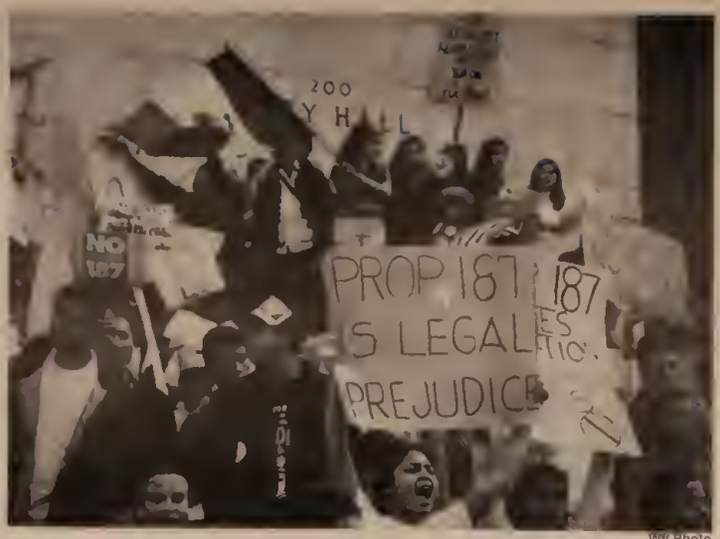
As one black student from Los Angeles recently put it, "For me, getting into Berkeley was like climbing Mount Everest with flip-flops and no rope." Affirmative action *accepts* that Berkeley will remain a distant dream for most black and Latino youth—black undergraduate enrollment was only 5.5 percent last year, Latino only 13.8 percent. Last year Proposition 187 passed despite widespread student and worker opposition. A fight for open admissions that challenges the racial oppression which is the foundation of American capitalism poses the possibility of social struggle *outside* the framework of capitalist pressure politics.

The grotesquely misnamed "California Civil Rights Initiative," endorsed by Governor Wilson, would not only end affirmative action, but would also slash special programs for minority youth, counseling programs for minorities and women in colleges and high schools, attack financial aid and abolish remedial programs on college campuses. For his attack on affirmative action Wilson was praised by "Aryan Nations," which opened its annual convention in Idaho by hailing the California governor for "beginning to wake up" to white-supremacist views.

Crusading against affirmative action has always been a fixation of the fascists, but the latest assault is a significant sign that part of the fascist program is embraced by a wing of the American ruling class, which now openly borrows their language. At the "Good Ol' Boys Roundup" in Tennessee, an annual campout for cops and feds, one longtime supporter of David Duke, the "former" Ku Klux Klansman turned Louisiana Republican, was prevented from handing out "white power" literature. In his defense, the man remarked that "all of the issues he was discussing were called racist" but two of Duke's key proposals—ending welfare and affirmative action—are now part of mainstream political agendas (*New York Times*, 27 August)! With this sweeping attack on social gains, the society we live in looks increasingly like one that could have emerged from a Confederate victory in the American Civil War.

Asian Americans Caught in Cynical "Divide and Rule" Scheme

Ultimately, *quotas* have been used to *restrict* rather than advance minority admissions, as in the case of Asian Americans today. Asian students are often told that affirmative action doesn't apply to them, as an ethnic group that allegedly does not experience racial discrimination. This is a particularly obscene assertion in California, which beginning in the 1880s passed the most vicious exclusionist laws against Chinese and other Asian immigrants and their children, and during World War II threw Japanese Americans into concentration camps. Particularly since the passage of Prop. 187 last fall, hate crimes against Asians in the U.S. were reported to be up 35 percent, with the vast majority of these attacks taking place in California. As for the notion that Asians are losing their places on campuses because "less qualified" blacks and Latinos are supposedly taking their place—this breathtaking lie overlooks the reality: Asian enrollment has always been curtailed by administrators anxious that their campus not be "flooded" by Asians at the expense of whites.



WV Photo

Los Angeles, November 1994: Students join garment workers protesting Prop. 187 immigrant-bashing campaign spearheaded by Governor Pete Wilson, who then targeted affirmative action in state jobs and education.

The racist opponents of affirmative action particularly try to use the Asian population to go after blacks and Latinos in a cynical game of "divide and rule." Just about every article in the capitalist media dealing with affirmative action has gone out of its way to quote an Asian opposed to it. However, many Asian students have been involved in protesting the assault on affirmative action, recognizing that in a racist wave whipped up against blacks and Latinos, the bigots will necessarily target them as well. Asian student activism was key to exposing and protesting the hideous slave-like conditions of immigrant garment workers, mainly Asian women, working in the sweatshops of Jessica McClintock, the fifth-largest clothing manufacturer in the Bay Area (see related article, page 2).

Jesse Jackson, UC Administration Reel in Fake Left

As the Democrats vie with the Republicans for the racist law-and-order vote, Jesse Jackson has come to play a key and insidious role in the battle over affirmative action. His job is to win back to the fold the large numbers of blacks and Latinos who have deserted the Democratic Party in disgust. Jackson in past years egged on the racist "war on drugs," preaching that blacks have only themselves to blame for the miserable conditions they are trapped in. Speaking out of one side of his mouth, he coyly hints at an "independent bid" in the 1996 elections and can be found marching against the "prison industrial complex" in Chicago. Out of the other side of his mouth, he boasts of his registering millions of Democratic voters as "instrumental" in putting Bill Clinton in the White House.

Perhaps to curtail the threat of a Jackson candidacy, or simply to retain the allegiance of women voters, on the eve of the Regents' vote Clinton paid lip service to the principles of affirmative action, proposing to "mend, don't end" it. The lukewarm endorsement of the racist yuppie in the White House has been met by liberal defenders of affirmative action as a victory allegedly proving that there is some inherent difference between the Democrats and Republicans.

When they're not consumed in fighting each other, two coalitions at UC Berkeley—the "Diversity in Action" group brokered by the Stalinist-derived Committees of Correspondence, and the "Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action by Any Means Necessary" spawned by the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League—are working overtime to derail student protest into the dead end of illusions in Jesse Jackson, the Democratic Party and the university administration which strikes a pose as "soft cop" to the Regents' "hard cop" stance.

When Berkeley chancellor Chan-Lin Tien called for the formation of a new task force to study how to "preserve and enhance the diversity that is essential to our campus," Hatem Bazin, leader of the Diversity in Action (DIA) coalition, responded, "If the intent of the committee is to seek to maintain and expand diversity, then we are all for it." Perhaps the DIA coalition should change its name to "DOA"—Dead on Arrival. It has embraced the enemy before the battle has even really been engaged.

The rhetorical posturing of the RWL's "Coalition to Defend Affirmative Action by Any Means Necessary" simply covers for a program that in no way differs from that of the DIA. Explicit reliance on the administration is the thrust of the first two planks of this coalition's "program": "1. Regents rescind the vote to destroy affirmative action. 2. Chancellors, administrators, and faculty, maintain current affirmative action policies." In a leaflet handed out at the July Regents' meeting, the RWL's National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition (NWROC) gushed that it "supports Jesse Jackson joining this critical fight to save affirmative action." The NWROC leaflet devotes fully half its space to hailing Jackson and telling him what he can do to build the "movement." Nowhere does their leaflet ever mention Jackson's role as a shill for the Democrats, let alone pose the necessity for a fight against the capitalist system as a whole.

Vying for bureaucratic political control of the burgeoning student protests at Cal, the two coalitions call their own separate actions where they exclude each other or "unite" to duel each other in ridiculous "battles of the bullhorn." Now the Committees of Correspondence has taken their sectarian exclusionism into cyberspace, appealing on the Internet for other socialist groups to condemn the RWL and write them out of the left. Students who want to fight the racist assault on affirmative action have been left scratching their heads at the antics of both groups.

We in the Spartacus Youth Club have a very simple proposal: for *united-front action*, in which no participant is censored, of all fighters against the racist rollback of affirmative action. Let the competing strategies and political views be debated and tested in action through the broadest possible united-front protests! It is a sick irony that in protests for "diversity," fake leftists are the attack dogs for censorship and political conformity—which only undercuts the struggle against the racist rollback!

Break with the Democrats! Build a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

In Oakland on August 3, the SYC helped mobilize contingents of hospital workers, longshoremen and others in a powerful labor/black demonstration to stop the threatened execution of death row political prisoner and anti-racist fighter Mumia Abu-Jamal. Some of these same workers—and hundreds more who work in the UC system of universities and hospitals—can be mobilized to fight the racist assault on affirmative action. To unleash the social power of the working class requires a sharp political struggle against the pro-capitalist leaders of the union movement. As the SYC's leaflet states:

> "Bowing before government prohibitions of the militant tactics that built the union movement in the 1930s, the current labor bureaucracy echoes the racist and chauvinist poison of the ruling class. Their solution to every problem is to vote Democrat—as if there were any real difference between the twin parties of the capitalist class. It is this prostration of the American labor movement which allows the capitalists to so boldly attack the remaining gains of the civil rights movement."

To defeat the racist assault against affirmative action and to provide an education and a future for everybody, it is necessary to break the chains binding the oppressed to the twin parties of racist American capitalism, unleashing the power of the working class, and to build a fighting workers party that will champion the interests of all the oppressed. The Spartacus Youth Clubs are organizing on campuses across the country to build that party on the road to socialist revolution. **The Spartacus Youth Club is building a contingent with the Labor/Black League for Social Defense to raise class-struggle politics in the demonstration planned for the September 14 Regents' meeting at the Laurel Heights UC campus in San Francisco. Join us!** ■

Spartacist Events

NEW YORK CITY

Thursday, September 14, 7:30 p.m.
Eyewitness Report: South African Unions Take Up Jamal's Fight As Their Own, Update on Jamal Case, Free Mumia! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!
122 West 27th Street, 10th floor

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Saturdays, 3 p.m. September 9
Workers of the World, Unite: The Power of the Proletariat; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Spartacus Youth Club Video Showings
Monday, September 11, 7:30 p.m.:
From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal; Howard University, Undergraduate Library Lecture Room

Tuesday, September 12, 7:30 p.m.:
From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal; University of Maryland, Hornbake Library, Room 4205 (Nonprint Media), College Park, Maryland
For more information: (202) 872-8240

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forums

TORONTO

Saturday, October 21, 7:30 p.m.:
National Chauvinism Is Poison to Class Struggle—For Quebec Independence!; St. Paul's Centre, 427 Bloor Street W (just west of Spadina)

Spartacus Youth Club Forum
Thursday, September 21, 7:30 p.m.:
Capitalism Means Racist State Terror, Battle for Mumia's Freedom; University of Toronto, International Student Centre, 33 St. George Street (north of College)
For more information: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Friday, October 13, 7:30 p.m.: *National Chauvinism Is Poison to Class Struggle—For Quebec Independence!*; Britannia Community Centre, 1661 Napier (off Commercial Drive), Room L4
For more information: (604) 687-0353

Behind U.S. Imperialism's Nuclear Holocaust

Capping a swell of chauvinism in the American media over the 50th anniversary of the World War II defeat of Japan, on September 2 President Clinton spoke at a Pearl Harbor celebration of "V-J Day." In a ceremony that pointedly excluded representatives of Japan, he called for "unity in America's purpose" in facing new economic challenges. Particularly coming after the administration's protectionist brinkmanship over auto parts, this was a barely veiled call for a new Pacific (trade) war against Japan. And while the White House whips up Japan-bashing for Clinton's '96 reelection campaign, a chorus of Democrats and Republicans have echoed that the U.S. "had to" drop the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 in order to "save lives." This decades-old refrain is a *lie* to cover up the nuclear apocalypse unleashed by "democratic" American imperialism (see "Hiroshima, Nagasaki: U.S. War Crimes," *WV* No. 627, 25 August).

Over 200,000 human beings—men, women and children—were killed in Hiroshima and Nagasaki on 6 and 9 August 1945, respectively, as a result of the initial blast, heat and radiation poisoning. Over the years, many thousands more died from the after-effects. Recent U.S. opinion polls have shown that less than half of those surveyed (44 percent) think it was right to drop the atomic bomb; among those under the age of 30 opposition is overwhelming. Yet while the U.S. media hypocritically lectured Japan on the need to "face up to its barbaric deeds, find suitable apologies" (*San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle*, 13 August), there will certainly be no U.S. apology forthcoming for its wanton act of racist barbarism. When Clinton was asked at the American Society of Newspaper Editors in April, "should we apologize" for the A-bombing, he said "No," and later warned against "a major reexamination of that issue."

The American bourgeoisie has been vigilant on that score. When a little bit of truth slipped into a planned exhibit by the Smithsonian Institution on the 50th anniversary of the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, they got landed on with a political ton of bricks. In preparation for the exhibit—whose centerpiece was to be the actual B-29 aircraft, the *Enola Gay*, which dropped the bomb on Hiroshima—the Smithsonian had prepared a long script with photos and documents, attempting to present a "balanced" view of the events leading up to the bombing, telling about atrocities and sufferings on both sides in World War II. After they got run over by the media steamroller, the director of the museum was forced to resign and the script was scrapped. But it isn't only aging war veterans still reliving the chauvinism of World War II who refuse to see the inhuman horror: *it's the capitalist ruling class which alibis its past crimes in order to prepare for future crimes.*

Thus the "even-handed" *New York Times* (6 August) mildly reproved "veterans groups that strove to censor a Smithsonian exhibit about Hiroshima," while vituperating against those who "imply that Hiroshima is America's Auschwitz, that Harry Truman was somehow a war criminal...." What upset even such "responsible" spokesmen for U.S. imperialism about the Smithsonian exhibition was the prospect of officially giving the lie to the myth that "saving American lives and shortening the war" was why the bomb was dropped. Rather, the A-bomb was intended to "send a message" to the Soviet Union about the lengths to which U.S. rulers would go to assert world domination. The trashed Smithsonian script noted:

> "As tensions grew in spring 1945 over the Soviet domination of Poland and other Eastern European countries, Secretary of War Stimson hoped that American possession of the atomic bomb might help make the Soviets 'play ball' in Europe and elsewhere."

The script presented hard evidence in the form of a reproduction of a page from Secretary of War Henry Stimson's diary, dated 15 May 1945, which shows that "the S-1 secret"—the still-untested atomic bomb—was already an integral part of diplomatic calculations vis-à-vis the Soviet Union as Truman approached the Potsdam meeting with Stalin. "The trouble is that the President has now promised apparently to meet Stalin and Churchill on the first of July," Stimson wrote, complaining that "it seems a terrible thing to gamble with such big stakes in diplomacy without having your master card in your hand." As it turned out, Truman delayed the Potsdam meeting until mid-July so that he could get the results of the successful test of the first atomic device at Alamogordo, New Mexico on July 16.

When Truman got word of the Hiroshima bombing, he exulted, "This is the greatest thing in history!" At first he claimed the bombs had saved "thousands of American lives," but by the end of 1945 this was embellished to say that "a quarter of a million of the flower of our young manhood" was saved by avoiding an invasion of Japan. Later the figure was upped to "half a million" and even a million or more. When scholar Gar Alperovitz presented evidence 30 years ago (in his landmark study *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam* [1965]) that the A-bombing was not about "saving lives" but rather to threaten the Soviet Union, it caused considerable controversy in the academic community. But since then memoirs have been published and government documents have been declassified which amply document this.

Today, as Alperovitz notes in his voluminous new book, *The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb and the Architecture of an American Myth* (Knopf, 1995), the essential point has become "commonplace" among scholars. As J. Samuel Walker, chief historian of the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission, wrote in *Diplomatic History* (Winter 1990): "The consensus among scholars is that the bomb was not needed to avoid an invasion of Japan and to end the war within a relatively short time. It is clear that alternatives to the bomb existed and that Truman and his advisers knew it.... It is certain that the hoary claim that the bomb prevented one-half million American combat deaths is unsupportable." *The A-bombing of Japan was in fact the first act of the emerging Cold War aimed at destroying the Soviet degenerated workers state.*

In his new book, Alperovitz goes into great detail expanding the documentary evidence that there was no "military necessity" to use the bomb, that Truman & Co. knew this and were actually preoccupied with giving Stalin a "demonstration." Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral William D. Leahy, who wanted to strangle Japan with a sea blockade, claimed in a 1949 interview that Truman had promised to A-bomb only "military objectives." "Of course," he noted bitterly, "then they went ahead and killed as many women and children as they could which was just what they wanted all the time." Major General Curtis E. LeMay, who later became infamous for calling to bomb Vietnam "back to the stone age," stated bluntly at a September 1945 press conference: "The war would have been over in two weeks without the Russians entering and without the atomic bomb."

Indeed, the official U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey issued in 1946 concluded:

> "Certainly prior to 31 December 1945, and in all probability prior to 1 November 1945, Japan would have surrendered even if the atomic bombs had not been dropped, even if Russia had not entered the war, and even if no invasion had been planned or contemplated."

The Japanese rulers had an overriding concern: as a result of growing war-weariness, they feared internal revolution. The Konoe Memorial, a document submitted to Emperor Hirohito, in February 1945 urged an early surrender to the Allies, citing: "More than defeat

continued on page 8

Japan Peace Museum

"The Atomic Dome," at center of August 1945 Hiroshima A-bomb blast, is now a memorial to victims of this heinous U.S. war crime.

Camera Press

Daily Worker

U.S. president Truman delayed July 1945 Potsdam conference with Churchill and Stalin, waiting for results of A-bomb test to strengthen his hand against Soviet Union. Right: American Communist Party obscenely lauded nuclear bombing of Hiroshima in August 1945 cartoon.

Philly Cops' Frame-Up Machine

The fight to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, condemned to death in a police conspiracy, has thrown a spotlight on the machinery of racist injustice in the city of Philadelphia. Today's "legal" murder machine has a hideous continuity with the open warfare against the city's black population under police chief and later mayor Frank Rizzo during the late 1960s and '70s, and the heinous 1985 bombing of the black MOVE commune (see "Police-State Philadelphia," *WV* No. 626, 28 July). These are the roots of the scandal which exploded in the Philadelphia Police Department late last spring and is escalating week by week.

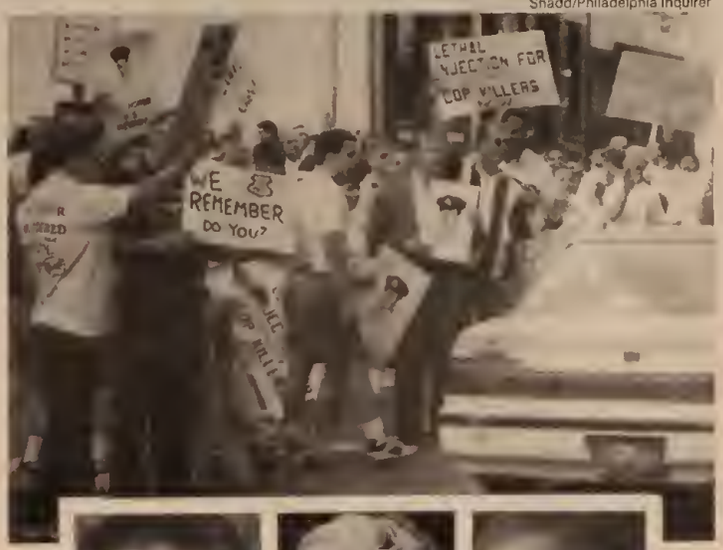
Although it is generally reported as "cop corruption," what has been revealed is a *system of false arrests and frame-up convictions*. Reports last June said federal prosecutors were reviewing "scores" of cases; then the number jumped to "hundreds." By early August, they had 1,100 cases under investigation. And last week, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (31 August) reported that the feds "subpoenaed the logs of as many as 100,000 arrests" over the past decade from five police districts—the 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th and 26th Districts—and the elite Highway Patrol. Meanwhile, it came out that the head of the police unit that deals with "racially sensitive" and bias crimes used a racist slur directed at a black cop at the August 12 Jamal protest.

The tip of the iceberg is the 39th District—the so-called "dirty 9th"—in predominantly black areas of North Philly, where six cops have pleaded guilty in federal court to corruption charges. The cops have admitted that for years they framed people by planting drugs on them, fabricated testimony, beat their victims and stole more than $100,000 from them. So far, nearly 50 people who were sent to prison on drug-related charges on the basis of "evidence" supplied by these cops have had their convictions overturned.

The cases show how the cops operate in Philly's black ghettos as a local Gestapo, kicking down the doors of innocent citizens, brutalizing entire families, and routinely concocting false search and arrest warrants. This is the racist system which Mumia Abu-Jamal courageously denounced and exposed. And for that, the vindictive police, prosecutors and courts railroaded Mumia to death row.

Jamal is by no means the only victim of the massive system of racist frame-ups in this "capital of capital punishment," where the district attorney seeks the death penalty more often than anywhere else in the country. Already, defense lawyers in five murder cases—three of which involve the death penalty—have requested that the cases be reviewed because evidence fabricated by the indicted cops was used in the trial.

Shadd/Philadelphia Inquirer



Philadelphia Inquirer

Smale/NY Times

Winters/Philadelphia Daily News

Racist police mob screams for Mumia Abu-Jamal's blood outside hospital workers union hall in Philadelphia, July 19. At center of sinister web of Philly frame-up system, from left to right: FOP president Richard Costello, D.A. Lynne Abraham, Mayor (and former prosecutor) Ed Rendell.

In one case that has become notorious, Betty Patterson, a 54-year-old grandmother and active church member, was framed for "drug dealing." To get a search warrant in order to scour her house for evidence against her sons in a murder trial, the cops fabricated a tale of witnessing 22 drug sales at Patterson's house, paid a drug-addicted prostitute—a "piper"—to say she bought cocaine there, and planted drugs in the house. Patterson's three sons were acquitted of murder charges, but she served a three-year prison term for supposedly dealing cocaine. Betty Patterson's conviction was among those which have now been overturned. She is demanding $7 million in damages from the city and deserves every penny she can get.

The current scandal was set off when Pamela Jenkins, a prostitute who was a paid "street informant" for one of the cops in the 39th District, agreed to wear a wire for the feds. The FBI began investigating after a 1991 incident in which Philly cops beat black Temple University student Arthur Colbert, held a revolver to his head and tried to frame him as a drug dealer. When the cops were fired as a result of Colbert's complaint, they hired Jenkins to testify falsely that Colbert had sold her drugs. Jenkins claims she was personally responsible for 35 arrests; she was also the sole "eyewitness" in the 1988 murder conviction of Raymond Carter, who was sentenced to life in prison.

Many of the corrupt police methods which have been exposed in the current scandal—manufacturing of evidence, lying by police officers, giving out favors to prostitutes in exchange for false testimony—were precisely those which were used to railroad Mumia and sentence him to death. Thus the prosecution's "star witness" against Jamal was a prostitute, Cynthia White, who repeatedly changed her story to the cops' liking while facing prostitution charges, and who was given *police protection* working the streets.

In the frame-up of Jamal, a cop and a hospital security guard claimed to suddenly "remember" a supposed confession of guilt by Mumia more than two months after the fact! This kind of fabrication is standard procedure for Philly cops and prosecutors. And judges invariably accept even the most outlandish lies by the cops. One 39th District cop used exactly the same story in at least a dozen cases to justify breaking into homes without a warrant.

Commenting on the current scandal, Philadelphia D.A. Lynne Abraham moaned how "troubling" all this was "because our criminal justice system in large part puts its faith in the word of police officers." That is certainly in large part how Mumia Abu-Jamal was framed. What the death-penalty zealot Abraham finds "troubling" is not that the cops lie, but that their lies are exposed. But the D.A. and her cohorts are sticking hard to the lies concocted to get Mumia.

The pattern of systematic set-ups and frame-ups was so pervasive that everybody all the way up to the top had to know. It was a purposeful operation by a ruling class seeking to intimidate the city's black and Hispanic population. And from Rizzo's 1970 raid on Black Panther headquarters to the 1978 cop assault on MOVE's Powelton Village headquarters to the murderous 1985 bombing of MOVE's Osage Avenue home, the cops and their masters used naked terror to subjugate Philadelphia's black community.

There must be no illusions that the "Justice" Department will "clean up" the Philly cops. More than 800 pages of FBI files on Mumia, documenting its constant surveillance, harassment and frame-up attempts, are proof of the intimate collusion between the feds and the Philly cops. The racist callousness of the bourgeois rulers toward the countless lives ruined by these cop frame-ups was captured by Philadelphia mayor Edward Rendell's dismissive comment that it is "truly not an extraordinary story" because it "happens in every big city periodically." In fact, it happens all the time. Under Democrats or Republicans, administered by black or white politicians, vicious racist repression is an integral part of capitalist rule. ■

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State Repression...

(continued from page 1)

penalty, and the fight to free him is galvanizing opposition to racist oppression across the board. As thousands have marched, unions around the country and the world have taken up his case, and public figures have spoken out to save his life, the international outcry forced the authorities to grant a stay of execution last month.

Hearings on Jamal's appeal for a new trial are scheduled to resume for final arguments in the Philadelphia court on September 11. And in Pittsburgh on September 5, a hearing is opening in U.S. district court on an appeal to overturn the prison authorities' policy of sealing Mumia off from the media and from his legal advisers ever since the prison learned of his book, *Live from Death Row*. Evidence introduced at this hearing shows that privileged legal correspondence between Jamal and his legal defense team has been read, confiscated and copied by the prison authorities, and circulated to Governor Ridge's office.

The fight to free Jamal and against the racist death penalty means a struggle against the partner parties of capitalism. Democrat Clinton has kicked off his reelection campaign with TV ads screaming, "Expand the death penalty! That's how we'll protect America!" And California governor and Republican presidential hopeful Pete Wilson is using the Jamal case to appeal to racist "law and order" sentiment. Speaking to a meeting of the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) during a campaign tour last week, Wilson ranted, "It may be radical chic to support cop killers, but justice demands that they be held accountable" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 30 August).

George Holliday video

AP

Vicious cop beating of Rodney King led to multiracial upheaval in L.A. Former LAPD detective Mark Fuhrman, boasting of framing and brutalizing blacks and Latinos, personifies system of racist state terror.

Emblematic of Clinton/Gingrich's America is the return of the barbaric chain gang in Alabama, as inmates chained to each other are forced to do road work or break rocks ten hours a day in the hot sun. Currently, more than 1.5 million people are behind bars, half of them black and one in seven Hispanic, while another 3.5 million are either on probation or parole. In the past 15 years, over one million people—overwhelmingly black or Hispanic—have been added to the prison population. Accompanying the explosion of the prison population is the speedup of the assembly line of death. More than 3,100 people are now crammed into the country's death rows—again primarily black and Hispanic—more than double the number in 1982. And the sharp rise in legal executions is dwarfed by the number of people wantonly shot down by cops.

Behind this escalation of police-state terror is the drastic decline in the living standards of wide layers of the population. In the same period that a million places were added in the prisons, a million manufacturing jobs were lost, on top of the wholesale destruction of Midwest industry in the 1970s. Meanwhile, the American labor movement has been gutted through the massive use of scabs protected by cops and private security outfits, while the union tops have refused to lift a finger. But the scabherders can be defeated by sharp class struggle.

Last weekend, striking Detroit newspaper workers and their supporters waged a pitched battle with the cops in a scene recalling the labor battles of the 1930s which built the industrial unions. This is the kind of mass picketing that is needed to win this strike, and others. However, this was an unusual and largely spontaneous explosion of militancy. What is needed is a leadership putting forward a program for workers struggle to defeat the now-routine use of scabs to break strikes. As Leon Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Program (1938):

> "*Strike pickets* are the basic nuclei of the proletarian army. This is our point of departure. In connection with every strike and street demonstration, it is imperative to propagate the necessity of creating *workers' groups for self-defense*."

Fundamentally, a labor movement which does not aspire to political power will simply be viewed as another social group fighting for its own narrowly sectoral interests. To mobilize the active popular support needed to win even economic struggles, the workers movement must take the lead in combatting all forms of social oppression, from police terror in the ghettos and barrios to the

A-Bomb...

(continued from page 6)

itself, what we must be most concerned about...is the communist revolution which may accompany defeat" (quoted in Joe Moore, *Japanese Workers and the Struggle for Power, 1945-1947* [1983]).

At Potsdam in July, Alperovitz documents, Truman maneuvered to *delay* Soviet entry into the war and continued to insist on Japan's "unconditional surrender," thereby ensuring there would be no surrender until the A-bombs were dropped. Pushing hardest for using the A-bomb was Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, who acted as a tutor to the former vice president when Truman took over as a result of Franklin D. Roosevelt's death in April 1945. As the president's personal representative on the committee which was charged with the details of the bomb's use, "Mr. Byrnes recommended, and the Committee agreed...that the bomb should be used against Japan as soon as possible; that it be used on a war plant surrounded by workers' homes; and that it be used without prior warning" (Notes of Interim Committee meeting, 1 June 1945). The reference to a "war plant" was just for argument: the 1946 Strategic Bombing Survey noted that "all major factories in Hiroshima were on the periphery of the city—and escaped serious damage." This was deliberate mass murder of innocent civilians.

A group of Manhattan Project scientists led by Hungarian physicist Leo Szilard valiantly circulated a petition to thwart the bomb's use, but to no avail. When a delegation visited Byrnes' home in Spartanburg, South Carolina in late May, Szilard later reported that Byrnes "did not argue that it was necessary to use the bomb against the cities of Japan in order to win the war." Instead, Byrnes argued that "our possessing and demonstrating the bomb would make Russia more manageable in Europe." Byrnes was a leading "Dixiecrat" segregationist, and we have documented elsewhere the role that racism played in the decision to drop the atomic bomb on Japan (see "Racism, Anti-Sovietism and Atomic Holocaust," *WV* No. 459, 12 August 1988).

Yet despite the mountain of evidence, the Big Lie persists in the popular mind that dropping the atomic bomb was necessary to save hundreds of thousands of lives. Alperovitz demonstrates that behind "the fifty-year deception" there has been a *conscious, determined campaign coming from top ruling circles*. This involved not only government-sponsored propaganda, but also doctoring, suppressing and destroying historical documents, particularly on the human consequences of the bomb. When the horrors of nuclear warfare became apparent to Americans after the war (particularly in John Hersey's graphic account, *Hiroshima*, published in 1946), there was a natural mass revulsion which worried the Cold Warriors who were preparing nuclear war against the Soviet Union. So a propaganda machine was geared up, capped by an article by former war secretary Stimson in *Harper's* magazine (February 1947) asserting that the A-bombing was necessary to end the war and thereby avoid "over a million casualties." This has been the official line ever since.

Meanwhile, contrary positions and evidence were suppressed with the full weight of governmental power. When Leo Szilard tried to publish his petition in *Science* magazine after the war ended in August 1945, he was threatened with the Espionage Act, and the petition was classified "secret" for many years. American and Japanese still pictures and films of Hiroshima and Nagasaki taken in September-October 1945 by civilian investigators were confiscated by U.S. military police and remained "secret" for two decades. When in 1946 the War Department prepared a "Statement of Effect of Atomic Weapons on National Security and Military Organization," a preliminary draft mentioning Japanese peace feelers was shot down by a memo sent by a general who wrote, "The implication that the atomic bombs were dropped on a people who had already sued for peace should not be included in a paper prepared for release to the public." Here again, as the old adage goes, history is written by the victors.

Today, most of the opposition to American use of nuclear weapons at Hiroshima and Nagasaki is pacifist. But it is *class* questions which are decisive here, as always. World War II was an imperialist war for redivision of the world's markets and seizure of colonies—except on the Russian front, where the Soviet Red Army heroically fought to defend the bureaucratically degenerated workers state from the onslaught of Hitler's armies. As part of his "anti-Hitler coalition" with the "democratic" imperialists, Stalin criminally ordered Communist parties around the world to back the war efforts of their respective capitalist governments and suppress revolution. The American CP, for instance, enforced no-strike pledges for FDR. Today, the CPUSA proclaims, "No More Hiroshimas" (*People's Weekly World*, 5 August). But in 1945, they grotesquely *applauded* the A-bombing of Japan—depicting it and the Soviet declaration of war on Japan in a cartoon as "The Old One-Two" (see illustration).

Following the example of Lenin and Trotsky in the first imperialist world war, the Trotskyists opposed both imperialist camps in World War II, while defending the Soviet Union. For this courageous internationalist stance, they were persecuted by the imperialists—the European Trotskyists were decimated by Nazi repression, as well as Stalinist assassinations; in the U.S., 18 American Trotskyist leaders were jailed by FDR. While Stalin and his successors sought "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists, they were rewarded for their sellouts by decades of Cold War and U.S. nuclear threats, culminating in the implosion of the Soviet Union in 1991. Far from heralding a "New World Order," this has led to a wave of bloody nationalist slaughter, such as has wracked the former Yugoslavia, and the heating up of interimperialist rivalries, pointing to trade wars and ultimately a new imperialist world war.

As the American Trotskyists wrote on 18 August 1945 in their biting denunciation of the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, "The workers must wrench the power from the hands of the blood-drenched capitalist criminals and take their destiny in their own hands." ■

Join the Labor Black Leagues!

The Labor Black Leagues stand for mobilizing minorities and working people in militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist capitalist oppression. The LBLs are fraternally allied to the Spartacist League, and are part of the revolutionary movement of the workers and oppressed against the bosses and for socialism.

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savage cuts in welfare and other social programs for the poor. And fighters against racist oppression must look to the racially integrated working class, which alone has the social power to sweep away the capitalist rulers and their armed enforcers.

The Fuhrman Tapes: The True Face of the Cops

The Fuhrman tapes revealed by O.J. Simpson's defense recount one nauseating incident after another in which he and his LAPD buddies brutalized and murdered black people and others. Fuhrman, who retired from the LAPD a few months ago, positively revels in racism and sadism. Speaking of an incident in the Hollenbeck district in 1978, Fuhrman gloats: "We basically tortured them. . Their faces were just mush.... There was blood everywhere. All the walls. All the furniture. All the floors." When the LAPD was forced by community protests to carry out an "Internal Affairs" investigation, neither Fuhrman nor any other cop got even a slap on the wrist.

Predictably, the powers that be are scrambling to dissociate themselves from Fuhrman, denouncing him as an isolated "rogue cop." What crap! Throughout his 12 years on the LAPD, Fuhrman openly boasted of his contempt for blacks, Latinos, women and Jews—when a fellow cop married a Jewish woman, Fuhrman painted a swastika on his locker—and brutalized people with impunity. This fascist mentality reflects the cops' role as an occupying army in the ghettos. This is recognized even by black cops, such as LAPD officer Bob Grant, who remarked, "If you come down in south L.A., a lot of people describe us as an occupying force, and, in a lot of ways, we are an occupying force" (*New York Times*, 4 September).

The cops' outlook reflects their job: as Karl Marx put it, being determines consciousness. Just as slave drivers in the Old South had to despise the black slaves, so the cops in racist America today must necessarily be contemptuous of the ghetto poor—and all minorities.

And that is not specific to L.A., but characterizes cops from coast to coast, from the lowliest county sheriff to the highest levels of the federal government. The same BATF (Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms) which went after the integrated Branch Davidian commune near Waco—leading to the slaughter of over 80 men, women and children—was heavily represented at a KKK-style "Good Ol' Boys Roundup" in the backwoods of Tennessee. Shocked hotel guests in Washington, D.C. this spring got a taste of the pure swinishness of the cops as NYPD delegates to a national cop convention went on a rampage. And now the lid has been lifted on the cesspool of racism and frame-up convictions that is the Philadelphia Police Department, as investigators are reviewing as many as *100,000* arrests (see "Philly Cops' Frame-Up Machine," page 7).

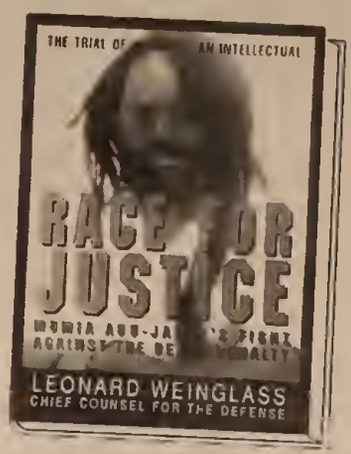
The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal has focused international attention on the Philadelphia cops and courts. Yet in belying response to Mumia and his supporters, published as an op-ed piece in the *New York Times* (13 August) and since reprinted in major newspapers around the country, Philadelphia D.A. Lynne Abraham dismissed as "ludicrous" any notion that "the police framed [Jamal] to silence his unpopular political views." Yet frame-ups and lies are standard operating procedure for cops and prosecutors, whether out of malice and racism or sheer laziness.

What all of this adds up to is a working description of the *capitalist state*, which through its cops and courts is an instrument for the suppression of the exploited and oppressed by those who exploit them. "The state of antiquity was above all the state of the slaveowners for the purpose of holding down the slaves," explained Friedrich Engels in his 1884 book, *The Origins of the Family, Private Property, and the State*, "and the modern representative state is an instrument of exploitation of wage labor by capital." In this deeply racist country, founded on black slavery, the state has always and necessarily been racist to the core. And at the pinnacle of this system of terror and repression, to this day, stands the death penalty.

Mobilize Labor/Black Power!

Following the right-wing victory in the '94 Congressional elections, while the reformist left wallowed in despair, we noted that the bourgeois rulers have been creating a mass of social tinder that would sooner or later erupt in resistance at the base. The 1992 L.A. upheaval is an example of the fragility of American capitalist stability. And a mood is developing in the labor movement that something drastic must be done to stop the bosses' determination to wipe out all union gains, if not unions themselves. The desire to struggle against the all-around capitalist offensive has been tapped by the international campaign of protest to save Mumia Abu-Jamal, which is drawing in discontented youth, minorities and working people around the world.

Our longstanding effort to save Jamal stemmed directly from our solidarity with MOVE against the government terror bombing in 1985. In contrast, much of the left shamefully turned a blind eye to the MOVE bombing at the time, because this hack-to-nature commune was then not considered popular. Likewise, the opportunist left refused to speak out against the murderous FBI/BATF assault at Ruby Ridge, or even to protest Clinton/Reno's Waco holocaust two years ago. Typically, the



Powerful evidence exposing frame-up of Mumia Abu-Jamal is detailed in his legal appeal to reverse 1982 trial and death sentence, now available in book published by Common Courage Press.

wretchedly social-democratic International Socialist Organization dismisses Congressional hearings into the Waco inferno as purely a "sop to the right-wing militias" under the despicable headline, "Wacko Speaks Up on Waco" (*Socialist Worker*, 1 September).

In picking and choosing which victims of capitalist state terror they will defend, the reformists demonstrate a touching—and ultimately suicidal—faith in the bourgeois state, which is hardly so discriminating. Hand in hand with this go illusions in the cops (the ISO and others consider these professional racist strikebreakers part of the labor movement!). We call for cops out of the unions, and oppose the presence of black police spokesmen at Jamal protests. Even though they are occasionally on the receiving end of their white colleagues' bigotry, black cops are no less a part of the racist machinery of repression. The head of the black Philadelphia policemen's organization, the Guardian Civic League, made this emphatically clear when he insisted that every cop is "one of our own" as he joined the chorus calling for Mumia's execution (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 19 August).

Repeating many of the lies purveyed by the police and prosecution, an article by Marc Kaufman in the *Washington Post* (20 August) on Jamal nevertheless observed: "To millions of people he is now America's No. 1 political prisoner." It's necessary to make the fight to free Mumia part and parcel of a struggle to take on the Democratic and Republican parties of racism and union-busting and to challenge the capitalist murder machine at its core. Key to this is the mobilization of the social power of the working class, not only to extricate Mumia from the grip of his would-be executioners but to sweep away the entire apparatus of bourgeois state terror through socialist revolution.

The labor-centered demonstrations initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee in New York and the Bay Area on August 3 point toward the strategy needed to do this. The PDC has fought from the beginning to enlist the support of the trade unions in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal, and particularly over the last few months major unions and labor federations have taken up this struggle, from the U.S. West Coast to West Europe and South Africa. But more than endorsements are needed; it is necessary to bring labor into the streets—and out on strike—to free Mumia. At the August 3 NYC rally, Larry Adams, president of Mail Handlers Local 300, told the crowd of unionists: "If we allow them to hit Mumia today, they'll be back for the rest of us tomorrow." At the New York Labor Day parade a month later, the Mail Handlers carried a banner in defense of Jamal.

To mobilize labor/black power, it is necessary to wage a political struggle against those who would keep the black and working masses chained to the "lesser" evil of the Democratic Party. While Jesse Jackson speaks out for Jamal and leads marches against the "jail-industrial complex," he has been the point man for the bipartisan "war on drugs" which has filled the prisons with black youth. The devastation of the ghettos goes hand in hand with the decimation of the labor movement. Meanwhile the capitalist rulers, aided by the chauvinist union tops on one hand and black nationalist demagogues like Louis Farrakhan on the other, seek to pit white against black for ever-shrinking resources.

What is needed to cut through this is a revolutionary workers party that champions the cause of all the oppressed. The words of Karl Marx at the time of the American Civil War, reprinted on the back of membership cards for the Labor Black Leagues, affiliated to the Spartacist League, are no less true today than they were then: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded." Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the racist death penalty! ■

Join the Campaign!

The international campaign of protest has temporarily stayed the executioner's hand, but Mumia Abu-Jamal is still under the shadow of death. The struggle for his freedom continues. As Mumia said himself in "The Stay," Judge Sabo's August 7 ruling was an attempt "to blunt the edge off of a growing and militant anti-death penalty movement.... Let us utilize this precious time to build a stronger and broader movement, to not 'stay' one execution, but to halt them all!"

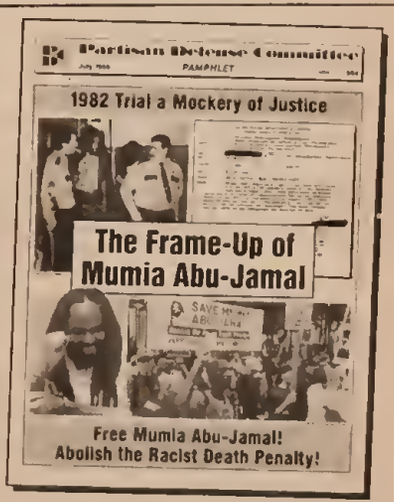
1 Organize protest! Pass motions demanding Jamal's freedom in your unions, campus, community and church organizations. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Jamal. Publicize Jamal's case in your union or organization's newsletter. Get on the Partisan Defense Committee phone tree to organize in your area.

2 Spread the word! The current issue of the PDC's *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* is devoted to the struggle to save Mumia Abu-Jamal. And the new PDC pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, exposes in detail the prosecution's case of lies, the coercion of witnesses and the FBI's COINTELPRO terror campaign against Mumia and the Black Panther Party. Order bundles of the special campaign issue of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* and *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, 25 copies of either publication for $10. For only $1, buy the PDC's new button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" Get your local bookstore to stock Jamal's powerful *Live from Death Row*. Contact the PDC for speakers, to arrange showings of the PDC's video, *From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal*. The video can be purchased for $30 from the PDC at the address below. Contributions of $5 or more to the PDC include a year's subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*.

3 Send protests to: Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120. Ridge changes his phone and fax number daily to try and stay ahead of the growing movement for Jamal! As we go to press, the numbers are: phone (717) 789-2500, fax (717) 783-3369.

4 Funds are urgently needed! To get a new trial and overturn the death sentence could cost over a million dollars. **Make a contribution today** to the Bill of Rights Foundation (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense") and mail it to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

5 Write to Jamal to express your solidarity: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090.



Spread the word: order bundles of the new PDC pamphlet!

For more information: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013 • (212) 406-4252

Balkans...

(continued from page 1)

interests of working people and oppressed nations throughout the world.

The International Communist League has opposed the nationalist bloodletting on all sides in the ethnic civil wars in the former Yugoslavia. At the same time, we have always opposed all of the many imperialist interventions, including the UN "peacekeepers" and economic embargo of Serbia. It has been quite clear in recent months, beginning with the deployment of the so-called rapid reaction forces last spring, highlighted by the American engineered and controlled Croatian offensive in early August, and now with the mass murder bombing by the U.S. and NATO, that this has become an imperialist war against the Serbs. *We call for defense of the Bosnian Serbs against U.S./NATO imperialism and its puppets of the Muslim-Croat alliance.*

As the Pentagon war machine was unleashed in the Balkans, the ICL called emergency demonstrations in a number of cities, including New York, London, Berlin and Paris. At a protest against the NATO onslaught held outside the United Nations headquarters on September 1, Spartacist spokesman Len Meyers stated:

> "The American government says it wants peace. When they talk about peace, we think of the mushroom clouds over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This government, this capitalist ruling class, this imperialist system cannot bring peace, because it is a system based on death and destruction, whose aim is to suck the last drop of profits and dividends out of the working people.
>
> "Our protest here today is part of our struggle against the biggest butchers of all, the American ruling class. We fight to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party to sweep away this bloodthirsty ruling class through socialist revolution."

A Wanton Act of Imperialist Bloodlust

The capitalist counterrevolutions which swept across East Europe in 1989-91 led to the bloody breakup of Titoist Yugoslavia along national lines. The Serbs—the largest and militarily strongest nationality in the region—quickly gained the upper hand, controlling a third of Croatia and 70 percent of Bosnia. But American imperialism refused to accept a Greater Serbia established in defiance of its will, and the German Fourth Reich was pushing for a Greater Croatia.

Three years ago, the Western powers imposed a punishing economic embargo against Serbia—sanctioned by the United Nations, that den of imperialist thieves and their victims—in order to force Belgrade nationalist strongman Slobodan Milosevic to abandon his support for the Croatian and Bosnian Serbs. In recent months that is exactly what Milosevic has done. At the same time, Washington and Bonn moved to build up the military capacity of the Croatian regime and Bosnian Muslims. In early August, the Croatian dictatorship of Franjo Tudjman—which openly solidarizes with the pro-Nazi Ustashi regime of World War II—carried out a blitzkrieg against the Serbian-populated region of Krajina, an act cynically hailed by the U.S. and Germany as a step toward "peace."

As some 200,000 Croatian Serbs were driven from the land where their ancestors had lived for centuries, the Clinton gang launched a diplomatic offensive for an imperialist-imposed settlement among the contending Balkan nationalists. The Bosnian Serbs—now on the strategic defensive, with their former protector Milosevic doing the imperialists' bidding—were willing to go along. Two days *before* the NATO onslaught, "hard-line" Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic declared that "the American initiative takes account of the minimum interests of the Serbian side." The one party dragging its feet on the way to the negotiating table was the Sarajevo Muslim regime, which now believes it has the military means to drive back the Serbs. While the Serbs are the direct targets and victims of the NATO attack, Washington is also sending a message to the Muslim leaders to fall into line.

The immediate pretext for the NATO onslaught was the explosion of two artillery shells in central Sarajevo, killing and wounding over 100 people. The Serbian military command disavowed responsibility for this and clearly had no interest in such an attack at this juncture. According to UN investigators, the shells were fired from an area where there are both Bosnian government and Serb troops. It would not be the first time that the Bosnian Muslim regime has shelled its *own people* in order to provoke the Western powers into attacking the Serbs. In any case, the NATO terror bombing is an act of sheer gratuitous bloodlust. It is simply to show the murderous big stick of American imperialism.

The NATO air offensive was politically prepared by years of anti-Serb warmongering by American and European politicians and in the Western media and was echoed by much of the so-called left. The Serbs have been portrayed as bloodthirsty monsters bent on terrorizing peace-loving Croats and Bosnian Muslims. Certainly, the Serbian forces have committed terrible crimes, including gang-raping Muslim women. Yet, as in all such communalist wars, atrocities abound on all sides among people engulfed in fear, hatred and lust for vengeance.

If the scale of atrocities has been greater on the side of the Bosnian Serbs, it is only because up until now they have been militarily dominant. But that military dominance can be quickly reversed, depending mainly on the ever-shifting policies and even whims of the Western imperialists, centrally the U.S. This was clearly and dramatically demonstrated last month when the Croatian army, advised by Pentagon generals, carried out the biggest single act of "ethnic cleansing" in the four-year-long Balkan bloodbath.

The Bosnian Muslim army is now substantially larger than the Bosnian Serb forces and increasingly well armed. The UN arms "embargo" is hollow except as war propaganda. Recently retired American Air Force general Charles Boyd, a former deputy commander of the U.S. European Command, judges that "the Muslims have gained significant military parity with the Serbs while maintaining the image of hapless victims in the eyes of much of the world" (*New York Times*, 9 August). If Washington and Bonn decide to unleash the Muslim army allied with the Croats on the ground, and backed by the massive use of NATO air power, the Bosnian Serbs could suffer heavy losses. This would depend, as it did in Croatia, on agreement with Milosevic that the Serbian army not intervene.

For the moment, the Western powers and Yeltsin's Russia favor some kind of deal among the contending Balkan nationalists centering on a partition of Bosnia. But any imperialist-engineered "peace plan" will necessarily perpetuate national oppression and injustices, laying the basis for new wars when the internal and international balance of forces change. These wars will not only involve the peoples of the region but also the Western powers and Russia, whose conflicting interests have historically made the Balkans the powder keg of Europe.

The New World Disorder and the Balkan Wars

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union convinced the American ruling class that it was now the unchallenged master of a "one superpower world." During the buildup to the terror bombing of Iraq in the 1991 Gulf War, George Bush proclaimed a "New World Order." To demonstrate their stature as the only superpower, America's rulers have intervened in conflicts around the world even where they have no strategic interests. And while the U.S. still has massive military power, it no longer has the economic strength to act as global gendarme and simultaneously compete successfully with its imperialist allies/rivals, Germany and Japan.

Fear of American casualties, along with differences with the West European powers and Yeltsin's Russia, deterred Washington from direct military intervention in the Balkans. However, the seemingly interminable Balkan conflict, and particularly the defiant attitude of the Bosnian Serbs, made a mockery of the American rulers' claim to be masters of a "New World Order." Republican Congressional leaders have lambasted Clinton as a wimp for not stopping Serbian "aggression" against the Bosnian Muslims. "Arm and support the Muslims against the Serbs" has been a major campaign theme of leading Republican presidential candidate Robert Dole. A few weeks ago a top White House official admitted, "I don't think the President relishes going into the 1996 election hostage to fortune in the Balkans, with the Bosnian Serbs able to bring us deeper into a war." So NATO warplanes are now killing Bosnian Serbs in order to help Clinton get re-elected as U.S. imperialist commander in chief by giving him a suitably macho military image!

For the past few years the U.S. has postured as the great power champion of the Bosnian Muslims, in good part to strengthen Washington's neocolonial ties to "moderate" Islamic states in the Near East such as Saudi Arabia and Turkey. While the Pentagon's terror bombing of Iraq in 1991 was directly and obviously about U.S. control over the Persian Gulf oil fields, NATO's terror bombing of the Bosnian Serbs is indirectly also linked to the geopolities of oil.

However, a key problem for U.S. imperialism in ex-Yugoslavia is that the Bosnian Muslims are not only the smallest of the contending nationalist forces but also the least capable of forming a viable nation-state. There has never been a Bosnian nation and there is no "Bosnian people." Bosnia is a region of three closely related and formerly thoroughly intermingled peoples—Serbs, Croats and Slavic Muslims.

With the breakup of Yugoslavia along national lines, the regional balance of power points to the partition of Bosnia between Serbia and Croatia. This has always been the policy of the German Fourth Reich and Yeltsin's Russia. And perhaps seeking to maintain a decisive role in European power politics via NATO, Washington is now moving in the same direction. This would reduce the Bosnian Muslims to a statelet around Sarajevo dominated by Croatia. As the London *Independent* (22 August) explained: "The new US peace map for the former Yugoslavia envisages a series of land swaps which attempt to carve the former Yugoslavia into new ethnically pure territories, with Croatia standing to gain." This exposes the hypocrisy of those liberals and so-called leftists who vocally support imperialist anti-Serb warmongering and military intervention in the Balkans in the name of defending a "multiethnic, secular Bosnia."

Left Face of Imperialist Warmongering

The most extreme anti-Serb warmongering in the Western imperialist countries has come not only from the right wing of the political spectrum, as one would normally expect, but also from liberals, social democrats and even the "far left." In the U.S., such rad-lib notables as Susan Sontag and Christopher Hitchens have long called for bombing the Serbian forces in Bosnia. In Britain, Tory "Iron Lady" Margaret Thatcher, Labour Party grand old man Michael Foot and left groups like Cliff Slaughter's Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) denounce Western governments for appeasing Serbian "aggression."

When it comes to the Balkans, the British centrists of *Workers Power* (July/August 1995) sound like a press release by Republican presidential candidate Robert Dole: "Help multi-ethnic Bosnia to defend itself! It needs heavy artillery, tanks and aircraft. Lift the arms embargo!" And the response of the Slaughterite *Workers Press* (19 August) to the Croatian blitzkrieg and mass expulsion of the Krajina Serbs reads like a communiqué from the U.S. State Department or German foreign ministry: "There is no doubt that the military offensive of Tudjman's Croatian forces has created a more favourable military situation for the fight of Bosnia against Karadzic's forces."

The most active agency on the left for promoting imperialist military intervention against the Serbs is the "Workers Aid" campaign, dominated by Slaughter's WRP and the West European-centered United Secretariat. Under the guise of providing humanitarian aid for the "multiethnic" working class in Bosnia, Workers Aid is in reality a pressure group on the Western imperialists to attack the Serbian forces besieging the cities controlled by the Muslim regime. A banner at a Workers Aid conference in London last October demanded: "UN Must Open the Northern Route to Tuzla." Tuzla is one of the Bosnian cities designated by the UN as "safe havens."

A major pretext for the imperialist intervention in Bosnia is ensuring that food and other basic matériel can be delivered to the "safe havens." French general Bernard Janvier, the UN commander in Bosnia, declared that the NATO air offensive against the Serbs would not be stopped until they opened the roads into Sarajevo and withdrew their artillery from around the city. This is substantially the same program as that of Workers Aid. So these fake leftists are now getting what they wanted: the imperialist terror bombing of the Serbs.

For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!

It was the victory of Tito's Communist Partisans against the German Nazis and Croat and Serb nationalists in World War II which made possible the overthrow of capitalism and brought two generations of peace and relative ethnic harmony to the peoples of Yugoslavia. Yet only the extension of socialist revolution to the advanced capitalist countries of West Europe could provide the economic basis for genuine national equality in the relatively impoverished Balkans.

However, the Stalinist bureaucratic deformation of Titoist Yugoslavia combined with "market socialism," which opened Yugoslavia to increasing imperialist economic penetration, reinforced and widened disparities between the various regions, fueling resurgent nationalism and eventually paving the way for capitalist counterrevolution. The resulting massacres, forced population transfers and other atrocities are inherent in the drive to form bourgeois nation-states on the ruins of what had been a multiethnic society made up of closely intermingled peoples. Within the framework of capitalist counterrevolution, there can be no national justice for the peoples of Bosnia and the other former Yugoslav republics.

Any imperialist-imposed settlement on the contending Balkan nationalists will not bring peace but only lay the basis for future wars. The first step toward a just and lasting peace in the region is the formation of proletarian-internationalist parties capable of winning the masses away from the reactionary demagogues on all sides—the Serbs Milosevic and Karadzic, the Croat Tudjman and Bosnian Muslim Izetbegovic—in the fight for workers revolution and a Socialist Federation of the Balkans as part of a Socialist United States of Europe. ■

"This Isn't Just a Strike, This Is a War"

We print below an eyewitness account by a Chicago unionist who participated in the picket-line battle outside the struck Sterling Heights, Michigan newspaper printing plant on the night of September 2-3.

In the afternoon, the cops tried an initial charge on the line at the main gate at the printing plant, prior to the actual march arriving at the plant. There were over 300 strikers and about 200 cops, and the cops, who had shields and helmets, were repulsed. Twice they were driven across the street. The cops clearly wanted to try and seize control of the driveway at the main gate before the thousands of unionists that were marching toward the plant got there. They failed.

When the main demonstration marched up, the crowd at the main gate swelled to well over a thousand and stayed at 1,000-1,200 throughout most of the night. These cops who were repulsed by 300 strikers earlier had obviously no appetite to take on 1,200. There were scores of different unions represented, from throughout Detroit and from the Midwest: the striking Newspaper Council, Teamsters from other locals, many of the UAW locals in the Detroit area, AFSCME, SEIU was well represented, GCIU. There was an array of union hats and jackets, T-shirts. There were older men, many women, many young women. Many teenagers, who were probably the sons and daughters of trade unionists, were out there and were solid, right in the middle of the line and ready to repulse any attacks.

The company attempted to run a tractor-trailer out the main gate about 3:00 in the morning. First they tried a feint. They opened the gate at Gate One, and massed some Vance Security in front of a tractor-trailer, and they pulled two buses up behind it, presumably filled with Vance Security strikebreakers. It looked like they were going to try and run a truck out from there, but they were using that to block the vision of the strikers while they ran another truck around back of the complex and tried to smash through Gate Three, which is on the north side of the facility on 16 Mile Road.

The strikers there had padlocked that gate with chains and several locks and put a huge tree trunk in the middle of the driveway just beyond the gate. The company tried to ram through that gate with a tractor-trailer. The truck did smash the gate, nearly colliding with many of the strikers who were massed on the other side. But the strikers immediately picked up the gate and shoved it back in the direction of the tractor-trailer, which was inundated with a number of projectiles, forcing it to back up. The company then brought up two other vans, fearing that the strikers were going to go in through the now-damaged gate. These vans were quickly abandoned, and the strikers quickly disabled them, totally blocking the entranceway to that gate.

Shortly after that, about 3:30 a.m., the company made an attempt to run a truck out the main gate. They lined up two tractor-trailers, drew back the electronically controlled fence and sent one truck down the driveway toward the throng of over 1,000 pickets. The driver was starting to build up a little bit of speed, but very quickly slammed on the brakes, because groups of picketers charged right at the truck. This truck, too, was greeted with a barrage of projectiles: pieces of concrete, bottles, sticks, metal poles from a cyclone fence that had been taken down near the outer gate. The driver almost took out a guard shack as he hurried to back up and protect himself from the barrage. As his windshield was taken out, his cab was filled with debris. The strikers forced the truck back behind the inner gate.

Strikers were chanting, "Union, union," "No scab paper," "No Sunday paper!" There was a whole array of different police agencies, from the Michigan State Police, Sterling Heights police, Macomb County sheriffs and neighboring villages' police forces. After the strikers repulsed the semi, they immediately turned and anticipated a police charge from the other direction. The police had their shields up in front of them, they had their helmets on, their visors down and their clubs ready. There was a tense wait for the cops to charge, and as they waited, the picketers started chanting, "No scab paper! No scab paper!" beating the cadence with the resounding sound of wooden sticks on the pavement. It was almost like that scene from *F.I.S.T.* It clearly intimidated the police, who had no stomach to take on a militant picket line.

At this point about 200 cops faced six times as many strikers. The people massed at the main gate never really dwindled until after that semi was repulsed. Then the cops demobilized and cut their force by about half. When the strikers saw that happening, they were chanting, "Go home, go home!" And they started singing that song they sing at the baseball games, "Nah, nah, nah, nah, good-bye." As the cops were pulled out, the crowd chanted, "We're still here," and felt a palpable sense of their power.

This was a war of attrition. The cops' ploy was to wait things out, hoping that when enough strikers melted away, they could run the trucks, which they eventually did when only 50 picketers were there later in the morning. The marshals and the organizers did nothing to really try and get people to stay, to get on bullhorns and say that what is going on is a war of attrition, you need to stay. There was a lot of fear on the part of the organizers; they thought that it was getting out of hand. They actively tried to hold people back from repulsing the semi. And they reassembled their main marshal contingent, the ones that were designated to do civil disobedience, and they made an announcement that if the attack came from within the plant, then you should stand. If it came from the other side, from the local police department, then everyone should sit. This was met by a lot of derision.

That militant picketing should have been done from the beginning of the strike was on everybody's minds. Most people said it should be done every Saturday night. We said it should be done every night—there should be thousands and thousands of Midwest trade unionists surrounding that plant. Everyone knew what needs to be done. I was talking to an ex-president of a UAW local in Detroit who hadn't been there earlier on the line, but he saw the 11 o'clock news and immediately drove down, knowing that there was an emergency situation. But he was probably the exception rather than the rule. No call was put out for union reinforcements, for unionists from all over the Detroit area to flock to the plant to refresh the forces and make sure that those gates were held all the way into Sunday. That paper never should have hit the street. There was no attempt to rally the forces in the Detroit region. That clearly was what was needed.

There was a real sense on the line that it not only could be done but it had to be done. The people that were massed at those gates last night, as they braced for cop charges or faced speeding semi trucks, were willing not only to put their jobs but their very lives on the line to win that strike, knowing that if this strike isn't won, any one of us would be next. That's what has come through in all these strikes going back to PATCO and Hormel, that there's no lack of a spirit of self-sacrifice and desire by the membership and the ranks to win these battles. It's only because they're sabotaged by the pro-capitalist bureaucracy that these battles are lost. One striker said to me, "You know, this isn't just a strike, this is a war." ■

Detroit Labor...

(continued from page 12)

For seven weeks, 2,500 striking newspaper workers, members of six different union locals, have watched lowlife scabs take their jobs. Some 200 members of the Newspaper Guild—representing reporters, photographers, and copy editors—have gone back, but over half their membership is standing firm.

In the decade since the *Chicago Tribune* broke the back of its printing and mail handler unions, newspaper workers have suffered a number of major setbacks. In the 1992 *Pittsburgh Press* strike, mass pickets backed down the cops and stopped the scabs cold, showing the whole country that scabherding can be stopped. But the union tops snatched defeat from the jaws of victory, pushing through a deal which folded the *Press* into the *Post-Gazette* and eliminated hundreds of jobs.

That sellout was brokered by the AFL-CIO's "Strategic Approaches Committee," now chaired by Mine Workers president Richard Trumka. Trumka is one of the movers behind the campaign of SEIU chief John Sweeney for the head of the AFL-CIO. There is no significant difference between the Sweeney supporters on the federation's executive council and Lane Kirkland's longtime waterboy, Tom Donahue. Trumka's program for the Detroit newspaper strike is to call a national boycott of six large retail chains if they continue to advertise in Detroit's scab paper! This will only divert attention from the fact that *hundreds of thousands of scab papers are being produced and hitting Detroit streets daily.* This is what must be stopped, by solid workers action.

Marauding Monopolists

In 1989 the Detroit newspapers signed a "Joint Operating Agreement" (JOA) that virtually eliminated competition between them. Under these near-monopoly conditions, the *Free Press* and *News* were able to crack down on the union gains won over the years, eliminating as many as 1,000 jobs. While union members toiled under the fourth year of a wage freeze, the companies last year alone raked in over $55 million in profits—out of the $640 million netted by their parent corporations.

The newspaper bosses came to the bargaining table this year with an offer the unions couldn't help but refuse. Reporters in the Newspaper Guild were targeted with a "merit pay" scheme, while Teamsters, Typographers and pressmen faced deeper job cuts designed to save the companies a cool $50 million over three years. Meanwhile, the company set aside $3 million for scabs and mercenaries from Vance International and Huffmaster Associates. On the eve of the strike, just when the unions needed cash most, the companies cut off the dues checkoff—demonstrating the folly of entrusting dues collection to the class enemy.

On August 19 outside the Sterling Heights plant, 300 strikers and strike supporters managed to stop scabs entering the plant for two hours before a phalanx of cops attacked and arrested four unionists, breaking the arm of one of them in the process. TV reports showed an off-duty cop kicking one striker as he was dragged away. Guild president Lou Mleczko whitewashed this cop violence and denounced militant strikers with a diatribe aimed at "radical groups, anarchists and Maoists, who were trying to take over the picket lines."

As one newspaper exec so candidly put it: "A lot of our success has been because the police have done their job." When it was discovered that the newspaper companies "donated" $300,000 to Sterling Heights for the costs of extra police protection at their printing plant, union tops meekly protested the "conflict of interest." This open payout only underlines the basic Marxist truth that cops are a linchpin of the state machine organized to defend the profit system and the rule of the racist capitalist class. We say: cops out of the labor movement!

One of the cops' main jobs is to repress the black population, specially oppressed as capitalism's reserve army of labor. The auto bosses' massive job cuts and plant closures in Detroit have created vast ghetto wastelands where black youth can't even hope to find a job worth having. And riding roughshod through these segregated hellholes are the police, routinely meting out racist violence. Detroit blacks haven't forgotten Malice Green, an unarmed black worker beaten to death in his car in November 1992 by cops who got off with just a slap on the wrist.

A class-struggle leadership in the union would have the authority to rally thousands of black youth—whose fathers and grandfathers once worked in central Detroit's now rusting auto plants—to the side of organized labor and teach the cops a lesson in proletarian justice.

The AFL-CIO tops have a program, a program of class collaboration with the bosses which spells defeat for the workers. James P. Hoffa, Ron Carey's opponent for the Teamster presidency, went to Detroit's Labor Day to announce his candidacy in the city where his legendary father got started. Hoffa is posing as an alternative to the government-installed Carey, who sold out last year's nationwide Teamster strike. But Hoffa's beef with Carey is over who controls union dues money—his "old guard" supporters wanted to buckle to the trucking bosses' demands without even a peep.

What labor needs is a class-struggle leadership that will sweep away the bureaucratic sellouts in the course of struggle. Unleashing the proletarian power that can win here in Detroit and across the U.S. means breaking with the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties and forging a multiracial, class-struggle workers party. Such a party must fight for a workers government to sweep away capitalism and its bloodthirsty scabherders for good. ■

L.A....

(continued from page 2)

on the FBI and the Justice Department to investigate the killing. But who can expect even a hint of justice from Clinton and Reno, responsible for the hideous Waco massacre of 86 men, women and children in 1993? From the FBI and the Justice Department to the LAPD and county sheriffs, the bourgeois state is racist to the core and *exists* to repress workers, youth and minority communities in defense of the capitalist status quo.

As a Spartacist sign at the August 12 protest declared, what's necessary is to mobilize the power of labor and minorities to stop racist terror. Some of the most energetic strike actions in recent years have come from heavily immigrant construction, trucking and hotel workers unions in the L.A. region. A fighting workers party must be built to mobilize labor in defense of the ghettos and barrios and to unite workers internationally in struggle for socialist revolution. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Picket Line Battle at Sterling Heights Plant

Detroit Labor: Shut Down the Free Press/News!

WV Photo

September 2: Mass pickets block Detroit newspaper printing plant in Sterling Heights. Labor's gotta play hardball to win!

DETROIT, September 5—The Detroit working class showed its muscle in a mass mobilization that ran from Saturday afternoon, September 2, through dawn the following morning, as striking newspaper workers and their union backers put up a hard fight to seal off the mammoth Sterling Heights plant where Detroit's two major dailies, the *Detroit News* and the *Free Press*, produce their scab paper. Determined to win this key battle for organized labor, 3,500 workers gave the eight-week-old newspaper strike its first real show of union power.

Thousands of workers assembled at the UAW Local 228 hall on Saturday afternoon, eager to march to the Detroit Newspaper Agency's printing facility one mile away on Mound Road. The labor tops had planned a day of speechifying and impotent civil disobedience to blow off steam. UPI reported today that "prior to the Saturday night demonstration, officers and unions had reached an agreement to allow trucks to come and go from the plant once an hour." But when some 3,000 workers arrived at the gates of the sprawling plant, matters took a different turn.

For hour after hour, the crowd of workers faced down the police and scab-herders. When in the early hours of Sunday morning the company repeatedly tried to drive trucks through the picket lines, they were stopped cold at the gates by militant picketers who drove them back under a hail of debris (see eyewitness report, page 11). But lacking a determined leadership, most of the pickets began drifting away, and by 8:30 a.m., the scab trucks began to roll. The earlier show of union power had been allowed to dissipate.

Saturday's mobilization was drawn from unionists around the region, showing the potential for real labor solidarity *in action*. Monday night, the scene was repeated, although with reduced numbers, as several hundred pickets stood off cop attacks for almost four hours. Earlier in the day, as the official Labor Day march ended in front of the Detroit News building, Metropolitan Council of Newspaper Unions chief Al Derey called for another mobilization at Sterling Heights next weekend. Militants shouted back, "No Tuesday paper!"

Bring Out Midwest Labor to Stop the Scabs!

Today the company announced they were seeking an injunction against further picketing at the Sterling Heights plant. Injunctions can and must be turned into scraps of paper by a mobilization of Detroit labor to defy them. Illegal? So was the Flint sitdown strike, without which the Motor City would never have become a labor town. But the response the local bureaucrats and AFL-CIO tops put forward today is toothless consumer boycotts, pressuring capitalist advertisers and appealing to the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), an agency of the *bosses' government*.

There are two sharply counterposed programs here. Frank Kortsch, Teamster head negotiator in the strike, has bragged that deliveries of the scab paper have continued since day one! Like his fellow business unionists, his strike "strategy" hinges on the intervention of the Labor Board, saying "that's one reason for our patience" (*New York Times*, 10 August). Recent NLRB rulings against the *News* and *Free Press* owners aren't worth the paper they're printed on. Caterpillar has been found "guilty" of scores of "unfair labor practices" by the NLRB, but CAT strikers in Peoria, Illinois still had their jobs grabbed by scabs over a year ago. Reliance on government intervention will *bury* this strike.

What's needed now is an *elected strike committee*, composed of the most committed militants with a program to win —mass pickets to stop delivery and production every day of the week. Delegations of strikers must be sent to appeal directly to other unionists to come out. Coming on Labor Day weekend, this class battle captured nationwide attention. From the outset of the strike against the Gannett and Knight-Ridder publishing behemoths on July 13, many workers watched to see if a union-busting crusade in Detroit would drive a knife into this city's union movement and unleash an offensive against newspaper workers across the country. On the bosses' side, the *Wall Street Journal* (9 August) noted that "especially in the heart of Detroit, support for the union is evident at every turn." But passive support won't win the strike. The task of the hour is to *shut down the scab newspaper by mobilizing continuous mass pickets*!

To begin with, the UAW should empty out the Chrysler Sterling Heights Stamping Plant, barely a mile away, and march over to the *Free Press/News* plant to shut it down. Decisive labor action would unleash the discontent felt by the more than 300,000 unionists concentrated in the Detroit area, as well as the doubly oppressed black population. Unionists throughout the Midwest would gladly flock to Detroit to aid a struggle with a chance to win. Just mentioning the presence of Vance International thugs scab-herding at the *Free Press/News* could bring caravans of miners from the coal fields of West Virginia, Kentucky and southern Illinois who have scores to settle with these hired goons.

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For Picket Lines That Nobody Dares Cross!

WV Photos

Scabs get taste of union power. Right: Disabled vans at gate after bosses unsuccessfully tried to crash through with semi truck.

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 629

22 September 1995

Hanging Judge Sabo Turns Down Appeal

Lou Jones

As expected, on September 15 Philadelphia judge Albert Sabo ruled against death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal's appeal for a new trial. The ruling came only four days after closing arguments in the hearing held under Pennsylvania's Post-Conviction Relief Act (PCRA) guidelines. Jamal's attorneys submitted voluminous documentation of how he was framed up by the police, prosecution and courts for the 1981 killing of policeman Daniel Faulkner. Despite a judicial blockade thrown up by Sabo, which prevented dozens of defense witnesses and exhibits from coming before the court, Jamal's attorneys presented evidence of his innocence, as well as of the police and judicial misconduct that was key in railroading Mumia to death row. Sabo's ruling sets the stage for appeals to the Pennsylvania state supreme court and federal court.

The persecution of Jamal shows that the truth weighs little on the rigged scales of capitalist "justice." The stay of his scheduled August 17 execution was the direct result of a worldwide outcry on Jamal's behalf. The racist cop mobs howling for Mumia's blood dismiss his supporters as a handful of Hollywood liberals and "terrorists." In fact, hundreds of thousands have demonstrated from South Africa to the U.S. to save Jamal, trade unions representing millions of workers have taken up his cause, and his case has come to symbolize the barbarity of the death penalty. The response to hanging judge Sabo's decision must be to intensify the campaign to free Mumia and abolish the racist death penalty.

Jamal was targeted for repression as an award-winning journalist who courageously spoke out against the brutally racist Philly cops. He became a supporter of the MOVE organization, whose members were regularly terrorized by the cops. In the hearings, Sabo excluded the more than 600 pages (out of a total of 800) of FBI files submitted by the defense documenting the government's attempts to set up Jamal, which began in the late 1960s when as a teenager he was one of the leaders of the Black Panther Party in Philadelphia.

But even the fraction of the evidence allowed by Sabo was enough to show that the prosecution's case against Jamal was a tissue of lies. Four eyewitnesses gave testimony showing that someone other than Jamal shot Faulkner. Ballistics and medical experts

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No Justice in the Capitalist Courts

Defy Ban on Mass Pickets in Free Press/News Strike!

Detroit Labor: Stop the Scabs!

SEPTEMBER 18—For the fourth time this month, hundreds of unionists converged on the Detroit *Free Press/News* plant in Sterling Heights on Saturday night, September 16, determined to shut down production and delivery of the scab paper. The few dozen cops lining the median strip across Mound Road should have been no match for a militant mass picket line of the newspaper strikers and the auto workers, Teamsters, construction workers, utility workers and government employees who came out to back them up. Two weeks earlier, 3,500 pickets faced down cops and Vance Security strikebreakers in an attempt to keep the trucks from rolling out of the plant.

But despite occasional militant rhetoric, the union tops have consistently undermined the power of the mass pickets. This time, faced with a strikebreaking injunction that went into effect last Thursday allowing only ten pickets at the main gate, the bureaucrats divided the strikers' forces, telling some to drive slowly around the plant and sending others downtown, where the Detroit Newspaper Agency bosses were revving up the presses at the Riverfront plant. With the picket lines dispersed, by dawn the company had hundreds of thousands of scab papers from both plants on the street.

The newspaper strikers and their allies have shown enormous courage and determination in facing down the Vance strikebreaking goons, police charges and tear gas. For the past two weeks, the owners of the *Free Press/News* were forced to use *helicopters* to get out the first copies of the Sunday edition over the picket lines. But the union misleaders have tied up the strike in endless appeals to the NLRB and look for aid from the same Democratic Party mayors who are calling out the cops on strikers. In the face of the bureaucrats' criminal passivity, the emboldened bosses today began publishing separate editions of the morning *Free Press* and evening *News*. Meanwhile, dozens of strikers face criminal charges for defending their picket lines. The unions must come to the defense of these workers! Drop all the charges!

It is clear to militants that the strike is in danger. Time and again, the picket lines have been gutted. On the night of September 9, after the cops had moved back and 1,500 workers surrounded the main gate, a strike "leader" took the bullhorn to urge the pickets to step aside if the company tried to move trucks out. The crowd erupted in shouts of "No! No! No scab trucks!" But a few hours later, as the bureaucrats demobilized the lines and only a few hundred picketers remained, the bosses made their move and began rolling out the scab papers. As one young union carpenter

continued on page 7

AP

Striking workers block scab van outside *Detroit Free Press/News* Sterling Heights printing plant, August 26. Strike is in its third month.

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Free Geronimo Now!

As we go to press, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals has once again dealt a blow to former Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt). On September 18, the Court reversed a ruling issued by U.S. District Judge Stanley Weigel in June 1994 which held that Geronimo's January 1994 transfer to Mule Creek Prison and placement in a double cell, just days after a FOX TV series detailed proof of his innocence, was an unconstitutional retaliation for Geronimo's exercise of First Amendment rights and the publicity given his fight for freedom.

Judge Weigel's ruling in Geronimo's lawsuit against persistent prison harassment filed by Partisan Defense Committee counsel Valerie West recognized Geronimo's innocence of the killing for which he was sentenced to life in prison, stating the FOX series "exposed for the first time the identity of the likely perpetrators of the murder for which Plaintiff has already served 23 years." In a rare instance of discarding a District Court judge's findings of fact, the appeals court outrageously concluded that there was "insufficient evidence" that prison officials were aware of the FOX interview when deciding to transfer Geronimo, although they convened an extraordinary Christmas Eve meeting to discuss his transfer *two days after learning of the interview*. A motion for rehearing of Pratt's appeal is being filed.

As a well-known Panther leader, Geronimo was targeted for "neutralization" by J. Edgar Hoover's FBI, working hand in hand with the LAPD's Criminal Conspiracy Section (CCS), a special anti-Panther hit squad within the force. Four days after Chicago police gunned down Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, the cops came for Geronimo in L.A. On 8 December 1969, Panther headquarters was besieged by over 140 SWAT and regular cops; thousands of rounds of ammunition were fired into it for five hours. Because of spinal injuries he sustained in Vietnam, Geronimo was sleeping on the floor and escaped the bullets aimed at his bed. LAPD fink Louis Tackwood confirmed that Geronimo was the primary target of this murderous raid. Failing to assassinate Geronimo, the LAPD and FBI then framed him for the unsolved 1968 murder of Caroline Olsen in Santa Monica, and condemned Geronimo to a life of prison hell.

In a recent book, *FBI Secrets. An Agent's Exposé* (South End Press, 1995), M. Wesley Swearingen, the former FBI agent in L.A. who has previously testified that Pratt was "set up," lays out a whole history of government provocation. He says that "after witnessing twenty years of FBI wrongdoing," it was no surprise to him that Pratt "was framed for murder" as "a target of COINTELPRO." Swearingen reveals that there were no less than *three* different sets of FBI wiretaps on the Panther offices—by the Oakland, SF and L.A. Bureau branches—revealing that Geronimo was in Oakland, 400 miles away, at the time of the murder. He also reports that there was a meeting of the FBI's Los Angeles "racial squad" at which the supervisor said that the LAPD would not tell the jury that the victim's husband "identified at least three other suspects before he identified Pratt."

The state's key witness in the case against Geronimo was Julius Butler, who repeatedly lied on the stand and (unbeknownst to the jury) was also an informant for the LAPD and FBI. Swearingen notes that Geronimo had expelled Butler from the Panthers for violent behavior. The same FBI "racial squad" supervisor told the other agents the Bureau would "close our informant file on Butler during the trial so that Butler can say he is not an FBI informant."

Additional proof of Geronimo's innocence was compiled by James McCloskey, a lay minister and investigator, and submitted to D.A. Gil Garcetti nearly two years ago, with the request that he reopen Geronimo's case. In 1992, an investigation by McCloskey won freedom for two black men, Clarence Chance and Benny Powell, who had spent 17 years in prison on concocted evidence, when the city conceded they had been intentionally framed. It was the findings in McCloskey's report that were featured in the FOX TV series leading to Geronimo's transfer. McCloskey's investigation of Geronimo's case added specific details linking the murder to two petty criminals on the fringes of the Panthers—both of them associates of Butler—who long ago died violent deaths. Twenty-one months later, the well-documented proof that Geronimo was framed gathers cobwebs in Garcetti's office while Geronimo continues his fight for freedom under conditions of unceasing prison harassment.

Months after Geronimo's retaliatory transfer, in August 1994 officials barred Geronimo's attorney, Kathleen Cleaver, from his parole hearing. Because of his refusal to recant his commitment to black

Jonathan Eubanks

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), imprisoned 25 years on frame-up murder charge.

freedom, Geronimo was denied parole for the 13th time and was told he is "going to have to change his attitude toward the criminal justice system" which has already stolen 25 years of his life and which spawns racist killers like Mark Fuhrman.

Last year, SEIU locals in L.A. organized a protest for Geronimo outside Garcetti's office. In the past two years, unions representing millions of workers have taken a stand in support of Geronimo, including the SEIU International, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, National Education Association, California Teachers Association and Chicago ATU transit workers, among others. We must fight for Geronimo, who has fought the racist machinery of this dying system from behind bars for too long. Freedom now for Geronimo ji Jaga!

Gary Graham Sparks Texas Death Row Prisoners' Protests

Organized protest against the barbaric, racist death penalty is growing in the very heart of the Southern "death belt," in Texas' Huntsville death row prison. On June 21, Gary Graham, who was railroaded into a death sentence when he was a young black man of 17, began an indefinite hunger strike, taking only liquids, in protest against this killing machine. "We have lived here in horror and watched how people are systematically slaughtered in a discriminatory manner," Graham said. "We have reached the point where this injustice is no longer acceptable to us. It will no longer be passively endured" (*Austin American-Statesman*, 23 July).

Meanwhile, another death row prisoner and fighter against the hellhole conditions of Texas prisons, Thomas Miller-El, has had his execution date rescheduled to October 17. Miller-El has done many interviews on Pacifica radio about death row struggles and was a founder of *Endeavor*, the prison paper Gary Graham co-founded.

On June 28, over 100 prisoners in the Ellis Unit of the Huntsville prison staged a protest against the threatened execution of their fellow inmate, Angel Rivera. Dozens of Texas death row prisoners

TROTSKY

LENIN

1965 Indonesia Massacre: A Monstrous Crime

This month marks 40 years since one of the most horrendous counterrevolutionary massacres in history, the CIA-engineered slaughter of half a million *leftists, workers and peasants by the Indonesian army and right-wing Islamic mobs. The Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) was decimated and pulverized in a matter of days. The military dictatorship installed by this reign of terror continues to this day to enforce grinding poverty and untrammeled exploitation on the Indonesian masses. As we wrote at the time, the Stalinist PKI leadership and its mentors in Mao Zedong's Chinese Communist Party bore direct responsibility for this grisly defeat through their policy of supporting the bourgeois-nationalist Sukarno government. The bloody events in Indonesia underscored again the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution—that in the colonial and semicolonial countries, only the working class led by a Bolshevik party can, despite its relative weakness numerically, lead all the oppressed in a proletarian revolution which would not only solve the democratic tasks but necessarily place on the order of the day socialist tasks as well, while giving powerful impetus to socialist revolution in the advanced countries.*

The reign of terror being carried out by the Indonesian army against the working class of that country follows logically from a process of treachery tragically familiar in the annals of working class struggle. The working people of Indonesia are now *paying with their blood* for the betrayal by the leadership of the 3,000,000-member, pro-Chinese Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI), which must share guilt for the present violence. Workers and militants of all countries, particularly those who look to the CP of China for "revolutionary" example and direction, cannot afford to ignore the warning of this classic lesson.

Guided by the Mao government's "bloc of four classes" doctrine and need for "Peaceful Coexistence" with "progressive, non-aligned" capitalist "friends," such as Indonesian President Sukarno (a former collaborator with colonialism), the PKI—largest Communist party in the capitalist world—has been helping administer Indonesian capitalism while suppressing the struggles of the Indonesian workers and keeping them wedded to Sukarno's police-state. Meanwhile the Chinese press has heaped continuous praise upon Sukarno....

Modern history has amply demonstrated that the outstanding problem facing the international working class is the question of leadership—i.e., the necessity for an international revolutionary party which, on the basis of its program, can lead the working people to the conquest of state power in every country....

DEMAND RELEASE OF THE JAILED COMMUNIST WORKERS OF INDONESIA!

REPLACE SUKARNO AND ALL CAPITALIST REGIMES WITH WORKERS' GOVERNMENTS!

POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN THE SOVIET BLOC!

NO CLASS COLLABORATION—TOWARD THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION!

—"Indonesia: Lesson in Betrayal,"
Spartacist No. 5 (November-December 1965)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Mexican Ford Workers Strike Against Starvation Wages

Auto workers at a Ford Motor Company subsidiary in the Mexican border city of Nuevo Laredo won a tentative victory in a wildcat strike in July. For four days workers occupied Ford's Lamosa *maquiladora* (free-trade zone) plant, which produces catalytic converters and axle rods, in a struggle that pitted them against the corporatist CTM "union" bosses who are part of the apparatus of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), the capitalist ruling party in Mexico for the last six and a half decades.

The sit-down strike erupted on Monday, July 17, when workers came back from a two-week plant shutdown to learn that in their absence the CTM tops had signed a secret agreement with Ford accepting a measly 7 percent salary increase for this year. Workers had been demanding a 30 percent increase. The drastic devaluation of the peso earlier this year has meant a huge drop in the purchasing power of the already starvation-level wages in the *maquiladoras*.

According to reports in the *CJM Newsletter* (Summer 1995), put out by the San Antonio-based Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras, anger boiled over when the workers learned that the bureaucrats had negotiated a *30 percent increase for themselves*. Workers stormed out of the plant as hated CTM regional leader "Chema" Morales arrived to try to force them to call off their action. But the workers quickly seized the facility, and Ford management fled the plant.

The strikers held out for four tense days, while the CTM denounced the strike as illegal. Ford threatened to close down the plant for good, while heavily armed state police circled the factory in cars and pickup trucks. Rumors circulated that Chema Morales might soon send in the cops to break up the strike, as occurred with fierce brutality in the Sony *maquiladora* strike in Nuevo Laredo last year (see our two-part article, "Labor Organizing in the Maquiladoras," *WV* Nos. 620 and 621, 7 and 21 April). The very fact that this bureaucrat *could* order a police attack is vivid proof that the CTM is a straitjacket for capitalist control by the PRI-government.

Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras

Ford workers occupy Lamosa parts plant in Nuevo Laredo last July, demanding 30 percent wage increase in wake of drastic peso devaluation.

The CTM is an extreme example of what Leon Trotsky, in his 1940 essay on "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay," referred to as the tendency of modern trade unions to "draw close to and grow together with the state power." The CTM is a company union on a grand scale. It is formally one of the three "sectors" of the ruling capitalist party, the PRI, and frequently acts as a virtual labor contractor. It often mobilizes goon squads working together with the police and army to repress labor "dissidence." Thus the struggle for the political independence of the working class in Mexico is intimately bound up with the fight to break the iron grip of the capitalist state's "labor" cops.

Ford finally caved in, agreeing to a 30 percent salary increase, but payable only in "food coupons" rather than cash. Management and the CTM tops agreed to remove the official CTM plant committee and allow new union elections. And the company agreed to pay the week of the strike in full and no reprisals against strikers (*La Jornada* [Mexico City], 22 July). But although union elections were held at Lamosa on August 15, workers report that the promised increase still had not come, and the word was it may be replaced by a one-time bonus.

The imposition of the NAFTA "free trade" pact in January 1994 was a scheme for U.S. imperialist plunder of Mexico. But the brutal superexploitation of largely women workers in the *maquiladoras* sparked a series of strikes this year in the northern border zone from Ciudad Juarez to Nuevo Laredo. Meanwhile, tens of thousands of troops of the Mexican army have occupied the desperately poor southern state of Chiapas ever since the Zapatista-led peasant uprising on New Year's Day 1994.

As burgeoning workers unrest spread through the northern area early this year, and then 15,000 Mexico City bus drivers were summarily fired, the 94-year-old "dinosaur" who heads the CTM, Fidel Velázquez, canceled the official May Day march in the capital, fearing militant labor protest. Yet, half a million workers and Zapatista supporters turned out in the largest independent May Day mobilization in decades.

The road to victory for the courageous workers in the *maquiladoras* is through internationalist unity of workers' struggles on both sides of the border. The Spartacist League and the Grupo Espartaquista de México, sections of the International Communist League, have opposed the NAFTA "free trade" rape of Mexico. The GEM has underlined the need to throw off the stranglehold of the corporatist CTM and form genuine unions as organs of workers struggle, and to champion the cause of women workers who are hideously oppressed and exploited in the *maquiladora* sweatshops. The key is to build revolutionary workers parties in the U.S. and Mexico as part of the ICL's struggle to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International. ■

AP

Gary Graham

have joined hunger strike activities, while over 60 men have signed a pledge to refuse to cooperate with prison officials should they be led to the death chamber.

Despite overwhelming evidence of his innocence, Graham was just hours away from execution in 1993. Texas is no stranger to the execution of innocent men, maintaining before the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of Leonel Herrera that the Constitution does not bar the execution of someone who is innocent. Endorsing that view, the high court approved the legal murder of Texas inmate Jesse Dewayne Jacobs on January 4, revving up the assembly line of death which has taken 39 lives this year, a rate of one execution per week.

Unlike Jacobs and Herrera, Graham was saved by a massive outcry of support and protest, but he remains on death row, awaiting the outcome of a decision from the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, which heard him 16 months ago, as to whether he should be granted a hearing to present several new witnesses on his behalf.

Graham was charged with the shooting death of Bobby Lambert in a supermarket parking lot, convicted solely on the testimony of a witness who observed the gunman for "a split second" from about 40 feet away. Not one of the five other eyewitnesses identified Graham, and one says she has since seen Lambert's killer on the street several times. Graham's court-appointed lawyer was an acquaintance of the sole prosecution witness and refused to investigate Graham's alibi defense. Four witnesses who were never called to the stand have come forward with affidavits saying that Graham was with them at the time of the shooting.

Support and money is, as always, urgently needed, especially since in August Congress voted to completely cut out the budget for lawyers for poor death row prisoners. Write to: Gary Graham Legal Defense Committee, P.O. Box 23957, Houston, TX 77228, or call/fax: (713) 665-4854. To reach "Texas Prisoners United in Resistance for Human Rights," write to P.O. Box 280507, Houston, TX 77228, or fax: (713) 665-4854.

* * *

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the Partisan Defense Committee. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For the current issue, send $.50 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013 ■

Spartacist Events

ATLANTA

Tuesday, September 26: *Eyewitness Report: South African Unions Take Up Jamal's Fight As Their Own; Update on Jamal Case;* Speaker: Gene Herson, PDC Labor Coordinator, Georgia State University, 12 noon: Room 460, University Center; 7 p.m.: Room 302, Urban Life Building
For more information: (404) 521-9338

BOSTON

Thursday, October 5, 7:30 p.m.: *Race, Sex, Class and Clinton's War on the Poor*; Speaker: Amy Rath, Editor, *Women and Revolution;* Boston University, College of Liberal Arts Building, Room 216, 725 Commonwealth Avenue (near Kenmore Square)
For more information: (617) 666-9453

CHICAGO

Saturday, September 30, 7:30 p.m.: *Eyewitness Report: South African Unions Take Up Jamal's Fight As Their Own; Update on Jamal Case;* Speaker: Don Alexander, Spartacist League Central Committee; Guest Speaker: Jon Piper, co-counsel for Jamal, Blackstone Hotel, English Room, 636 S. Michigan (at Balbo)
For more information: (312) 663-0715

CHAMPAIGN/URBANA

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Alternate Thursdays, 7 p.m. Next class, September 21. *Imperialism, War and Revolution;* University of Illinois-Champaign/Urbana, Room to be announced
For more information: (312) 663-0715

EUGENE

Wednesday, September 27, 6:30 p.m. *Capitalism Means Racist State Terror—Battle for Mumia's Freedom*, Speaker: Diana Coleman, Spartacist League, University of Oregon, EMU, Ben Linder Room
For more information: (510) 839-0851

LOS ANGELES

Spartacus Youth Club Forum

Tuesday, October 3, 12 noon: *Defend Affirmative Action and More—Fight for Open Admissions!* UCLA, Ackerman 3508
For more information: (213) 380-8239

NEW YORK CITY

Thursday, October 12, 7:30 p.m.: *Race, Sex, Class and Clinton's War on the Poor;* Speaker: Amy Rath, Editor, *Women and Revolution;* PS 234, 292 Greenwich Street (at Chamber Street)

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Alternate Fridays, 7 p.m. Next classes, September 22: *The State;* October 6: *Workers Revolution;* Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren Street (one block below Chambers Street)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Tuesday, October 3, 7 p.m.: *Eyewitness Report: South African Unions Take Up Jamal's Fight As Their Own; Update on Jamal Case;* Speaker: Brian Manning, Spartacist League; First Congressional Church, Room 206, 10th & G Streets, NW (Metro Center Metro stop)
For more information: (202) 872-8240

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forums

TORONTO

Saturday, October 21, 7:30 p.m.: *National Chauvinism Is Poison to Class Struggle—For Quebec Independence!* Speaker: Charles Gafarneau, *Spartacist Canada* Editorial Board, St. Paul's Centre, 427 Bloor Street W. (just west of Spadina)
For more information: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Friday, October 13, 7:30 p.m.: *National Chauvinism Is Poison to Class Struggle—For Quebec Independence!* Speaker: Charles Gafarneau, *Spartacist Canada* Editorial Board; Britannia Community Centre, Room L4, 1661 Napier (off Commercial Drive)

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. Next class, September 28: *The Marxist Program;* Britannia Community Centre, Room L4, 1661 Napier (off Commercial Drive)
For more information: (604) 687-0353

INDEPENDENCE FOR QUEBEC!

Last week, the Parti Québécois (PQ) government of Quebec announced that a referendum will be held on October 30 proposing "that Quebec should become sovereign, after having made a formal offer to Canada for a new economic and political partnership." The Anglo-chauvinist federal government in Ottawa has historically kept the Quebec nation forcibly confined within the Canadian confederation, and is not about to agree to any amicable "partnership." Thus this referendum is in effect a straight vote for or against secession from Canada. Legislation introduced simultaneously in the Quebec National Assembly makes clear that a "yes" vote will lead to a declaration of independence within one year, regardless of the outcome of negotiations with Ottawa.

The prospects for anti-capitalist class struggle in Canada are deeply poisoned by chauvinism and nationalism. Spawned by the oppression of the Quebec nation under the heel of the unitary Canadian state and fueled by the bourgeois nationalists of the PQ who seek to be the exploiters of their "own" working class, these animosities have divided the working class along national lines. In seeking to unite the workers of Quebec and English Canada, Marxists today call for an independent Quebec as part of the struggle for socialist revolution. Thus we believe that class-conscious workers in Quebec should vote "yes" in the coming referendum.

The following article, written just before the referendum was announced, was first published in English and French in Spartacist Canada *No. 105 (September/October 1995), the newspaper of our comrades of the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste. It is reprinted here in abridged and slightly adapted form.*

* * *

Reuters/Canadian Press

Canadian Press

Pro-independence demonstrators in Montreal, June 1995 (top). Anglo-chauvinist Canadian government sent army to occupy Montreal in 1969 to enforce subjugation of Quebec. Trotskyists advocate Quebec independence to open road to anti-capitalist class struggle.

Twenty-five years ago, in October 1970, Quebec Liberal cabinet minister Pierre Laporte and British diplomat James Cross were kidnapped by a small group of Quebec separatist militants, the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ). Using the "FLQ Crisis" as a pretext, the federal government under Pierre Trudeau imposed the War Measures Act and sent the army to occupy Montreal. Ottawa's troops stormed houses and apartments, rounded up hundreds of trade unionists and left-wing activists at gunpoint and threw them in prison where they were held incommunicado. Their "crime": an association with the belief that the oppressed Québécois nation had the right to determine its own fate. Thus martial law starkly exposed the enforced subjugation of Quebec, which is a foundation stone of the Canadian capitalist state.

The existence of two separate and increasingly divergent nations, one oppressing the other, continues to define the political landscape in this country, and has terribly undermined working-class struggle. As revolutionary Marxists, we unconditionally defend the national rights of the Québécois people and at the same time oppose all manner of nationalism and chauvinism, which strangle the fight against capitalist exploitation. We seek to advance the cause of all working people through building a revolutionary workers party that is a tribune of the oppressed. The forcible confinement of Quebec within Canada has poisoned relations between the English Canadian and Québécois working class. The recognition by the workers of each nation that their respective capitalist rulers—not each other—are the enemy can only come through an independent Quebec.

In the late 1960s/early '70s, opposition to the suppression of national and language rights fueled militant proletarian struggle in Quebec. The Québécois working class emerged as the most combative in all North America. This was underlined in the near-insurrectionary general strike of 1972, which saw whole towns taken over and run by striking workers. But in English Canada, the anti-Quebec chauvinism of the trade-union officialdom and the social democrats of the New Democratic Party (NDP) served to tie the workers to their "own" bourgeoisie in the name of "Canadian unity." This Anglo chauvinism helped impel the Québécois workers increasingly into the arms of the Parti Québécois, the political representative of Quebec's newly emergent francophone (French-speaking) bourgeoisie.

Since our inception, the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste has actively championed Quebec's right to independence. As we wrote in 1978, when Trudeau again threatened to "use the sword" against Quebec:

> "Labor must proclaim its unconditional support for the Québécois' right to self-determination ...
> "The Quebec working class is today the most combative on the North American continent. This gives burning importance to the defense of Québécois national rights by English-Canadian and U.S. labor. Such a revolutionary program which combats all forms of social oppression, including the national oppression of the Québécois, is essential to truly unite the English- and French-speaking proletariat of North America."
>
> —"Trudeau Threatens War on Quebec," *Spartacist Canada* No. 23, February 1978

While unconditionally defending Quebec's national rights, we did not then advocate the separation of Quebec. Our perception was that national antagonisms had not yet become so intense as to make Quebec independence the only means of cutting through these hostilities and bringing the class struggle against capitalism to the fore.

But within the context of an Anglo-chauvinist unitary Canadian state, the national divide *has* poisoned relations between the working class of English Canada and Quebec. The depth of this schism can be amply seen in the parties that currently occupy the opposition benches in parliament. On the one side is the rabidly Anglo-chauvinist Reform Party. On the other is the *indépendantiste* Bloc Québécois. The long-ruling federal Tory party has been obliterated, and the Liberals rule only by virtue of having swept Ontario in the last elections.

The same mutual national suspicions and hatreds which led to this parliamentary shake-up reach deep into the working class. Hundreds of thousands of unionists and other working people in English Canada, disillusioned at the NDP's wholesale capitulation to Bay Street's austerity diktats, abandoned "their" party and cast their votes for the tarnished chauvinism of Preston Manning's Reform Party in 1993. In Quebec, working-class militancy and combativity has been dampened, submerged into support for the PQ, which was elected for the third time last fall pledging to hold an early referendum on independence.

These events only confirm that nationalism and chauvinism are, and have long been, a decisive brake on the workers' struggle in both nations. Through an extensive internal discussion on the Quebec national question, the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste re-evaluated our previous position. A motion adopted at a July plenum of our Central Committee noted in part:

> "As revolutionary Marxists who seek to advance the cause of proletarian internationalist class struggle, the Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste advocates independence for Quebec. Our historic position of upholding Quebec's right to self-determination, while not advocating independence, was at best based on a superficial appreciation of the evolution of a self-conscious Quebec nation and the class struggle within it. Although the question of independence has yet to be put to a referendum vote of the Québécois population, the question was effectively resolved with the implementation of French-only language laws in the 1970s (i.e., the choice of assimilation or separation was decided in favor of the latter).
> "For Leninists, the advocacy of an independent Quebec is the means to get this question 'off the agenda,' particularly to combat the orgy of Anglo chauvinism in English Canada, but also to foil the aims of the bourgeois nationalists in Quebec who seek to tie the historically combative Québécois proletariat to their coattails. This is the only road to bringing to the fore the real social contradictions between the working class and their 'own' bourgeoisie in either nation, and thereby laying a genuine basis for common class struggle in the future."

The Development of the Quebec Nation

Quebec was forcibly incorporated into British North America following the defeat of the French garrison on the Plains of Abraham in 1759. The British conquerors, who had expelled the French-speaking population of Nova Scotia (the Acadians) some years earlier, subjugated the rest of New France through a deal with the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Centuries of dynastic and commercial warfare between France and England made anti-French chauvinism a defining feature of the consciousness of the English ruling class. Thus the true founders of the Anglo Canadian state—counterrevolutionary British Loyalist refugees fleeing the American War of Independence—poured into Ontario and the Maritimes with truly hardwired arrogance and bigotry toward the conquered French.

Isolated from the rationalism and anti-clericalism of the Enlightenment, and from the French Revolution of 1789, for well over a century Quebec remained largely a priest-ridden rural backwater.

Defend Native Peoples!

Caught up in the nationalist crossfire, Canada's Native Indian and Inuit peoples are targets of vicious chauvinism from all sides. In 1990 the Quebec police and Canadian army staged armed assaults (helnw) against Mohawks seeking to protect an ancestral burial ground at Oka, near Montreat. Nearby, thousands of racists hanged Natives in effigy and chanted, "Québec aux Québécois."

The federal government in Ottawa has tried to manipulale the Native peoples of Quebec to look to the Canadian state as an "ally" against the prospect of Quebec independence. But Ottawa's cynical con game was exposed as police and army in British Columbia and Ontario opened fire on Native land occupations earlier this month, murdering Chippewa protester Anthony George and wounding two others. The working class in hoth English Canada and Quebec must actively champion the cause of the Native peoples against capitalist oppression and degradation, as part of the struggle for an egalitarian sncialist future.

AP

Any indigenous French-speaking hourgeoisie was eliminated as a factor. In 1837, a national-bourgeois revolt, the *Patriote* rebellion, was brutally crushed. Through the nineteenth century, Anglo Canadian (later joined by American) capital gradually displaced the British overlords.

Significant industrialization and urbanization began to change the character of Quebec society by the end of the century, hut it took many decades for these developments to find political expression. The weak francophoite bourgeoisie was thoroughly integrated with dominant English Canadian capital, while the petty-hourgeois elite remained tied to the church.

The Catholic hierarchy maintained an iron grip on Quebec society, including the working class. For a period in the late 1800s, membership in the Knights of Lahour union organization was even declared to he a "mortal sin." The church continued to exercise direct or indirect control over much of the labor movement right up to the 1950s.

Throughout the long rule of Maurice Duplessis beginning in the 1930s, a period known as the "Great Darkness," virtually all social discontent was met with state repression. But from World War II on, a series of strikes—notahly the illegal five-month battle by 5,000 miners in Ashestos and Thetford Mines in 1949—showed that the proletariat was beginning to stir. Then the death of Duplessis in 1959 gave rise to a sea change in Quebec society.

With the "Quiet Revolution" of the 1960s, a Québécois bourgeoisie emerged, striving to cohere an autonomous political economy of which they would be the apex and chief beneficiaries. The Liberal government of Jean Lesage carried out a series of major nationalizations. Hydro-Québec in particular became the symhol of the growing power of Québécois capital. The new Caisse de Dépôt et de Placement state pension fund created a huge capital pool to invest in building up Québécois-owned industry. Socially, the dominance of the Catholic hierarchy was broken. Birth rates plummeted, from one of the highest in the world to one of the lowest. French-language education was secularized and vastly hroadened, including new francophone universities and CEGEP junior colleges.

Politically, two distinct trends emerged, reflecting the choices confronting the rapidly modernizing Quebec society: toward assimilation (leading to the eventual disappearance of the nation) or toward separation and the creation of an independent state. The chief representative of the former trend, Pierre Trudeau, sought to use the federal government in Ottawa to incorporate and submerge Quebec into the rest of Canada. Trudeau couched this program in "liheral" trappings of "bilingualism and biculturalism," necessarily weighted in favor of the economically and politically dominant English-speaking people. While government services in French became available for the first time in much of the country, the mere appearance of French in everyday life (e.g., French translations on cereal hoxes) drove English Canadian higots into a frenzy. Meanwhile, Trudeau's answer to *indépendantiste* agitation in Quehec was to send in the army in 1970 and to threaten again in later years to invade Quebec. Today, this legacy is carried forward hy his licutenant, Jean Chrétien.

The key weapon of those who sought to counter the assimilation of Québécois society hecame language legislation. A common political economy requires a common language, which is also then the vehicle of the culture. Beginning in the late 1960s, the Quehec National Assemhly began to pass a series of ever more discriminatory laws, culminating in the PQ's 1977 Bill 101 which declared, in effect, a unilingual French Quehec. French was made the official language of work, while "foreigners," including English speakers from elsewhere in Canada, were required to send their children to French schools. We opposed such anti-democratic measures, upholding equal language rights for all, including francophones in English Canada and anglophones in Quebec.

Large sections of Anglo Canadian capital and hundreds of thousands of English speakers decamped down the highway to Toronto and beyond. Not only did the historic anglophone population, centered on the West Island of Montreal, decline sharply, hut new immigrants began to be assimilated into French-speaking society. In 1971 only 15 percent of children whose mother tongue was neither French nor English were registered in Quebec public schools where French was the language of instruction. Around this time, there were significant protests among immigrant communities, notably Italians in the Montreal suhurh of St-Léonard, for the right to continue to send their children to English schools. But by 1989, over 70 percent of such children were in French-language schools.

In the decades since the Quiet Revolution, Quehec society has been reshaped. The decisive pinnacles of industry and finance are no longer in Anglo Westmount. As the Québécois bourgeoisie continues to consolidate its own separate political economy, the logical end product is the creation of an independent state, a new minor imperialist power à la Austria or Denmark.

National Chauvinism: Poison to Class Struggle

The utterly anomalous situation where Canada is split on national lines while Quebec has not yet separated produces deep nationalist animosity. The workers in both nations have been driven ever deeper into the clutches of their respective bourgeoisies, undermining the class struggle against capitalism.

The Quehec General Strike of 1972 was the most explosive class conflict in the Canadian state since 1919. Yet it was *opposed* and *denounced* by the leadership of English Canadian labor. In the midst of the strike, the Canadian Labour Congress executive waved the flag of Anglo chauvinism against Quebec lahor militancy, declaring:

> "It is, therefore, essential that the Congress and its affiliated unions oppose those elements, in any part of Canada, which advocate the destruction of Confederation or a reduction of the federal powers as a means of pursuing selfish regional aims."
>
> —quoted in *Globe and Mail* [Toronto], 15 May 1972

As for the NDP, federal leader David Lewis publicly applauded the jailing of the Common Front strike leaders. Betrayed and ahandoned in that pivotal struggle by the leadership of English Canadian lahor, the militancy of Québécois workers was channeled toward the bourgeois nationalists, leading to the election of the first Parti Québécois regime of René Lévesque in 1976.

Six years later, Québécois workers got a taste of mass union-busting from their "own" PQ government, which slashed wages and ripped up union contracts in the public sector. Fifty thousand angry unionists demonstrated outside the National Assembly with signs reading "Duplessis-Lévesque: Like Father, Like Son." In an article entitled "For a Quebec General Strike!" (printed in French and English in *Spartacist Canada* No. 57, March 1983), we wrote: "This critical showdown hetween Quebec labor and the PQ provides an unprecedented opportunity to win this militant lahor movement to a perspective of multinational revolutionary class unity where it is destined to play a *vanguard* role." But the nationalist union tops called off the strikes and the PQ was able to carry through its sweeping attacks, dealing Quehec lahor a blow from which it has yet to recover.

Today all three Quebec lahor federations are locked in a deadly nationalist embrace with the *hauts bourgeois* Jacques Parizeau and Lucien Bouchard. In rallying round the PQ and Bloc, Québécois workers are responding to the pervasive, ugly Anglo chauvinism that dominates English Canada. Five years ago, the Meech Lake Accord collapsed amid ranting and raving in English Canada against its simple statement that Quebec is a "distinct society." Then came the federal Tories' Charlottetown Accord, supposedly the final attempt to resolve the "constitutional crisis" and end the "Quebec problem." It was rejected by majorities in both nations.

Following the election of the latest PQ government last fall, another upsurge of bigotry has erupted in English Canada. A Québécois woman tourist whose car hroke down in an upscale Vancouver neighborhood was brutally heaten by thugs who spotted her Quebec license plates. This summer in Owen Sound, Ontario, a Québécois woman and her family were virtually driven out of town when their home was pelted with eggs and defaced with "Frogs Go Home" written in excrement on the living room window.

While there have been episodic examples of common class struggle, for example in the federal public-sector strike of 1991, the national divide goes very deep in the organized working class. The vast majority of unions in Quebec are either entirely separate from those in English Canada, or exercise nearly complete autonomy. And it speaks volumes that during this year's rail strike, former Tory cabinet minister Bouchard could get away with grandstanding as a "friend of Quebec workers" by initially opposing federal strikebreaking legislation.

National animosity cripples working-class struggle. As Karl Marx said a long time ago, a nation which oppresses another cannot itself be free. Marx's arguments for Irish independence from England, despite the different particulars, are instructive for the situation in Canada today:

> "...*it is in the direct and absolute interest of the English working class to get rid of their present connection with Ireland*. The English working class will *never accomplish anything* before it has got rid of Ireland. The English reaction in England had its roots (as in Cromwell's time) in the subjugation of Ireland."
>
> —Letter to Engels,
> 10 December 1869

Leninism and the National Question

Twentieth-century capitalism has intensified national oppression and exacerbated reactionary national conflicts.

continued on page 10

Reinorz/Canadian Press

Bourgeois-nationalist Parti Québécois leaders Jacques Parizeau and Lucien Bouchard seek to exploit their "own" working class.

Young Spartacus

Police Red Squad at CUNY Colleges

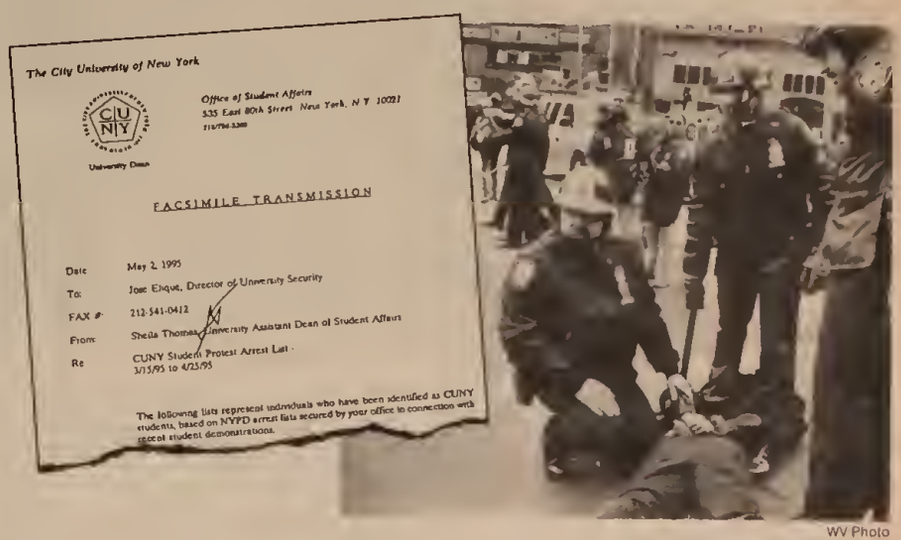
Cops Off Campus!

The City University of New York (CUNY) is escalating its sinister police repression of student dissent. A campus "red squad," trained and supplemented by the New York Police Department, is targeting the most visible student activists for blacklisting, arrest and academic witchhunting. In a broad campaign of surveillance and harassment, CUNY administrators pass the day poring over newspaper stories, tracking photos and articles and issuing memos to the NYPD in order to build up dossiers on student militants. They want a pre-emptive strike against student radicals who might stir up trouble. The Spartacus Youth Clubs say: Cops off campus! And that goes too for the ever-present campus security squads who demand student ID "passes" at every gate and entrance at city colleges.

The red squad was formed last January when the CUNY administration anticipated an outpouring of student opposition to planned budget cuts. This special 33-member cop force, remarkably dubbed "SAFE," is authorized to carry guns and was trained by the NYPD to keep tabs on protesters. When mass student mobilizations broke out at many CUNY schools in the spring, the red squad was called on at least six times: at three public trustee meetings that drew more than 100 protesters, at a CUNY career fair and the March 23 CUNY protest at City Hall, where more than 60 protesters were arrested and brutalized. In April, when students at City College went on a brief hunger strike, a crew of "SAFE" specialists busted more than 47 activists, including hunger strikers and their supporters. All summer long, protesters were dragged through the courts on charges ranging from criminal trespass to felony charges of resisting arrest.

CUNY officials, in collusion with the NYPD, have compiled an alphabetical list of the "usual suspects" who participated in spring protests, complete with racial characteristics, Social Security numbers, addresses and personal academic records. Vice Chancellor Elsa Nunez-Wormack, the head of "student affairs," said it was for the students' "own good"(!) and cynically claimed: "I get a thousand calls after every demonstration from spouses, significant others, relatives, wondering whether their loved ones were involved. I need that information" (*New York* magazine, 14 August). More than 100 documents obtained by the Hunter College *Envoy* under the Freedom of Information Act detail a web of spying and harassment stretching to NYPD commissioner William Bratton. Internal memos originating from the Office of Student Affairs show requests for academic information on students at various colleges, detailed reports on arrests made at student protests and requests made to the NYPD.

The whole operation is reminiscent of the FBI frame-up and spy campaign known as COINTELPRO that was used against communists, leftists and black radicals during the 1960s—even liberals like Martin Luther King Jr. were targeted. COINTELPRO and local police red squad frame-ups murdered 38 Black Panther Party members. Many others were framed up and languish in jail, including former L.A. Black Panther leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), imprisoned for over 23 years for a crime the government knows he could not and did not commit—their own wiretap records (conveniently "disappeared") showed he was hundreds of miles away at the time. Today, Mumia Abu-Jamal, a former Black Panther and MOVE supporter, is on death row for his political views and his beliefs—as more than 800 pages of FBI surveillance records amply reveal. While the red squad at CUNY isn't hunting students to kill them in their beds as the cops did to the Black Panthers, no one should underestimate the ominous nature of CUNY's surveillance efforts.


The City University of New York

Office of Student Affairs
535 East 80th Street New York, N Y 10021

University Dean

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

Date: May 2, 1995
To: Jose Ehque, Director of University Security
FAX #: 212-541-0412
From: Sheila Thomas, University Assistant Dean of Student Affairs
Re: CUNY Student Protest Arrest List - 3/15/95 to 4/25/95

The following lists represent individuals who have been identified as CUNY students, based on NYPD arrest data secured by your office in connection with recent student demonstrations.

CUNY Office of Student Affairs memo reveals ominous surveillance of student demonstrators, drawn from NYPD files of those arrested at March 23 City Hall protest and elsewhere.

WV Photo

As Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and Governor George Pataki heed the politics of Bill Clinton's White House, slashing programs and faculty throughout public higher education, students are squeezed out of classes or out of the system altogether. Enrollment dropped after the CUNY Board of Trustees agreed to hike tuition by as much as *82 percent*—an increase of $750 annually for undergraduates and a $1000 increase annually for graduate students. The CUNY colleges are losing more than 600 professors through firings and early retirement as departments are whittled to the bone. Some four-year colleges abolished entire departments for physical education, nursing and Romance languages. Remedial programs which have long opened the doors to working-class, poor and immigrant youth in New York City are gutted. A 10 percent cut in financial aid by the state has forced thousands of youth out. What this amounts to is a *racist purge*, aimed principally at black and Hispanic youth.

Those who survive the cuts face the knowledge that they may never graduate since required courses are overbooked or never offered. For working-class youth juggling two or three part-time jobs to pay the bills, the dream of a college education is further out of reach. For the ruling class, which no longer has much use for educated working-class and minority youth, the answer to increasing numbers of young people shut out of the "land of opportunity" is to ratchet up the police repression: more jails and cops, fewer schools.

The priorities of the ruling class are clear at CUNY: courses and funding are slashed and burned while the CUNY bureaucrats splurge on an internal security budget of $30 million. Another manifestation of the austerity drive was shown at the College of Staten Island, where the student-run *College Voice*, an advocate of student protests, was denied funding by the administration in the name of fiscal constraints.

As the CUNY blacklists show, campus administrators are linked by a thousand threads to the bourgeoisie's state apparatus. As *Young Spartacus* wrote last spring: "Any serious social struggle will quickly come up against the whole state apparatus the capitalist class uses to suppress working-class struggles—the cops, the courts and the military. The bosses' government is not 'our' state but an instrument of terror on behalf of the capitalist exploiters" (*WV* No. 619, 24 March). The question of how to fight against state repression was hotly debated among students. This issue was posed sharply at a meeting of the CUNY Coalition Against the Cuts on April 15, where SYC members successfully fought to expel a cop who was allowed into the meeting to speak. In protesting the cop presence, our comrades reminded students of the orgy of head-busting by the cops at the March 23 protest and the arrest of hunger strikers days earlier.

Even a basic democratic right like a decent education requires going up against the system itself. The Spartacus Youth Clubs fight for *open admissions and free, quality education for all*. As we wrote in *YSp* last spring at the height of the CUNY protests:

> "Across the country, amid a racist backlash against affirmative action, black people are fast becoming missing persons on college campuses. To open up education to working-class and minority youth, the Spartacus Youth Clubs fight for open admissions, no tuition and a living stipend for all students. The private bastions of race and class privilege, like Columbia and New York University, should be nationalized! Against illusions in the university administration, the SYCs say students, workers and faculty should control the universities. Abolish the board of trustees!"
>
> —*WV* No. 619, 24 March

New York Spartacus Youth Club members fought at teach-ins, rallies and meetings last spring for the perspective of students uniting with labor, in particular through a one-day citywide strike to shut down New York City. This call struck a chord with many CUNY students, who in their vast majority come from working-class families and themselves often work full-time. Many student activists understood that the attacks on higher education could be defeated if students linked up with powerful city unions, like transport and sanitation workers, who also face Giuliani's killer cuts. The main obstacle to this strategy was the labor bureaucrats. A palpable opportunity to unite students and labor in action was stabbed in the back by the labor misleaders such as Dennis Rivera who made secret deals with Giuliani and derailed by student bureaucrats and the fake left who through "coalition" politics tie students to the Democratic Party.

CUNY's escalation of police harassment of student activists again highlights the necessity of students allying with the working class, which alone has the social power and class interest to challenge the rule of the budget-ax wielders. The Detroit newspaper strike gives a taste of the power of labor to strike against the bosses—and the role of hired security thugs and cops in busting picket lines. The popular chant, "Students united will never be defeated," is wrong. Students alone don't have the social power to take on the bosses' state and win. Increased repression is meant to make students lie down before the budget steamroller without any struggle. There should be no illusions in the administration, the courts or the bourgeois politicians—Democrats or Republicans. Their whole system keeps the working class exploited, divided and denied the fruits of their labor. We must ally with labor to sweep away this capitalist system and its entire apparatus of repression through socialist revolution. All cops off campus! For student/worker/faculty control of the university! Abolish the board of trustees! ■

What Comes Between You and Your Calvins?... The FBI

Calvin Klein jeans are hot again, regaining a cool, even slightly "gangsta," image. This summer's racy advertising campaign by ultra-fashionable photographer Steven Meisel, showing youthful models in seedy rec room "home video" scenes, sent sales of Klein's underwear and pants soaring. It also sparked a storm of controversy in a prurient press. And then the U.S. Justice Department and FBI decided to "investigate" whether "child pornography" laws were violated.

AP

Clinton's sex cops target everyone: ad campaign with teens modeling Calvin Klein jeans now being "investigated" by FBI morals squad.

One mom tells *Newsday* (11 September) the ads are "absolutely" pornographic. Meanwhile her 15-year-old daughter's reaction to one shot: "She's got the body to wear it. Why not? I can't believe there's a controversy over this." This would all be just the usual fashion froth and generational misunderstanding—except for the genuinely sinister and scary intervention of the government. Just what business is it of the Justice Department and FBI what kids want to wear? And what makes it "pornography" anyhow? After all, the business interest of Calvin Klein, Inc. is to keep kids' pants ON, not off.

Back in 1980, the feds didn't get involved when 15-year-old Brooke Shields told a nationwide TV audience that "nothing comes between me and my Calvins." The use of teenagers and even very young children (infants! diaper commercials!) as working models is nothing new to the fashion industry, where parental release forms are avidly sought after by yuppie parents yearning to make big bucks quick with a cute kid.

Sex is being used to sell clothes? How shocking. What we have here is yet another attempt by outraged reactionaries and bureaucrats to try to enforce puritanical social codes on everybody, especially youth. "Child pornography" was a watchword of the Reagan years in the 1980s, when the White House and its Christian fundamentalist allies unleashed a witchhunt against day care, drugs, teen sex and porn, designed to manipulate the population into chasing largely imaginary devils, while seeking to hide the fact that this society has done horrible harm to youth with its enforced poverty and inequality.

Today, Democratic president Clinton's Justice Department, headed by the sinister Janet Reno, who authorized the slaughter of over 80 men, women and children near Waco, Texas, on the pretext of stopping "child abuse," continues this sick, bizarre attempt to cover its own real crimes. While Congress conducts hearings on how the FBI has gotten away with murdering American citizens, it seems these top bureaucrats have their minds set on going after teen sexuality and fashion. It's not the Calvin ads but the FBI that's disgusting and creepy and a deadly danger to us all. No one is safe to look at anything they want, not even in cyberspace. The FBI snoops have expanded their police web, busting computer users in the name of cracking down on "child pornography." What this is really about is the administration trying to show it is "morally correct" on "family values" for the 1996 elections.

As for the fashion industry, what's disgusting about it is not the fantasies it promotes via high-paid fashion models, but its exploitation of thousands of unseen workers in sweatshops, including young women and children. Witness the recent "discovery" of Thai women trapped in the El Monte factory in California, or the slave-like conditions of Jessica McClintock's sweatshops in the Bay Area. This grinding exploitation goes on every day around the world. In the U.S., immigrants, often Hispanic and Asian, toil their lives away in the garment industry, as their bosses compete with foreign capitalists who exploit even cheaper labor abroad, all to make millions in profits for the big business capitalists who rule the world—for now. What's needed is to organize the unorganized, to mobilize union power against the garment bosses to fight for workers power. This is what the Spartacus Youth Clubs stand for and it is part of the same fight to keep the government and its sick killers like Janet Reno out of our bedrooms, out of our lives and OUT of our jeans! ■

Detroit...

(continued from page 1)

said after spending a cold night on the line: "This army needs a leader."

The last decade is littered with hard-fought strikes that ended as bitter defeats, knifed by the union tops. In Pittsburgh in 1992, a 5,000-man mass picket shut down the scab *Press/Post-Gazette* operation, but the strike dragged on for months, and in the end the bureaucrats sold it out, giving the owners the job cuts they were after. At Hormel in 1986, Local P-9 put the company's back to the wall with roving pickets and workers massed at the Austin, Minnesota plant. But the leadership folded the strike into a losing consumer boycott when faced with the mobilization of the National Guard. Today in Decatur, Illinois, massive scabbing, unopposed by the union misleaders, has defeated the Bridgestone-Firestone strike and threatens to wipe out the unions at Staley and Caterpillar, where the UAW brass are preparing to fold again.

The union leaderships themselves are the main reason why strike after strike has gone down to defeat. Fundamentally, this bureaucratic layer views the world through the same lens as the corporate bosses. They serve as lieutenants in the labor movement for the capitalist ruling class, policing the unions to prevent outbursts of class struggle and to isolate and sabotage strikes when they occur. Their loyalty is not to the union membership but to the strategic interests of U.S. capital. Thus over the last two decades they have presided over massive cuts in real wages, intensified productivity through speedup, and decimation of industry, all in the name of making American capitalism more competitive, while U.S. companies move to the open shop Sun Belt and go "off shore" to reap superprofits from starvation-wage Third World workers.

In order to fight against the bourgeoisie there must be a fight within the trade unions to oust the bureaucratic leaderships. But various groups that claim to offer a "socialist" alternative to the Detroit newspaper strikers are no better than the pro-capitalist bureaucracy. The Communist Party joins the union tops in lame appeals for readers to cancel subscriptions to the scab paper. The way to stop subscriptions is by *stopping production*. And how can the Workers League (*International Workers Bulletin*) offer a way to fight union-busting? It doesn't even print its own paper in a union shop! Over the years, these bandits have gone from hegging George Meany (!) to form a "labor party" to today completely writing off the unions as workers organizations. When it comes to the Detroit strike, the *Bulletin* offers empty rhetoric about the need for "political struggle" and no program to mobilize union power to win this key class battle.

One group that has shown up on the picket lines is the Revolutionary Workers League and its "Strike to Win Committee." The Committee's leaflets proclaim: "We say picket lines are for stopping scabs." That's pretty rich coming from the RWL, the first issue of whose (now defunct) paper was dedicated to justifying its supporters crossing picket lines, in particular in an AFSCME strike at the University of Michigan in 1977!

In strike leaflets, the RWL's be-all and end-all is "militant mass struggle." This is a program of trade-union economism just waiting for a militant-talking careerist to take it up. What they want is a repeat of Teamsters for a Democratic Union, which both they and the International Socialist Organization (*Socialist Worker*) support. The TDU, far from challenging the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy, was pivotal in engineering the takeover of the Teamsters by the Justice Department and the capitalist courts.

Militant, mass picket lines that *shut down the scab papers* are urgently necessary. But as one defeated strike after another has shown, militancy alone *is not enough*. It is necessary to break out of the bounds of business-unionism.

That's clear as day in labor/black Detroit. Significant as the mass pickets in Sterling Heights have been, they are also overwhelmingly white. UAW president Steve Yokich spouts hot air, but where were the over 20,000 United Auto Workers members who work in the area, and the many more just a few miles away in Detroit? It is necessary to bring out the doubly oppressed black Detroit working class and ghetto poor to help surround the plant and *stop the scabs*. To forge that kind of alliance in struggle requires a leadership that links the fight against union-busting to the fight against racist cop terror, that battles layoffs with the demand for jobs for all and that recognizes the need to mobilize the power of organized labor against right-wing racist terrorists.

The Spartacist League fights to forge a workers party built in sharp struggle against both the Democrats and Republicans and their capitalist profit system. That's not what Labor Party Advocates (LPA), heavily boosted by much of the left, is about. Over the past year, a section of the AFL-CIO has turned to the LPA *as a means of pressuring Clinton's Democrats*. The bureaucracy's program of class collaboration is codified in their position in the Democratic Party. Both contenders for the AFL-CIO presidency, Donahue and Sweeney, have already endorsed "open shop" Clinton for '96, and Sweeney (the supposed "new blood") sits on the Democrats' National Committee. And the LPA's "founding conference" is slated for next June, in time to slide in behind the Democrats' election campaign.

An LPA leaflet to the newspaper strikers calls for "a trade policy that raises wages"—a call for imperialist protectionism of the sort that UAW tops brandish against Japanese auto workers. Such protectionist poison killed the recent Bridgestone-Firestone strike and feeds into the racist anti-immigrant campaign being waged by both capitalist parties.

Devastated Detroit is a monument to the irrationality of capitalism, a boom-bust system which tramples on human lives and destroys productive capacity. What's needed is a workers party that fights to replace the capitalist system with a workers government, which will expropriate the bosses and create a planned economy geared to meeting the needs of working people and the poor. That's the sort of leadership needed to win the newspaper strike and the class battles to come. ■

Free Mumia Now! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!

continued from page 1

took the stand to challenge the state's "evidence," and it was revealed that Jamal's supposed "confession" was cooked up at a meeting of police and the prosecution weeks after the killing.

Jamal's attorneys, led by Leonard Weinglass, asked to delay the final decision to allow testimony from more new witnesses, at least three of whom have made themselves known in the last few weeks. This request was summarily denied, as were so many before. Reflecting unease in ruling-class circles, a number of major dailies, including both the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and the *Philadelphia Daily News*, editorialized against Sabo's antics. Don Terry in the *New York Times* (16 September) noted that Sabo "overruled almost every defense objection and sustained almost every one made by the prosecution."

In the battle that raged all summer between Jamal's supporters and the forces of death arrayed by the court, the D.A. and cops, truth and justice were continually ruled "out of order." Sabo baldly proclaimed in his September 15 decision, "It is not credible that police officers investigating the murder of a police officer would discard an eyewitness report implying the existence of an additional suspect or suspects." But Mumia wasn't just any suspect—they had him in their gun sights for years. Coming at the height of investigations into the Philly cops' systematic manufacturing of evidence, along with setting up and brutalizing of suspects, the frame-up pattern that led to the death sentence for Mumia is all too familiar to black people in Philadelphia, and many others.

Sabo, the black-robed executioner who has consigned over 30 people to death, roughly double that of any other judge in the U.S., has long been a key cog in Philly's racist frame-up system. As a former chairman of the Philadelphia Bar Association's criminal justice section put it, "the Constitution dies a little bit each time Judge Sabo walks onto the bench." Recently, a federal judge ordered a retrial for Edward Sistrunk (now known as Omar Askia Alia), a black man serving a life term after being convicted in Sabo's court for a 1971 robbery/murder. Sistrunk, whose radical views made him a target of the Philly cops, won the retrial on the grounds that prosecutors excluded blacks from his trial jury.

A similar claim of gross racial bias was raised in Jamal's appeal, which showed that during the 1982 jury selection process at least ten of the prosecution's 15 peremptory challenges were used to remove black jurors. When Rachel Wolkenstein, one of Jamal's attorneys and Partisan Defense Committee counsel, tried to present evidence of racial bias in Pennsylvania's death penalty before Sabo, he ordered her jailed, to the astonishment of reporters and spectators.

Sabo's 154-page decision was virtually, argument by argument, a restatement of the D.A.'s "findings of fact," rejecting every one of the points raised by Jamal's defense. Wolkenstein responded: "That type of dismissal is simply not credible. This is confirmation of what we have said all along—that this was a racially motivated, politically biased prosecution, and Judge Sabo had no intention of hearing what we had to say."

A separate legal action was undertaken on September 5 in U.S. District Court in Pittsburgh by attorney Jere Krakoff, challenging the state's harassment of Jamal for "engaging in a profession"—i.e., his powerful writings describing the horrors of the prison system. These hearings were suspended after three days to allow the Philadelphia hearing to conclude. Since the announcement of the publication of Mumia's book, *Live from Death Row*, he has been barred from interviews in prison with the press, and visits from legal aides have been severely restricted. The state jacked up its harassment of Mumia at the Pittsburgh hearings, forcing him to sit with his legs shackled.

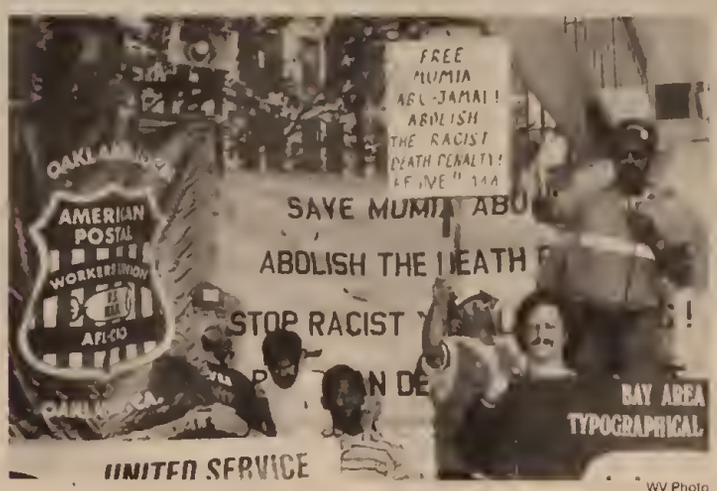
The Pittsburgh suit has already forced prison officials to admit that they opened sensitive and legally privileged correspondence between Jamal and his attorneys, discussing defense strategy for the PCRA hearings, and forwarded it to the governor's office. Authorities at the SCI Greene "supermax" prison, where Jamal is incarcerated, say they will stop opening such correspondence and will now allow Jamal the same, highly restrictive, media access that other death row prisoners get. However, visits from paralegals are still being cut off. Back in Philadelphia, when Wolkenstein tried to submit evidence of the state's tampering with Jamal's mail, Sabo ruled her out of order and again threatened her with jailing.

A dramatic development in the final days of hearings was the appearance of Jamal's brother, Billy Cook, whose car was stopped by Faulkner moments before the 1981 shooting. Cook surfaced at the Pittsburgh court after years of living in hiding. After speaking with Cook, Wolkenstein submitted an affidavit that Cook stated that "Mumia did not shoot officer Faulkner." Wolkenstein also reported that Cook "feared for his life if he testifies for his brother and that after his arrest in 1981 and on numerous occasions thereafter he had been warned by police not to testify." In response to Wolkenstein's affidavit, the prosecution threatened to arrest Cook on outstanding bench warrants, should he appear at the PCRA hearing. Driven away by this blatant intimidation, he disappeared again.

Cook had good reason to fear for his life. At every session of the PCRA hearings, a praetorian guard of armed Philly cops organized by the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP), which counts Sabo as a former member, sat opposite Mumia's family and supporters. When international protests forced Sabo to grant the stay execution, one FOP thug sneered, "It makes you wonder, maybe we should have executed him at 13th and Locust" (*New York Times*, 8 August).

Sabo rushed to issue his ruling so that an FOP demonstration scheduled for Philadelphia's Independence Mall the next day would turn into a pro-death "victory" celebration. The rally featured a mob of several thousand cops howling for Mumia's death. They didn't need lynch ropes and white sheets—their uniforms and guns are the outfits these racist thugs use to carry out their reign of terror against minorities in Philadelphia. California governor (and Republican presidential hopeful) Pete Wilson lashed out against Jamal at a recent Philly FOP gathering. And both Democratic and Republican parties are whipping up racist right-wing "law and order" sentiment for the '96 elections.

The cops, prosecutors and judges comprise part of a system of state repression that has long had Mumia in its cross hairs. The battle to free Jamal is a fight for all working people and minorities. If the racist rulers succeed in carrying out this legal lynching of an innocent man sentenced to die for his political beliefs—or if they keep him locked up for life, as leading capitalist mouthpieces such as the *New York Times* prefer—it will buttress the machinery of capitalist state terror. Since the Partisan Defense Committee and Spartacist League took up Jamal's defense over eight years ago, we have insisted on the need to mobilize labor's power in action to save him. Now Mumia's supporters must redouble their efforts in mobilizing to demand his freedom and the abolition of the death penalty that stands at the pinnacle of the racist bourgeois legal system.



WV Photo

Hundreds of trade unionists came out in labor/black rallies for Mumia Abu-Jamal in August. Above: Oakland, August 3.

Sabo's Kangaroo Court, Part II

The conclusion of the PCRA hearing on September 11 took place in Philadelphia's new criminal justice building, a veritable monument to the burgeoning U.S. police state. Ostensibly representing "the people," Sabo and the D.A.s were sealed off from the people attending the session by a thick wall of bulletproof glass. As the only court so equipped, this facility was dubbed by

Join the Campaign!

The international campaign of protest temporarily stayed the executioner's hand, but as expected, the "prosecutor in robes," Judge Sabo, ruled on September 15 against Mumia's appeal in a flagrant disregard of the massive evidence presented of a police and prosecution frame-up. Mumia is now closer to a legal lynching. As the next stage of legal appeals goes forward, we must redouble our efforts for his freedom. As Mumia said himself in "The Slay," Judge Sabo's earlier (August 7) ruling for a stay was an attempt "to blunt the edge off of a growing and militant anti-death penalty movement.... Let us utilize this precious time to build a stronger and broader movement, to not 'stay' one execution, but to halt them all!"

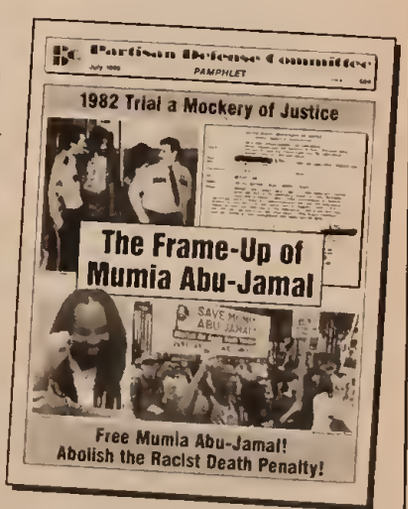
1 **Organize protest!** Pass motions demanding Jamal's freedom in your unions, campus, community and church organizations. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Jamal. Publicize Jamal's case in your union or organization's newsletter. Get on the Partisan Defense Committee phone tree to organize in your area.

2 **Spread the word!** The current issue of the PDC's *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* is devoted to the struggle to save Mumia Abu-Jamal. And the new PDC pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, exposes in detail the prosecution's case of lies, the coercion of witnesses and the FBI's COINTELPRO terror campaign against Mumia and the Black Panther Party. Order bundles of the special campaign issue of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* and *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, 25 copies of either publication for $10. For only $1, buy the PDC's new button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" Get your local bookstore to stock Jamal's powerful *Live from Death Row*. Contact the PDC for speakers, to arrange showings of the PDC's video, *From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal*. The video can be purchased for $30 from the PDC at the address below. Contributions of $5 or more to the PDC include a year's subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*.

3 **Send protests to:** Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120. Ridge changes his phone and fax number daily to try and stay ahead of the growing movement for Jamal! As we go to press, the numbers are: phone (717) 789-2500; fax (717) 783-3369.

4 **Funds are urgently needed!** To get a new trial and overturn the death sentence could cost over a million dollars. **Make a contribution today** to the Bill of Rights Foundation (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense") and mail it to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

5 **Write to Jamal to express your solidarity:** Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090.



Spread the word: order bundles of the new PDC pamphlet!

For more information: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013 • (212) 406-4252

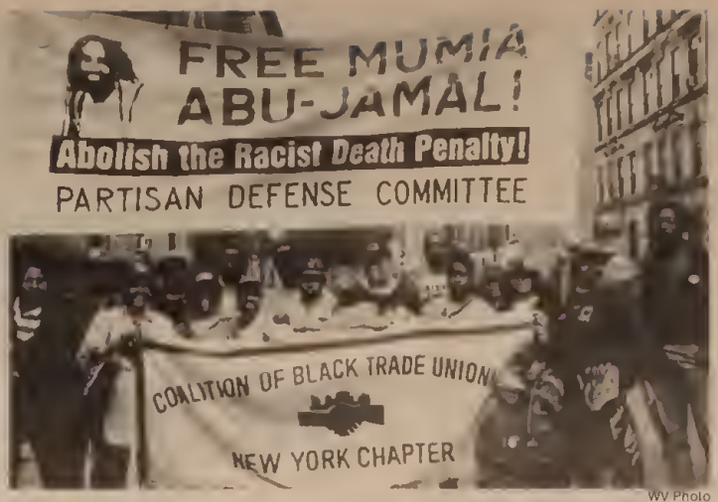
court and press personnel as alternately the "mob room" and the "Mumia room."

As the first of four defense lawyers to speak in the final arguments, Dan Williams pointed to the failure of Jamal's 1982 attorney to present character witnesses at the sentencing portion of the trial and challenged the state to find one case where a defendant had been sentenced to death without presentation of mitigation witnesses. Williams demolished the story of Mumia's "confession," declaring that evidence that the D.A. and cops conjured up this tale "blows the lid off the prosecution's case." The first time there was any mention of a "confession" was *64 days* after the shooting, after Jamal had pressed charges against the cops for having assaulted him that night, when the D.A.s convened a meeting with the cops to cook up this story.

This meeting came to light in the testimony of Gary Wakshul, the cop who guarded Mumia from the time the cops arrived on the scene of the shooting until he received medical treatment hours later. Wakshul wrote in an official report that day that "during this time the negro male made no comments." During the 1982 trial, Wakshul was said by prosecutor Joseph McGill to be "on vacation" and "unavailable" for testimony. It turns out that he was *at home during the entire trial*. When asked by Internal Affairs cops in February 1982 why he had not reported the alleged confession earlier, Wakshul answered, "I didn't realize it [the confession] had any importance until today." Who can possibly believe this?

Jamal's legal team tore into the credibility of the prosecution's witnesses, who changed their original reports on the shooting to implicate Jamal after they were offered deals or favors because of their own criminal records. Anthony Jackson, Jamal's court-appointed attorney in 1982, testified in these hearings that "whenever there was any testimony that was changed, it was always to the benefit of the Commonwealth. Each and every time." Prostitute Cynthia White, for example, was allowed to work the streets under police protection after saying that Jamal was the shooter.

Taking the stand in August, taxi driver Robert Chobert, who initially reported seeing Faulkner's shooter run away but changed his testimony to implicate Jamal, testified that he was driving a cab that night with a suspended license. When he told this to prosecutor Joseph McGill, not only was he not prosecuted, but McGill said he would see what he could do to reinstate the license. He continued to drive for years without a valid license. Chobert's earlier arson conviction—for torching a school for pay!—was hidden from the jury that convicted Jamal.



WV Photo

Jamal's cause was raised by marchers at African American Day Parade in Harlem, September 17.

Jamal's defense team also showed that witnesses who saw someone other than Jamal shoot Faulkner were either hidden from the defense or intimidated into silence. A chilling exhibit of the frame-up methods of the Philly cops was revealed in the testimony of William Singletary, who had reported to police that he saw Faulkner shoot Jamal and that another man shot Faulkner. As reported in Jamal's "findings of fact":

> "Mr. Singletary gave his written statement to the detective. The detective read the statement. Then the detective ripped it up and threw it in the trash
> "Mr. Singletary wrote out his statement a second time. Again the detective glanced at it, balled it up, and threw it in the trash
> "The detective told Mr. Singletary to write what the detective wanted him to write. The detective threatened Mr. Singletary and said 'I wouldn't leave, that they would take me to the elevator and beat me up and that my business would be destroyed.' Detective Green said 'you will stay here until you say what I want you to say or you won't leave.'
> "Ultimately Mr. Singletary was asked to sign an investigation report which was not true, and did not disclose that Mr. Jamal was innocent. Detective Green dictated the report and Mr. Singletary hand wrote it."

Under constant police harassment, threats and suspicious and repeated damage to his gas station, Singletary fled the city in fear.

In her summary remarks, Rachel Wolkenstein described the D.A.'s case against Jamal as "a house of cards propped up by prosecutorial misconduct." She pointed to the parallels in the federal investigation into corruption and brutality in the 39th precinct taking place simultaneously with these hearings. Assistant D.A. Hugh Burns lamely replied that "this case happened in the 6th district in 1982, not in the 39th district in 1995." But the defense "findings of fact" noted: "It was a pattern and practice of the Philadelphia Police Department to harass, intimidate and threaten witnesses who filed complaints against the department. This pattern and practice was the subject of the 1979 lawsuit filed by the United States of America against the City of Philadelphia."

The systematic injustices suffered by blacks in Philadelphia were addressed by attorney Jonathan Piper. Denouncing D.A. Lynne Abraham's "passion for death," he pointed out that blacks are three to four times more likely than whites to be sentenced to death in Pennsylvania, yet the defense was denied the right to argue that this racial bias rendered the state's death penalty unconstitutional. Piper cited the D.A.'s jaw-dropping statement, in response to Jamal's appeal, that "death does not constitute irreparable injury" to the defendant. He listed numerous constitutional violations in the 1982 trial and now in the PCRA hearings, and brought up the denial of Jamal's right of discovery of prosecution evidence hidden from the defense. None of this mattered to the court.

Lead attorney Leonard Weinglass wrapped up the defense's arguments by recapping the reasons for a new trial, from Sabo's denying the defense access to ballistics, investigative and medical experts to the incompetent counsel Mumia was saddled with in 1982. Weinglass concluded, "This case is well below the acceptable standards of due process rights in this country. The court must step in and recognize that Jamal never had a trial in 1982. Give Mr. Jamal an opportunity to test, in the crucible of opposition, the prosecution's case."

Closing her remarks to the court, Wolkenstein described how Jamal's FBI files reveal "collusion between the Philly cops and the FBI and massive bias against Jamal as an outspoken critic of police brutality and racism.... Not only is Jamal entitled to a new trial, but the level of misconduct is so great that the charges should be dismissed." As the proceedings have shown, justice for Jamal will not come about through the workings of the capitalist courts. As a sign in a recent demonstration for Jamal in Brazil proclaimed, it is necessary to "Mobilize the Proletariat with Its Methods of Struggle for the Liberation of Jamal, the Oppressed and Exploited." Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! ■

France...

(continued from page 12)

anti-immigrant campaign in France. The LTF initiated a united-front demonstration on September 15 protesting Chirac's racist state of siege and colonial repression.

The Chirac government started the new political season by showing the true face of the French bourgeoisie: racist and imperialist state terrorism. Soon after having participated in the bloody UN/NATO aggression against the Bosnian Serbs, they brought down brutal colonialist repression on the revolt in Tahiti; at the same time they put "metropolitan" France under a racist state of siege, swarming not only with cops but also with the army.

It is the duty of the workers movement to mobilize right now all the social power of the working class for massive, militant actions (like strikes and demonstrations) against the racist terror which is raining down on immigrant communities in France and the Polynesian people!

Tahiti: Freedom Now for the Imprisoned Trade Unionists and Demonstrators! Independence Now for the French Colonies!

From de Gaulle to Mitterrand, the *force de frappe* [French nuclear arsenal] was targeted on the major cities of the USSR. While the social-chauvinists of the Socialist Party and the PCF supported this terrorist arsenal, we Trotskyists, who defended the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism (while calling for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy), opposed the *force de frappe* from the outset. Now that the counterrevolutionary destruction of the USSR has opened the Pandora's box of interimperialist rivalries, Chirac, by deciding to restart nuclear tests, is brandishing his arsenal of death as a threat against all the potential rivals of French imperialism who might threaten its "vital interests," but also against all the neocolonial peoples who would not accept the imperialist yoke.

This arrogant decision has provoked an outcry throughout the world, and particularly in the French colonies of the Pacific. The mobilizations which have taken place in Polynesia since June have turned into a veritable uprising against the colonial "order" which crushes these islands. The demonstrations of September 6 and 7 confronted a horde of police. This is the way that Chirac commemorates the 50th anniversary of the imperialist massacre at Sétif, in Algeria, by once again launching his thugs against a colonized people. The blows of colonial "justice" immediately rained down: some ten protesters were sentenced to several months in prison and today around 20 pro-independence trade-union militants have just been arrested. *The workers movement must demand their immediate release and the dropping of all the charges.* French imperialism has also carried out acts of piracy against Greenpeace ships. *Chirac, hands off the Greenpeace activists!* We Trotskyists say: *Down with the French* force de frappe! *Not a penny, not a man for the bourgeois army! Down with the attack by France, the UN and NATO on the Bosnian Serbs! Down with the racist, colonialist terror of French imperialism! French imperialism out of the Pacific! Independence for Polynesia and all the French colonies of the overseas departments and territories! Eloi Machoro, Rainbow Warrior, Ouvea—the working class must avenge the crimes of French imperialism!*

Down With Operation Vigipirate! Down With the Racist State of Siege!

The Chirac government is using the criminal bombings which have bloodied the streets of Paris and Villeurbanne to unleash a huge racist operation, unprecedented since the dirty war in Algeria. Racist identity checks, roundups, deportations, charter flights shipping out "illegals," etc. By giving the operation the name "Vigipirate" (as during the bloody imperialist Gulf War in 1990-91), the government clearly shows its main aim: to terrorize the immigrant communities.

In the name of the racist, chauvinist "holy alliance" "against terrorism," Chirac wants to prepare the population for arbitrary measures and for repression against anyone who fights its measures of social reaction. The anti-immigrant policies of the bourgeoisie are the spearhead of its utterly reactionary politics. Chirac whips up hysteria against immigrants and their children to avoid a social "third round" [i.e., a wave of unrest following the two rounds of the presidential elections in June], which the strikes last spring threatened. The bourgeoisie wants to divide and rule. *The workers movement must make the struggle against racist terror and segregation central to its fight.*

Stop the charter flights and the deportations! Defend the right of asylum! Cops out of the ghetto housing projects! Crush the fascists before they crush us! Worker-immigrant defense guards based on the factories! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

No to Class Collaboration! For a Workers Government!

The present leaders of the workers movement have so far not lifted a finger in defense of the Polynesians or of immigrants and their children. Quite the opposite: as loyal servants of their own bourgeoisie, they defend the imperialist interests of France, forming part of the racist consensus. The PCF leadership has even engaged in an obscene flirtation with the neo-Gaullist Chirac: a way for them to recall the "good old days" when PCF ministers sat in the government of de Gaulle which massacred the Algerians at Sétif. The struggle against racist and colonialist terror poses pointblank the need to build a multiracial, internationalist revolutionary workers party, which must be the tribune of all the oppressed.

Only the establishment of a workers government, a bastion of world socialist revolution, will be able to put an end to all the barbarity of capitalism—from racist and imperialist terror to the threat of a nuclear holocaust. ■

Quebec...

(continued from page 5)

Nationalist reaction was a driving force for capitalist restoration in the former workers states of East Europe and the Soviet Union. At the same time, in the wake of counterrevolution, nationalist hostilities have exploded worldwide, along with an escalation of interimperialist rivalries.

The drive by major powers to redivide the world into regional trade blocs and the increasing offshore production in low-wage Third World countries underscores the need for communists to champion the rights of oppressed nations. Only by standing forthrightly against the nationalism of an oppressor nation can the proletarian vanguard claim the moral authority to call on workers of an oppressed nation to fight their "own" nationalist leaders, who seek to solidify their place among the exploiters and oppressors.

In a series of major writings, Russian Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin developed the Marxist approach to the national question in the epoch of imperialism, i.e., the epoch of capitalist decay. The tsarist empire was a prisonhouse of peoples, the Great Russian autocracy lording it over millions of Ukrainians, Poles, Georgians and a multitude of other oppressed nationalities. In his "Right of Nations to Self-Determination" (February-May 1914), Lenin wrote:

> "In this situation, the proletariat of Russia is faced with a twofold or, rather, a two-sided task: to combat nationalism of every kind, above all, Great-Russian nationalism; to recognise, not only fully equal rights for all nations in general, but also equality of rights as regards polity, i.e., the right of nations to self-determination, to secession. And at the same time, it is their task, in the interests of a successful struggle against all and every kind of nationalism among all nations, to preserve the unity of the proletarian struggle and the proletarian organisations, amalgamating these organisations into a close-knit international association, despite bourgeois strivings for national exclusiveness.
>
> "Complete equality of rights for all nations; the right of nations to self-determination; the unity of the workers of all nations—such is the national programme that Marxism, the experience of the whole world, and the experience of Russia, teach the workers."

While upholding the right to independence, Lenin emphasized that the question whether or not to advocate separation can and must be judged only in the concrete: "The party of the proletariat must decide the latter question quite independently in each particular case, having regard to the interests of social development as a whole and the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat for socialism" ("Resolution on the National Question," May 1917). In Russia, it was clear that national separation or the attainment of any other substantial democratic demand was inconceivable without a thoroughgoing revolution. Thus Lenin advocated to the non-Russian nationalities a course of common struggle against the tsarist autocracy.

In each case the question for Marxists is: how best, under the given historical circumstances, to break the hold of nationalism and chauvinism and turn the workers against their own bourgeoisie, opening the road to revolutionary struggle. The answer is not the same at all times and in all places, nor can a policy for one country be mechanically transposed to another. The differences between English Canada and Quebec are much greater, for example, than those between the Swedes and Norwegians, who separated peaceably in 1905, or between the Russians and Ukrainians, whose Slavic languages are largely mutually intelligible (not to mention the Croats and Serbs who speak the *same* language!).

The closest contemporary parallel would appear to be the Walloon-Flemish division that is Belgium. National/linguistic antagonisms in that country have significantly deepened over recent decades, and are today a strategic obstacle to working-class struggle against capitalism.

In Canada and Quebec, the experience of at least the past two decades demonstrates clearly that successful proletarian struggle demands separation into two independent nation-states. Thus, regardless of the outcome of the coming referendum, and in general in the future, we will continue to advocate Quebec independence. At the same time, we recognize that self-determination is a bourgeois-democratic right and as such is subordinate to the broader interests of proletarian revolution. Thus our position advocating Quebec independence could dramatically change in any case or at any juncture where this would cut against the historic interests of the proletariat.

Quebec Independence and Canada's Future

There is much speculation that Quebec's separation could accelerate already strong centrifugal forces, leading to the breakup of English Canada and its unification in whole or in part with the U.S. We are strategically indifferent to such a development, and certainly think it has absolutely no bearing on the question of advocating independence for Quebec.

The unification of English Canada with the U.S. poses no particular question of principle for Marxists other than that it be democratically arrived at. We are far from indifferent, however, if the principal aspect of such an act is to strengthen American imperialism, particularly in the face of the sharp rise of interimperialist rivalries. In this regard, the statement in the document adopted by the Second International Conference of the International Communist League that "we are opposed to the disintegration of English Canada which at present could only strengthen the power of U.S. imperialism" is truncated and correspondingly potentially one-sided.

In the 1970s, American ruling circles expressed concern about the instability which could be ushered in by the creation of an independent Quebec. While Washington hardly considered René Lévesque a Fidel Castro of the north, it was worried by the widespread labor and leftist radicalism which was shaking Quebec at the time. More broadly, in the context of international Cold War, the U.S. sought to maintain Canada as a reliable forward base for war against the USSR.

P. Gauvin-Evrard

In January 1983, 50,000 workers demonstrated in Quebec City against union-busting by nationalist PQ government.

Now, with the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state, this is no longer so important, especially as Parizeau, Bouchard & Co. have sworn fealty to NATO and other military pacts. Additionally, the North American Free Trade Agreement creates a framework for continued and strengthened economic ties whether Quebec is independent or not—not least, access to relatively cheap hydroelectric power.

Nonetheless, during his recent visit to Canada, U.S. president Clinton again made clear Washington's preference for a "united" and independent Canada. Ottawa has proved extremely useful over the years as a soft cop for American imperialism, the "peacekeepers" who have provided a front for the U.S. from Korea to Vietnam to Africa and the Middle East. But in the end, Wall Street could care less whether Montreal bankers and industrialists speak French or English—as long as the dividends and interest payments are in convertible currency and are paid.

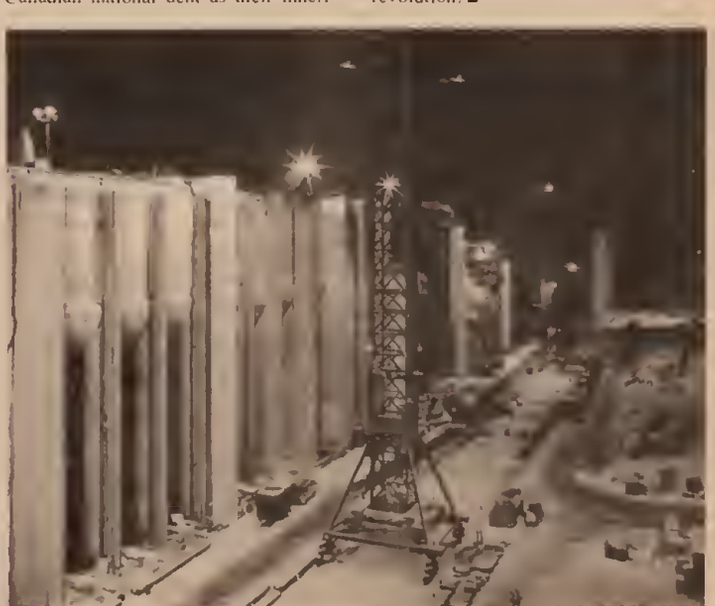
For North American Socialist Revolution!

As in 1980, there has been much jockeying and maneuvering among Quebec's separatist leaders over the wording of the question to be put to a referendum vote this fall. Not surprisingly, the Québécois are a bit ambivalent about departing—especially with one-quarter of the Canadian national debt as their inheritance from having been under the English for so long. Canadian Yvon Deschamps captured the contradiction in his famous quip that what the Québécois really want is "an independent Quebec within a strong and united Canada."

But whatever the conjunctural sentiment, the fact remains that Quebec has, in all concrete ways, insisted on *la survivance* (survival), necessarily through compacting an insular francophone culture and society. And in English Canada, the chauvinist outcry against Quebec's assertion of national sovereignty erects profound barriers to proletarian class struggle. It is necessary, and has been for quite some time, to cut the Gordian knot.

Nationalism and chauvinism have been the key strands in the ropes which bind the English-speaking and French-speaking workers to their "own" capitalist enemies, setting them against each other, and against anyone else who is "not us." Thus French-speaking Haitians in Montreal, English-speaking Jamaicans in Toronto, Asians in Vancouver, aboriginal peoples struggling to assert their rights, are all victims of racist abuse and open state terror "justified" in large part by the vicious logic of nationalism which currently defines and bedevils this country.

We advocate independence for Quebec to help clear the way for united struggle by the racially integrated working class of the whole continent against the system of exploitation and oppression that threatens the future of all humanity. For an independent Quebec! For class struggle against *all* the capitalist exploiters, from Bay Street and Ottawa, to Rue St-Jacques and Quebec City, to Wall Street and Washington! Forward in the fight for North American socialist revolution! ■



Maisel/NY Times

Huge and lucrative Hydro Quebec power projects, financed by New York banks, symbolized growing assertiveness of Québécois bourgeoisie.

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Balkans...

(continued from page 12)

be subordinated to a Greater Croatia. But the gratuitous character of the murderous bombing campaign was underscored by the fact that Milosevic—desperate to end the imperialist starvation embargo of Serbia—and the Bosnian Serbs acquiesced to Clinton's "peace" proposal *before* NATO launched its latest assault. And Washington has assiduously covered up the real terms of the latest agreement on withdrawal of Serb guns from around Sarajevo.

While the NATO air offensive produced a momentary convergence of interests among the Western powers, one immediate effect was to provoke a flare-up with Russia. Seeking to assert itself as a regional power—although short on the military wherewithal—Moscow has simultaneously postured as the big-power champion of Serbia in the international diplomatic arena and the "soft cop" for the Western imperialists vis-à-vis the Serbs. Thus, the Russians made a big show of indignation over the NATO air strikes while simultaneously pressuring the Bosnian Serbs to acquiesce. Washington then offered Russia a role in policing the NATO-imposed cease-fire around Sarajevo.

This key element is not mentioned in the American press, but is extensively reported in West Europe. The German news weekly *Der Spiegel* (18 September) summed it up as "Russians to Sarajevo." The Rome daily *La Repubblica* (15 September) ran a front-page editorial under the headline "The Russian Card," and reported: "The division of labor will see Moscow's troops deployed on territory under Serb control, and above all in the suburbs around Sarajevo, so as to prevent eventual incursions by the Bosnian army." In exchange for Russia policing the Serbs, the U.S. and NATO have agreed to ease treaty restrictions on the number of tanks Moscow can deploy in the Caucasus.

Under the umbrella of NATO's air war, Croatian and Bosnian Muslim ground forces launched an offensive in western and central Bosnia which succeeded in driving 100,000 Serbs from their ancestral homeland. Following on the heels of the Croatian onslaught against Krajina last month, in a matter of weeks upwards of *300,000 Serbs* have been forced from their homes. This is the single most extensive instance of "ethnic cleansing" in the four-year-long Balkan blood wars—which have already produced well over 3 million refugees—and the largest forced population transfer in the region in over a century. And it was perpetrated under the direct auspices of the U.S. and its NATO allies, with the complicity of the Serb leadership, aimed at "creating facts" on the ground for the imperialist-engineered carve-up.

Noting that "Serbian efforts to repel the [Croat/Muslim] attacks have still been surprisingly light," an article in the *New York Times* (14 September) cited the comment by a UN official in western Bosnia: "It's a lot easier to scare these people into moving out of an area that's going to be given up than it is to wait until the new borders are announced and then ask them to please leave their homes." In other words, tens of thousands of Serb families are being bombed out of their homes in order that the various nationalist leaders and their imperialist sponsors can "peacefully" redraw the map amid the serenity of Lake Geneva. Such imperialist-inspired forced population transfers are not without precedent in the Balkans. In the 1920s, more than two million people were brutally "exchanged" among Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey under the auspices of the UN's predecessor, the League of Nations.

For years, the Western press has steadily churned out denunciations of "ethnic cleansing" by the Bosnian Serbs. Exposing the imperialist hypocrisy, we have pointed out that these nationalist wars for redivision of territory have been marked by chauvinist atrocities *on all sides*. They are part and parcel of the counterrevolutionary destruction—which the imperialist powers helped to engineer—of the Yugoslav deformed workers state. Milosevic rose to power as the IMF's man in Belgrade in the 1980s, imposing brutal austerity policies. Milosevic's drive for a Greater Serbia trampled on the federated structure of Tito's Yugoslavia, and was mirrored in Croatia by the ascendance of fascistic Holocaust apologist Franjo Tudjman. In 1991, Germany instigated Croatia's declaration of independence, which triggered the fratricidal slaughter that destroyed Yugoslavia. A year later, the U.S. encouraged Bosnian Muslim president Alija Izetbegovic to form a separate state, provoking the three-sided communalist bloodbath among Bosnian Muslims, Serbs and Croats.

As proletarian internationalists, we have opposed the nationalist slaughter on all sides while denouncing all imperialist intervention, including the presence of UN "peacekeepers" and the punishing economic embargo of Serbia. However, in recent months the character of the war has *changed* as the weight of Western imperialism increasingly pressed against the Bosnian Serbs, first with the deployment of NATO's "rapid reaction forces" in the spring and then with the U.S./German-sponsored Croatian blitzkrieg in Krajina. Now this has became a Western imperialist war against the Bosnian Serb people. For Leninists, this mandates a position of *revolutionary defensism* toward the Bosnian Serbs.

In defending the Bosnian Serbs on the battlefield, we do not change in the least our revolutionary opposition to their reactionary nationalist leaders like General Ratko Mladic and Radovan Karadzic and their rapacious policies. On the contrary, working-class struggle to overthrow the nationalist butchers in Belgrade and Pale—and their counterparts in Zagreb and Sarajevo—is the only way to halt the cycle of fratricidal slaughter and revenge. Key to this is the formation of Leninist-internationalist parties, cohered in the struggle to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International and committed to a program of workers revolution against all the nationalist regimes as part of the fight for world socialist revolution.

While Tito's World War II Partisans rid the country of the fascist Ustasha and Chetnik royalist gangs, his Stalinist policy of building "socialism in one country" inevitably fostered growing national antagonisms, ultimately preparing the ground for counterrevolution. Today, amid the growing war-weariness and impoverishment, there is widespread nostalgia for the relative ethnic harmony which existed before capitalist counterrevolution. A Trotskyist nucleus would fight to galvanize the working people among all the nationalities in revolutionary struggle against the imperialist bloodsuckers who created this horror and the nationalist demagogues who perpetuate and profit from it.

During the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the International Communist League likewise called for defeat of the U.S.-led imperialist onslaught and defense of Iraq while appealing to the Iraqi working masses and oppressed Kurds to overthrow the despot Saddam Hussein. General Colin Powell's memoirs now reveal that the Pentagon even considered using *nuclear weapons* against Iraq. Yet, going with the flow of Washington's "New World Order," many liberals and even leftists joined the imperialist hue and cry over "poor little Kuwait," donned yellow ribbons in solidarity with the imperialist troops and backed the starvation blockade of Iraq as a "peaceful alternative" to bombing. By the time it came to "poor little Bosnia" a couple of years later, many of these types had graduated from being simply cheerleaders into becoming *the most bellicose advocates* of NATO imperialist intervention.

Thus one Tim Wohlforth, the squeezed-out former honcho of the Workers League, who previously pleaded for the imperialists to "give war a chance" (*In These Times*, 26 July 1993) and now peddles his demented pro-imperialist enthusings on the Internet, congratulated NATO on September 6 for its terror-bombing of the Serbs with a fervent "Good Going!" Not far behind this outright warmonger are many self-styled "socialists" who have enlisted in the imperialist crusade over Bosnia. The British Workers Power group, one of the boosters of the "Workers Aid for Bosnia" campaign, could barely restrain itself from enthusing over NATO's air war, arguing that its "objectives would be progressive" if only the war planes did not have NATO insignia. Workers Power's 5 September statement scandalously declares that "in the war between NATO and the [Bosnian Serb] Republika Srpska, revolutionaries continue to take a revolutionary defeatist position on both sides." Workers Power openly admits that NATO is now waging war against the Bosnian Serbs, yet remains "neutral" with a hefty pro-imperialist bias. What's behind this is simple: these "socialists" screamed for more aggressive imperialist intervention in Bosnia, and they got what they wanted.

Justifying its flagrant repudiation of the Leninist principle of *unconditional* military defense of a small nation or semicolonial people against imperialist aggression, Workers Power moans, "Each side's strategic goals are reactionary." By their logic, Trotskyists should not have defended Saddam Hussein's Iraq against the U.S. This directly contradicts Trotsky's defense of Haile Selassie's Ethiopia against Italy in the 1930s and of Chiang Kai-shek's China against Japanese colonialism. Marxists understand that imperialism is not a question of one or another particular "strategic goal" but a system of domination and exploitation of the vast masses of the world's peoples by a handful of powerful capitalist ruling classes. A blow against the U.S./NATO imperialists in Bosnia would be a victory for working people the world over.

Whatever comes of this latest attempt to impose imperialist "law and order" on the contending Balkan nationalists, it will not bring peace but only lay the basis for future wars. Indeed, Pentagon planners have been projecting the need for 50,000 NATO troops—half of them American—to enforce Washington's "peace" plan in Bosnia, which could turn into a bloody quagmire for the imperialists. A lasting peace and national justice for all the peoples of the region can be achieved only through proletarian revolutions leading to a Socialist Federation of the Balkans as part of a Socialist United States of Europe.

The new Balkan wars are both the product of the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet bloc and an arena for the intensified interimperialist rivalries of the post-Soviet world. Germany seeks to turn Croatia (and Slovenia) into neocolonies of the Fourth Reich. American imperialism wants to show that it still calls the shots in the NATO alliance and has the military might and will to bully the world's peoples into submission. In addition to arming the Zagreb and Sarajevo regimes, Washington has quietly established a military and intelligence presence in Albania and Macedonia, while brokering an end to the dispute between the latter and NATO ally Greece. For the moment, there is a convergence of interests between German and U.S. imperialism; in the long run they will necessarily clash.

As on the eve of World War I, the Balkans have once again become the powder keg of Europe. This bloody conflict points to the need for Trotskyist parties, built in the struggle of the International Communist League to reforge the Fourth International, to fight against the imperialist war criminals who have the power to destroy civilization if not humanity itself. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Down With Clinton's Bloody Balkans Terror!

U.S./UN/NATO Out Now!

SEPTEMBER 18—For two weeks, wave after wave of NATO warplanes rained down tons of bombs on the Bosnian Serb people. Tomahawk cruise missiles blasted off from a U.S. warship in the Adriatic to aid the campaign of destruction. "Operation Deliberate Force" is the biggest operation in NATO's history and the most massive use of imperialist firepower since the Pentagon's devastation of Iraq during the 1991 Gulf War. By the time a temporary halt in the bombing was announced on September 14 after the Bosnian Serbs gave in to an imperialist *diktat*, NATO commanders were complaining that they had run out of "military" targets and openly talked of bombing factories and other civilian population concentrations.

The stated purpose of the NATO bombing was to force the Serbs to lift their siege of Sarajevo, the capital of the Bosnian Muslim regime. But like the one-sided slaughter in the Persian Gulf four years ago, the terror-bombing of the Bosnian Serbs is intended to reassert the U.S. rulers' role as the "cops of the world" and to send a bloody message to those who dare defy Washington's dictates. *The international working class and oppressed peoples throughout the world must defend the Bosnian Serbs against U.S./NATO imperialism and its clients of the Muslim-Croat alliance!*

Washington has been itching to teach the Serbs a bloody lesson in imperialist bully-boy etiquette. Western leaders are now claiming that the bombing succeeded in forcing Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic and the Bosnian Serb leadership to accept a "peace" plan which amounts to partition of Bosnia, giving 49 percent to the Serbs and 51 percent to a fictitious Bosnian Muslim/Croat federation which would

continued on page 11

AP

NATO warplanes bomb Bosnian Serb areas near Sarajevo. Marxists call for military defense of Bosnian Serbs against U.S./NATO imperialism.

Bloody Repression of Anti-Colonial Protests in Tahiti
Army, Cops Terrorize Immigrants in France

French Imperialism's Iron Fist

AP

French troops deployed in Paris and other cities in vast police/army "security" operation.

Following a series of six bombing incidents in as many weeks, the French government called out the army on September 8 to occupy the Arc de Triomphe and other prominent spots in Paris and other cities. The anonymous bombings started in late July when an explosion on a crowded underground train in Paris killed seven. Most recently, on September 7 a car bomb exploded in front of a Jewish school outside of Lyon, wounding 14. Now riot police and secret service agents are carrying out vast sweeps of immigrant neighborhoods, arbitrarily arresting scores of supposed Islamic fundamentalists. The purpose of this racist campaign is to divide and intimidate the working class.

Meanwhile, President Jacques Chirac went ahead early this month with the first of a series of nuclear tests at the Mururoa atoll in the Pacific. This provoked a united demonstration of anti-nuclear and pro-independence forces in Papeete, Tahiti, capital of French Polynesia. In Australia, massive demonstrations against the tests have been going on for months, dominated by virulent anti-French chauvinism. (The Australian bourgeoisie is a junior partner of U.S. imperialism, which has plenty of nuclear weapons in the Pacific and a string of military/spy installations to police the region, including the NSA outpost in Alice Springs.)

We print below a translation of a leaflet by the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), section of the International Communist League, distributed at a September 11 demonstration against the French nuclear tests. Despicably, the Communist Party (PCF) organizers of the demonstration refused to raise any slogans against the racist

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AFP

Racist cops have stopped hundreds of thousands for identity checks in campaign targeting "immigrants."

WORKERS VANGUARD

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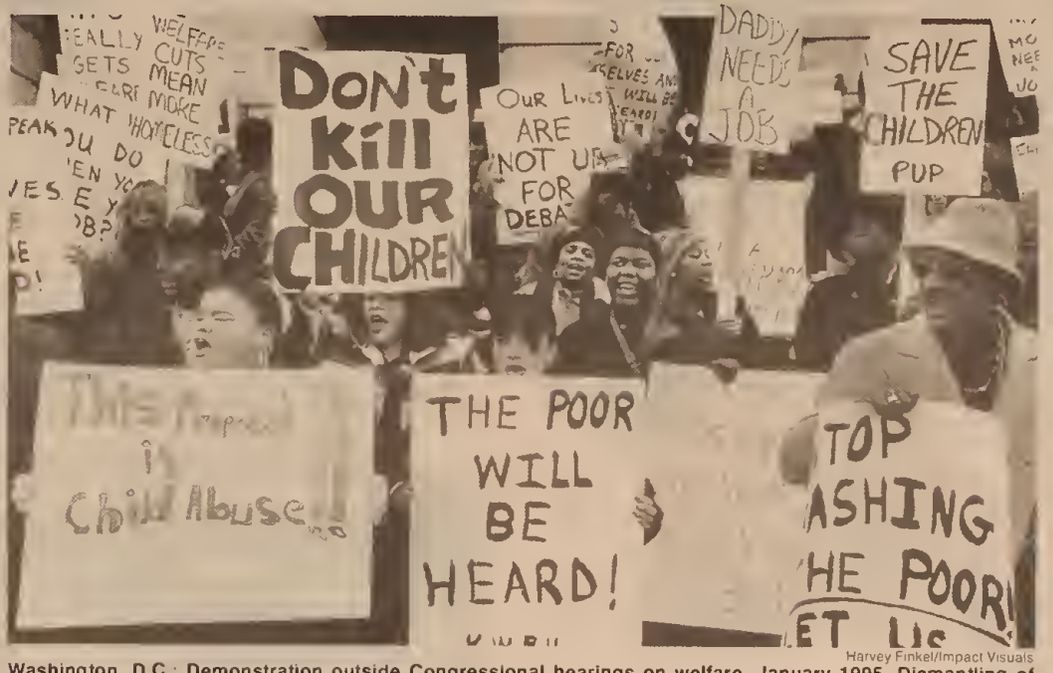
No. 630

6 October 1995

Democrats, Republicans Shred Welfare, Medicare

Racist Rulers Grind the Poor



Harvey Finkel/Impact Visuals

Washington, D.C.: Demonstration outside Congressional hearings on welfare, January 1995. Dismantling of welfare, Medicare are a death sentence for the ghetto masses, the sick and aged.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party That Champions All the Oppressed!

The legislation being rushed through Congress in the last two weeks signals a return not only to the days before the 1930s New Deal but to conditions reminiscent of the 19th century. The already threadbare social safety net—a by-product of generations of struggle by working people—which has meant the difference between subsistence and starvation for a large sector of the inner-city and rural poor is now being torn to shreds by *both* capitalist parties.

The lopsided 87-12 Senate vote to throw everyone off welfare after two years was a sign of the times. This decision to destroy the lives of several million single mothers and their kids was marked by outright jubilation. House majority leader Newt Gingrich strode across the Senate floor slapping the backs of fellow Republicans. "Millionaires celebrating the stomping of the poor," commented liberal *New York Times* columnist Bob Herbert. Yet the liberals are reduced to little more than "moral witness." Despite the furious rhetoric of the Republican right, what differences exist between the parties are over degree and pace. It was Clinton, after all, who pledged to "end welfare as we know it" in the '92 elections.

Echoing the language of the Republican right, the media speaks of the dismantling of the "welfare state." But to call this country a "welfare state" is a cruel joke. Over the past generation, the real wages of American working people have fallen by 20 percent, while the chasm between rich and poor has widened enormously. One percent of U.S. families now own nearly 40 percent of the nation's wealth, more than double the proportion of any West European country. At the other end of the spectrum, the bottom 10 percent of American families has an annual income of $11,000, the *lowest* of any Western capitalist country except Italy! Many working people get by only by having two or more wage earners in the family. And in the ghettos and barrios, most people teeter between chronic unemployment, short-term minimum wage jobs and prison.

Now the rulers of this country are demolishing the few meager social welfare programs which do exist. Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Head Start, Legal Services, Medicaid, Medicare—all are to be either eliminated or slashed to the bone. Even Social Security retirement benefits, long considered sacrosanct, are under attack. Children, single mothers, the elderly, immigrants, the ill or infirm—all the most vulnerable layers of society are being told to drop dead, *literally*. *Time* (2 October) talks of "cutting loose the poor." What the capitalist rulers are doing is *killing* the poor.

Gingrich & Co. certainly revel in this onslaught against minorities and the poor. But it is the two pillars of Democratic Party liberalism—the labor bureaucracy and black elected officials—who have made the working class and poor vulnerable to the ever more savage attacks against them. Over the past two decades, the AFL-CIO misleaders have allowed the trade-union movement to be gutted by givehack contracts, two-tier wage systems, runaway shops and police scabherding. During the Reagan/Bush years, almost every major city had a black Democratic mayor, who blamed all social ills on the Republican White House while his cops terrorized the ghettos and barrios.

In the name of anti-Communism, all wings of the Democratic Party along with most of the so-called left joined with Reagan/Bush in waging Cold War II, which ended with capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the destruction of the Soviet Union. The dismantling of social welfare programs in the U.S. is but the domestic side of the "New World Order" of unfettered capitalist exploitation. For the men who run Wall Street and the Fortune 500, anyone who isn't producing profits for them—whether unemployed black ghetto youth or old people in nursing homes—has no right to live.

Yet this arrogant "let them starve" attitude is fueling a seething anger at the base of American society, which was expressed in the multiracial upheaval that shook Los Angeles following the 1992 acquittal of Rodney King's racist cop tormentors. It can be seen today in the outpouring of popular support—from student youth to trade unionists—for former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal, who faces execution in Pennsylvania for his eloquent defense of the oppressed. It can be seen as well in the fierce picket-line battles by newspaper workers and other unionists against police scabherding in Detroit. It is necessary to revitalize the labor movement by freeing it of the dead hand of the pro-capitalist bureaucracy.

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Feds' Bloody Trail of Terror

SEE PAGE 6

The Mystique of the Guerrilla Road

SEE PAGE 8 **Young Spartacus**

Federal Court Turns Down UMWA Militant's Appeal

Freedom for Jerry Dale Lowe!

Charleston Gazette

United Mine Workers (UMWA) militant Jerry Dale Lowe was dealt another cruel blow in the federal courts. On September 20 the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit turned down Lowe's appeal, condemning him to nearly eleven years in prison for the "crime" of defending his union. His attorneys will be filing a request for reargument. All labor must stand up for this courageous union brother.

On 24 June 1994, Lowe was railroaded on federal charges of "interfering with interstate commerce" in the shooting death of a scab contractor at Arch Mineral's Ruffner mine in Logan County, West Virginia during a bitter labor battle in July 1993. The scab was shot in the back of the head while leaving the mine, the fatal bullet coming from an area where company gun thugs from Elite Security had been located. The Court of Appeals' decision hinges on evidence that the bullet which struck the scab driver could have come from a pistol Lowe had been seen with one week before the shooting. But the court had refused to permit evidence that *Lowe had sold the gun prior to the shooting!*

Lowe was singled out by the authorities because he was known as a militant defender of the union. While the bosses sought to pin the scab's death on Lowe, they had no evidence to charge him under state laws—for anything. So in order to make an example of Lowe and seven other UMWA militants at the Ruffner mine, the coal bosses and the federal government turned a local contractor into "interstate commerce." Seven of the eight Logan County miners accepted plea bargains and received $500 fines with 120 days of jail time.

In her dissenting opinion, Circuit Court judge Diana Gribbon Motz exposed the legal hocus-pocus about "interstate commerce" which was used to send Lowe to prison: "The vehicle that the decedent was driving was owned and operated by a West Virginia company in connection with an intrastate business transaction with another West Virginia company. There was no evidence that the vehicle had *ever* been used outside the state of West Virginia, in connection with interstate commerce or otherwise."

But these legal and constitutional niceties have no meaning to the Clinton Justice Department and the bosses' courts as they go after the labor movement and oppressed with a vengeance. As Lowe's attorney, Rebecca Ann Baitty, stated, "This decision has enormous potential for impacting labor strikes.... It would be implicated in virtually any strike situation." Or as Lowe told *Workers Vanguard*, if the ruling holds, "You won't even be able to stand on the side of the road to talk to anybody, not even to ask them to honor a picket line. That would be affecting interstate commerce according to them and you're just liable to go to jail."

Constantly striving to build up its arsenal of repression, the government increasingly uses this "interstate commerce" myth as the "legal" sledgehammer to intervene to break strikes and railroad pickets when the local cops, goons and courts can't do the jobs themselves.

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Che Guevara and the Guerrilla Road

TROTSKY

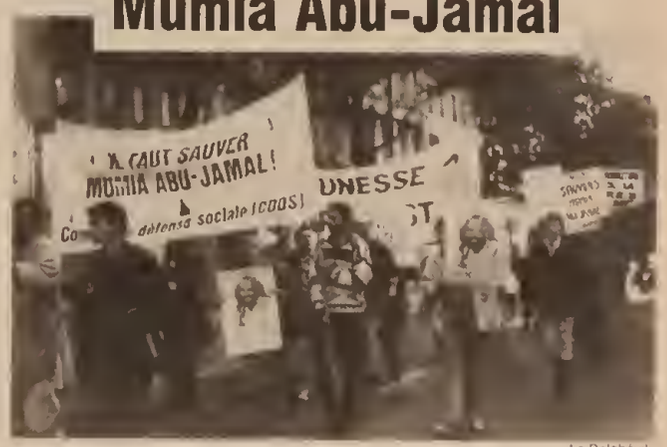
LENIN

On 8 October 1967, heroic guerrilla fighter Che Guevara was captured in Bolivia and then murdered by the CIA and its local operatives. Many leftist organizations at the time saw Castro/Che's Cuba as an alternative to the conservative Kremlin Stalinist bureaucracy. Today, in the wake of the counterrevolutions that have swept the ex-USSR and East Europe, radicalizing youth around the world are again looking to Che as an inspiring revolutionary fighter. Yet Guevara's "guerrilla road" was capable at best—under exceptional circumstances—of creating a bureaucratically deformed workers state, bound by the same nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" that led to the strangulation of the former Soviet Union. The Spartacist League insisted in its 1966 Declaration of Principles on the necessity of forging an international Trotskyist party, to lead the struggle for proletarian political revolution against the anti-working-class Stalinist bureaucracies, and for socialist revolution against U.S. imperialism and throughout the capitalist world.

The partial character of the anti-capitalist revolutions in the colonial world over the past two decades (China, Cuba, North Viet Nam and North Korea) leads us to reaffirm the Marxist-Leninist concept of the proletariat as the key to the socialist revolution. Although existing petty-bourgeois nationalist-led movements against imperialism must be defended, the task of communists is to lead the active intervention of the working class to take hegemony over the national-social struggle. The struggle by the proletarian leadership for **self-determination** of the oppressed nations is a powerful tool to break the grip of petty-bourgeois nationalist leaders on the masses. The Spartacist League fundamentally opposes the Maoist doctrine, rooted in Menshevism and Stalinist reformism, which rejects the vanguard role of the working class and substitutes peasant-based guerrilla warfare as the road to socialism. Movements of this sort can under certain conditions, i.e., the extreme disorganization of the capitalist class in the colonial country and the absence of the working class contending in its own right for social power, smash capitalist property relations; however, they cannot bring the working class to **political** power. Rather, they create bureaucratic anti-working class regimes which suppress any further development of these revolutions towards socialism. Experience since the Second World War has completely validated the Trotskyist theory of the Permanent Revolution which declares that in the modern world the bourgeois-democratic revolution can be completed only by a proletarian dictatorship supported by the peasantry. Only under the leadership of the revolutionary proletariat can the colonial and semi-colonial countries obtain the complete and genuine solution to their tasks of achieving democracy and national emancipation.

—"Declaration of Principles of the Spartacist League"
(September 1966), *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9

Paris Demonstrations for Mumia Abu-Jamal



Le Bolchévik

PARIS—Some 5,000 people participated in a September 27 demonstration in support of American death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. The protest was initiated by the French Communist Party (PCF). The contingent organized by the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), shown above, marched behind a banner reading, "Save Mumia Abu-Jamal." LTF placards also called for independence for French colonies and denounced the government's racist "Operation Vigipirate," in which army troops have been deployed in major cities to whip up a state of siege atmosphere.

The campaign to free Mumia, launched in France by the Comité de Défense Sociale (CDDS—fraternal organization of the Partisan Defense Committee), has struck a chord in France. Although the death penalty has been abolished, cops and fascists apply it in practice with racist terror in the streets against immigrant workers and youth. Yet the PCF, whose groveling policy of "constructive opposition" to conservative president Jacques Chirac is rooted in French chauvinism, tried to head off slogans against colonial repression and racist attacks at home, claiming there could be "confusion about the nature of this demonstration." This was just after the colonial authorities in Tahiti arrested a score of pro-independence trade unionists who had demonstrated against French nuclear testing in the Pacific!

The link between the campaign to free Mumia and the fight against racist attacks was starkly underlined at an earlier, September 8 rally for Jamal called by the MRAP, a civil rights organization close to the PCF. Leaving the demonstration site, five youth, who were either black or of North African origin, were arrested by riot cops, who claimed that one of them "resembled the composite sketch" of the "Islamic terrorist" supposedly responsible for recent bombing incidents. The CDDS contingent, along with other participants, quickly lined up in front of the cops, shouting, "Free our comrades!" "USA-France—Down with racist terror!" A CDDS spokesman declared: "We will stay here and demonstrate until they are released." One by one, the cops reluctantly freed the youths.

The LTF has repeatedly stressed that the organized workers movement must be in the forefront of the fight against racist terror and segregation. Down with "Vigipirate"! Down with the racist state of siege!

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 630 **6 October 1995**

Philly's Grim Reaper Goes to Poland

Capitalism Means Capital Punishment, Says D.A. Lynne Abraham

She's the Queen of Death in the "Capital of Capital Punishment," and she's been sent to Poland by the State Department to do battle for the death penalty. Lynne Abraham, the Philadelphia District Attorney who wants to further her political ambitions by executing death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, is a member of the U.S. delegation to a meeting of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in Warsaw, which opened on October 2. At this two-week international conference to monitor "human rights," there is a special session on abolition of capital punishment. The U.S. expects to come under fire and wants somebody who's really into it to champion the legal lynching of thousands on death row.

News of the trip first appeared in the *Philadelphia City Paper* (22 September), in an article by columnist Mary Frangipanni, who wrote:

> "Her mission?
> "Spread the gospel of the wonders of the death penalty....
> "Nearly all of OSCE's 52 participating nations will send representatives to talk about why the death penalty sucks. Abraham will face a hostile crowd."

William Spencer, who runs the OSCE desk at the State Department and is also on the Poland trip, told Frangipanni, "The United States will most likely be condemned at this conference for its use of the death penalty." They want Abraham along because "she can make a real-world contribution to these discussions."

The "real world" means Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where Abraham presides over the most vicious racist murder machine in America. The fight to save former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal has focused worldwide attention on the whole system of Philly "justice," where the 40 percent black population lives under a reign of terror from the racist cops, the capitalist courts presided over by the likes of hanging judge Albert Saho, and the deadliest D.A. in the country.

The death penalty is Lynne Abraham's "passion," wrote Tina Rosenberg in a front-page profile of her in the *New York Times Magazine* (16 July). The Philadelphia District Attorney's office "is more zealous in seeking the death penalty" than any other jurisdiction in the U.S., Rosenberg noted. Philadelphia's death row population of 105 is the third largest in the nation, close behind Houston and L.A., which are both much larger. Abraham doesn't lose any sleep over the pending executions, declaring: "I've looked at all those sentenced to be executed. No one will shed a tear. Prison is too good for them. They don't deserve to live."

Lynne Abraham, enforcer of the most ruthless "legal lynching" machine in the U.S.

Spartakist

Warsaw, June 23: Polish Spartacists at rally of some 200 calling to save the life of U.S. political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Only such minds would be capable of stating, as did the Philadelphia D.A.'s reply to Jamal's appeal for a stay of execution: "The carrying out of a valid death sentence cannot constitute irreparable injury for purposes of requesting a stay." After Jamal won a stay of execution, she bitterly complained in a *New York Times* (13 August) column, sneering that Jamal was just a "high school dropout" and dripping with racist arrogance at the "ludicrous" idea that Jamal "was a famous journalist whom the police framed to silence his unpopular political views."

The OSCE meeting takes place as reactionary forces in Poland are trying to rev up the machinery of death. One can't help but note the grotesque quality of Abraham arguing for the death penalty in the land of Auschwitz. The death penalty in Poland is a holdover from the Pilsudski dictatorship and was scandalously maintained by the Stalinist bureaucracy of the deformed workers state. But there has not been an execution in Poland since 1988, a situation that many of the new capitalist rulers are trying to reverse.

Abraham argues that in Poland "sooner or later, they will have to accept the death penalty. With such a high homicide and drug abuse rate, they will have no choice." And why does Poland have a high crime rate today? Abraham is saying that *capitalist counterrevolution requires capital punishment*. "Besides," she told the *City Paper*, in Poland "they have been practicing the death penalty for years. It's called communism. How many people have been murdered because of a communist dictator?"

For years, Washington vituperated against the supposed brutal crackdown against Solidarność in 1981, which temporarily spiked the bid for power by that pro-capitalist Polish nationalist movement sponsored by the Vatican, Ronald Reagan and the CIA. In fact, a total of *nine* people are known to have died in the crackdown. Even a Solidarność-led parliamentary committee could only come up with 54 people killed by the security forces during the year and a half of martial law (Tina Rosenberg, *The Haunted Land* [Random House, 1995]). This is about *half* the number of prisoners the Philly D.A.'s office has sent to death row, not to mention the more than 3,000 facing execution nationwide.

Our comrades of the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski participated in a demonstration against Lynne Abraham and the death penalty on October 2. In a leaflet entitled "Protest Philadelphia D.A. Lynne Abraham, Would-Be Executioner of Mumia Abu-Jamal!" the SGP writes:

> "Abraham arrives in Warsaw five years after the capitalist counterrevolution, backed to the hilt by the American imperialist bourgeoisie, which destroyed the former deformed workers state in Poland. Throughout the 1980s, with supreme hypocrisy imperialist governments around the world conducted a massive campaign ostensibly defending 'human rights' against 'communist totalitarianism' as a means to undermine the Soviet Union and other workers states, which had been deformed and weakened by decades of Stalinist bureaucratic rule. . .
> "Meanwhile, the Polish bourgeoisie, including politicians from the fascist grouplets, to Walesa and the pro-clerical-nationalists of the post-Solidarność parties, to the ex-Stalinist social democrats of the SLD, are unanimously howling for a strengthening of police powers. This means more deportations of Roma, Sinti as well as so-called 'illegal' workers, further crackdowns on women seeking abortions, and a reactivation of the barbaric death penalty. Ultimately their target is the organized working class and the left, and anyone else who seeks to rebel against the 'new order' of capitalist 'free market' misery...."

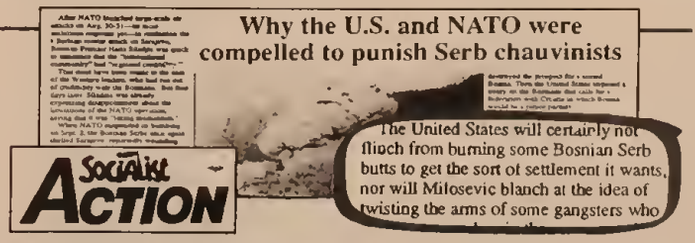
The SGP leaflet ends, "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Down with Anti-Semitism and Anti-Roma Racism! Down with Capitalist Counterrevolution! Down with the Death Penalty!" ■

Why Socialist Action Is Compelled to Alibi Clinton's Terror Bombing

In World War I, Lenin called the Social Democrats who shamefully supported "their" bourgeoisies in imperialist war "social chauvinists." Today, as U.S./NATO bombs enforce imperialist domination in the Balkans, the American Socialist Action (SA) group acts as Washington's attorney. "Why the U.S. and NATO Were Compelled to Punish Serb Chauvinists," reads the headline in the September issue of *Socialist Action*.

"Compelled"? "Punish"? Do tell. The first paragraph quotes the premier of Bosnia saying that the massive NATO bombing of the Bosnian Serbs allowed the "international community" (read, U.S. and German imperialism) to "regain credibility." While complaining that a hardline Serb faction is refusing to accept the NATO diktat, *Socialist Action* assures its readers: "The United States will certainly not flinch from burning some Bosnian Serb butts to get the sort of settlement it wants."

This latest *Socialist Action* is no aberration. It just states with unusual frankness what has been their policy all along—to be a pressure group for imperialist intervention. In the August issue, Gerry Foley denounced "UN Betrayals in Bosnia" and hailed the Croatian military offensive which carried out the largest "ethnic cleansing" operation in this murderous war, as the fascistic Tudjman government (which looks back to the Nazi-allied Croatian Ustasha in World War II) drove out 200,000 Serbs from lands they had inhabited for centuries. And the July *Socialist Action* proclaims, "Morale Steadily Rises in Bosnian Army," above a photo of a bandoleered, Rambo-like "freedom fighter."



September *Socialist Action*'s disgusting apology for U.S./NATO bombing of Bosnian Serbs.

As the counterrevolutionary destruction of Yugoslavia turned the former deformed workers state into a bloody cauldron of ethnic hatred, Socialist Action sided with one of the warring nationalist factions—the Bosnian Muslims. The Bosnian "government" is led by an Islamic fundamentalist cabal, but Socialist Action follows the imperialist press in presenting these rabid nationalists as "multi-ethnic" democrats. And it's no accident that SA supports the same side embraced by Washington, both Democrats and Republicans.

War and revolutions are fundamental events which throw into sharp focus where different political forces and tendencies stand. Contrast *SA*'s line with the Spartacist League. Over the headline "Down With U.S./UN/NATO Attack on Bosnian Serbs!" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 628, 8 September) we declared, "No to Imperialist Diktat in the Balkans!" The article noted:

> "It has been quite clear in recent months, beginning with the deployment of the so-called rapid reaction forces last spring, highlighted by the American engineered and controlled Croatian offensive in early August, and now with the mass murder bombing by the U.S. and NATO, that this has become an imperialist war against the Serbs. *We call for defense of the Bosnian Serbs against*

continued on page 4

Socialist Action...

(continued from page 3)

> *U.S./NATO imperialism and its puppets of the Muslim-Croat alliance.*"

At the same time, we emphasized the need for a socialist fight against the ethnic-nationalist butchers, calling prominently: "For Workers Revolution to Overthrow All the Bloody Nationalist Regimes! For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!"

In our last issue, we noted how the despicable Tim Wohlforth, one-time honcho of the Workers League, is now posting messages on the Internet praising NATO for its terror bombing of the Bosnian Serbs with an enthusiastic "Good Going!" Wohlforth is an open renegade who has denounced Trotskyism and Leninism as he embraces "American values." But the example of Socialist Action gloating over the U.S.'s "punishment" of the Serbs underlines that he is shouting out loud the same pro-imperialist line that a grab bag of ostensible Trotskyists have been peddling for some time.

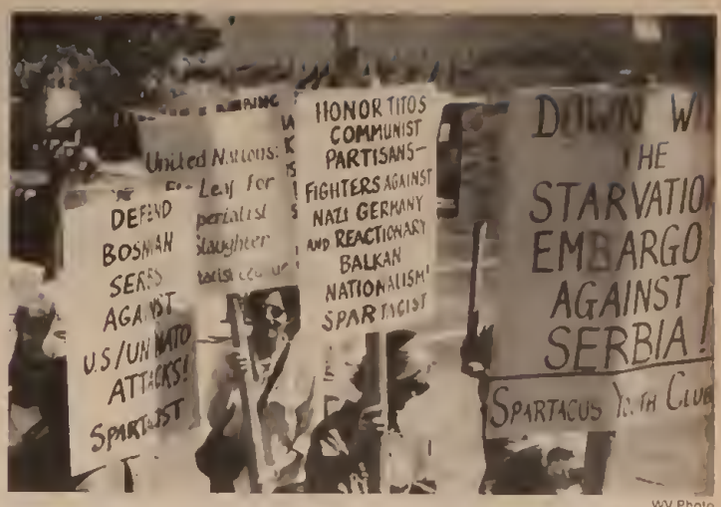
Support for NATO terror bombing is the logical outcome of the "workers aid" campaigns for Bosnia that this crowd has been running for the past several years. SA is internationally linked to the United Secretariat (USec) of the late Ernest Mandel, whose Bosnian aid outfit is called "International Workers Aid." Together with the British Workers Revolutionary Party of Cliff Slaughter, which has been running the "Workers Aid for Bosnia" group, they ran convoys to the town of Tuzla under the protection of Croatian and UN military forces. As we wrote in our article, "Fake Lefts in the Baggage Train of Imperialism: What's Behind 'Workers Aid for Bosnia'" (*WV* No. 604, 5 August 1994):

> "These 'leftist' charlatans cynically use the plight of the Tuzla mining community *to promote political support to the Bosnian Muslim government* in the three-sided fratricidal war in the former Yugoslavia and *to push for imperialist support to Bosnia*."

So they've gotten what they asked for. As early as February 1993, the United Secretariat called on the imperialists to send arms to the Bosnian Muslim government. And now that the U.S./NATO forces are bombing the Bosnian Serbs, Socialist Action cheers.

So here we have the scandalous spectacle of ostensible Trotskyists seeking imperialist intervention to support one side in a nationalist civil war. These "laptop bombardiers," as journalist Alexander Cockburn termed such "leftist" warmongers, accept the bourgeois lie of the "death of communism." Thus the United Secretariat recently published an entire declaration on "Bosnia-Herzegovina: No Ethnic Partition!" (*International Viewpoint*, June 1995), in which they say not one word about socialism or the working class. And the USec's Yugoslavia expert, Catherine Samary, admits "the left's inability to mobilise a solidarity movement with democratic forces in former Yugoslavia is partly the result of a thorough confusion over who is who, and who we should support" (*International Viewpoint*, March 1995).

Having written off a fight for socialist revolution as impossible, they now present a bourgeois-democratic program for "self-determination" for a "multi-ethnic" Bosnia. This throws out the window Trotsky's program for permanent revolution, which explains that in the imperialist epoch the fight even for the most basic democratic tasks such as national independence requires that the proletariat take power, under the leadership of its communist party, passing over to undertake socialist tasks and extending the revolution internationally, centrally to the imperialist countries.



WV Photo

The International Communist League held emergency protests in early September against NATO onslaught at UN headquarters in New York (above), London, Paris, Berlin.

A "democratic" capitalist Bosnia really is a fantasy. The interpenetration of several (closely related) peoples in the Balkans means the formation of capitalist nation-states born of counterrevolution can only come about through massive forced population transfers, and worse. While the USec talks of a mythical "sovereign and multi-ethnic Bosnia," in reality they are aligned with Islamic fundamentalists and Croatian neo-fascists under the protection of the U.S./NATO imperialists who want to police the region, "punishing" the Serbs for stepping out of line in the "New World Order."

Socialist Action poses as the left wing of the USec, as opposed to the majority, which openly talks of liquidating the organization that has long, and falsely, claimed to be the continuity of Trotsky's Fourth International. But there's nothing "left" about these cheerleaders for Clinton. In fact, SA is marked by profound Stalinophobia. Socialist Action hailed the capitalist reunification of Germany. And in a report to the USec's 14th World Congress, Jeff Mackler said of the wave of counterrevolution that swept the Soviet Union and East Europe: "with the collapse of Stalinism, a gain has been made for the working class worldwide" (*Socialist Action*, August 1995).

Socialist Action emerged from the (by then thoroughly reformist) Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1983. Its first notable act was to goon for the San Francisco labor bureaucracy. When thousands of Bay Area workers took to the streets to stop scab buses during the Greyhound strike, Socialist Action helped to organize a goon squad for the bureaucracy to stop the workers and protect the company from "crazies"! Nor is their Stalinophobia anything new: they are charter members of the "solidarity with Solidarity" club, "AFL-CIA" branch. Already in 1981, when he was still in the SWP, future SA honcho Nat Weinstein was demonstrating alongside hoary "Captive Nations" anti-communists at a rally for the counterrevolutionary Solidarność. The logo on Socialist Action's newspaper remains *to this day* that of Lech Walesa's Polish Solidarność—leader of the Polish counterrevolution.

From Poland to Bosnia, Socialist Action has lined up foursquare with its "own" imperialism. This was shown dramatically during the 1990-91 Persian Gulf slaughter, when Socialist Action endorsed wearing yellow ribbons in support of "our boys," the U.S. troops that rained death and destruction on Iraq, killing more than 100,000 Iraqis for American control of Near East oil. Now these yellow-ribbon socialists are cheering on Clinton as he "burns Bosnian Serb butts." These pseudo-Trotskyists are social chauvinists of the third mobilization. ■

Lowe...

(continued from page 2)

For the past decade, nearly every militant labor struggle has been met with bogus "conspiracy" charges under the draconian RICO laws. This is a throwback to the 19th century, when unions and strikes were considered criminal conspiracies. Also railroaded to 35 to 45 years in prison, under the anti-labor provisions of the Crime Control Act, are four Kentucky miners and UMWA brothers—Donnie Thornsbury, David Thornsbury, Arnold Heightland and James Darryl Smith—who were arrested during the 1984-85 strike against A.T. Massey and Samoyed Energy.

From the powerful Teamsters to the UMWA, the labor tops who routinely bow down to strikebreaking injunctions now conveniently hide behind the threat of RICO indictments and civil suits as they abandon the most militant strikers who have been targeted and set up by the feds. Teamster militant Jesse Acuna and Ravenswood, West Virginia Steelworker Bob Buck are just a couple of the strikers imprisoned for defending their union without the bureaucrats lifting a finger in their defense. Trampling on the proud miners' tradition that an injury to one is an injury to all, UMWA head Richard Trumka has refused to use the union's power in defense of Jerry Dale Lowe against this vindictive prosecution by the Clinton administration. Trumka's contract selling out the 1993 strike specifically *excluded* from amnesty any strikers facing federal charges, in other words, Jerry Dale Lowe and the other seven Logan County miners.

The Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle legal and social defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, sends monthly stipends to Lowe as part of our program of stipends to victims of capitalist repression.

As a UMWA Local 5958 safety committee chairman and a union militant, Jerry Dale Lowe fought to protect his union brothers. Jerry Dale Lowe must not fight alone. The fight to defend Jerry Dale Lowe and all class-war prisoners is the cause of the entire labor movement. There should be mass mobilizations in the coal fields and around the country—convoys of Teamsters, marches of auto, rubber, steel, transport and municipal workers, demanding freedom for Jerry Dale Lowe. ■

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Spartacist Events

BOSTON

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Saturdays, 2 p.m. Next classes, October 14 *Workers of the World, Unite: The Power of the Proletariat*, October 21: *The Marxist Understanding of the State and Imperialism*, call for location
For more information: (617) 666-9453

CHAMPAIGN/URBANA

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Thursdays, 7 p.m. Next classes, October 5: *For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!* November 2: *1917—The Russian Revolution*; University of Illinois-Champaign/Urbana, call for room
For more information: (312) 663-0715

NEW YORK CITY

Thursday, October 12, 7:30 p.m. *Race, Sex, Class and Clinton's War on the Poor*; Speaker: Amy Rath, Editor, *Women and Revolution*; PS 234, 292 Greenwich Street (at Chambers Street)

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Fridays, 7 p.m. Next classes, October 6: *Workers Revolution*; October 20: *The Revolution Betrayed*; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren Street (one block below Chambers Street)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forums

TORONTO

Saturday, October 21, 7:30 p.m.
National Chauvinism Is Poison to Class Struggle—For Quebec Independence!
Speaker: Charles Galarneau, *Spartacist Canada* Editorial Board; St. Paul's Centre, 427 Bloor Street W. (just west of Spadina)

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m. Next class, October 16: *The Origins of Marxism*; International Student Centre, 33 St. George Street (north of College)
For more information: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Friday, October 13, 7:30 p.m.: *National Chauvinism Is Poison to Class Struggle—For Quebec Independence!* Speaker: Charles Galarneau, *Spartacist Canada* Editorial Board; Britannia Community Centre, Room L4, 1661 Napier (off Commercial Drive)

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. Next class, October 26: *Marx's View of Economics*; Britannia Community Centre, Room L4, 1661 Napier (off Commercial Drive)
For more information: (604) 687-0353

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

Detroit: Redbaiting Targets All Strike Militants

For 12 weeks, workers striking against the *Detroit News* and *Free Press* have endured hundreds of arrests in the fight to shut down the scab papers. In early September, the strikers' mass pickets that pushed back the cops were a welcome sight to workers across the country. But the scene of hundreds of workers massed outside the key Sterling Heights printing facility pounding the pavement with picket sticks and ready to teach a long-overdue lesson to the scabherders and goons from outfits like Vance Security scared the union tops as much as the company. Now the bosses' courts have hit the unions with an anti-picketing injunction. Rather than calling on all Detroit labor to come out in mass defiance of the strikebreaking court order, the response of the Metropolitan Council of Newspaper Unions was to launch a dirty, redbaiting slander campaign. The bureaucrats' aim was clear: to denounce the determined militancy of *their own members* as being the work of "radicals" and Vance Security!

AP

Detroit newspaper strikers and their supporters have fought repeated police assaults. Left: Cops attack picket line outside Sterling Heights printing plant, August 19.

It used to be that the owners had to hire their own public relations hacks—now all it takes is a phone call and they get the labor fakers to do it for free. In a grotesque press release on September 22, Teamsters official Al Derey, head of the Metropolitan Council of Newspaper Unions, attacked the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and their "Strike to Win Committee," alleging that "Vance Security, one of the private paramilitary companies hired by the papers, could be controlling these so-called radicals." This crude smear job is directed against *any* striker and strike supporter who has defended the picket line. Over a hundred have been arrested—17 more on September 30—for trying to stop scab distribution. Instead of Derey's backstabbing attack, the union movement should use its muscle to demand all charges be dropped.

"This redbaiting reminds me of 1950," at the height of the McCarthyite witchhunt, one electrical worker manning the picket lines told *Workers Vanguard*. He added that strike leaders "were hoping and praying that the injunction would come through" to give them an excuse to do away with picket line militancy. Members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) report that one Metropolitan Council bureaucrat justified *scabbing* by some IBEW members while redbaiting others who called for mass pickets!

The Metropolitan Council and their allies in the United Auto Workers International have acted as *cops for the bosses* by diverting away from the picket line the hundreds of workers who have flocked to Sterling Heights to support the strike. Like all union leaders who support the profit system and the twin parties of American capital, Derey & Co. function as agents of the bosses to control and tame the labor movement.

Many strikers fighting to win this battle recognize that the union misleaders are the roadblock to victory. What will it take to defeat them? The RWL and the "Strike to Win Committee" reduce everything to the call for more "militancy" and electing "militants" to union office. It takes a lot of nerve for the RWL to pose as militant defenders of the picket line: the first issue of their paper was devoted to aiming their *scabbing* on a 1977 strike of AFSCME clerical workers in Ann Arbor!

It is urgent to fight for mass pickets which shut down the scab production. Key to this is forging a leadership that fights to expose the *political* basis of the bureaucracy's sabotage, in order to *sweep away* this obstacle. The crucial point is that the newspaper union tops' attack on the strikers is rooted in their allegiance to the capitalist system—in particular through their *reliance on and fronting for the Democrats*. But you'll look long and hard to find this mentioned in the RWL's "strike committee" leaflets. By confining their criticism of the union tops to picket line tactics, the RWL ducks the necessity of a political struggle against the pro-capitalist union leadership, leaving the door open to tailing "progressive" elements of this bureaucracy.

As we pointed out in our last issue ("Detroit Labor: Stop the Scabs!" in *WV* No. 629), "militancy alone *is not enough*." Labor's gotta play hardball to win—and that means class-struggle politics to defeat the backstabbers like Derey who are running this strike into the ground. In fact, the fakers posturing as "militants" in the 1970s became the bureaucrats of today: look at the TDU (Teamsters for a Democratic Union), in bed with Ron Carey and finking for the feds. The RWL is cut from the same cloth—that's why they look to Democratic Party con artists like Jesse Jackson to lead workers and minorities in struggle. What's needed is a leadership that fights for jobs for all and mass labor/black struggle against racist attacks, against imperialist protectionism that chains American workers to their own exploiters, and for a workers party determined to expropriate the capitalists under a workers government. With such a revolutionary leadership, the working class will launch a fight to win—once and for all.

Defeat the Crackdown on NYC Transit Workers!

The over 40,000 subway, bus and commuter rail workers employed by units of New York's Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA)—the NYC Transit Authority (TA), Long Island Rail Road and Metro-North—are the most powerful hub of public service employees in the country. But facing the broadest attacks on mass transit in decades, workers are being held back, atomized and demoralized by their own union misleaders, above all by officials of the Transport Workers Union (TWU), whose 30,000-strong Local 100 has the power to bring the city to a grinding halt.

Strangled by budget cuts at the TA and locked in contract fights at Metro-North and the LIRR, workers are facing speedups, forced overtime, dangerous conditions, drug testing and disciplinary assaults by gung-ho foremen and supervisors trying to save their own jobs. Riders are getting hit, too. Subway and bus service was cut back after Labor Day, affecting poor and working-class neighborhoods the most, and on November 1 transit fares are slated to rise from $1.25 to $1.50. Virgil Conway, the MTA's recently appointed chairman, announced plans to cut operating expenses by up to *$3 billion* in the next five years!

On a mid-September morning, a squirrel wandered into an electrical transformer serving the Metro-North commuter railroad and briefly accomplished something the sellout union tops of 17 railway unions have desperately avoided since the contract covering 5,000 of their members expired in December 1994—shut it down. Rumors of a strike action sent shock waves from the train platforms of wealthy suburbs north of the city to the Midtown banks and Wall Street. But so far, MTA bosses have had more to fear from squirrels than from the Metro-North unions, whose leaders are holding back an angry, multiracial workforce.

In August, the MTA threatened Metro-North workers with layoffs after members of four different unions—Machinists, firemen, sheet metal workers, cleaners and inspectors—voted to reject contracts agreed to by MTA negotiators and union bureaucrats. The proposed sellout entailed vast work rule changes which would have *lowered* the income of many workers. Leading the retreat was TWU International president Sonny Hall, who first assured nervous NYC rulers that no strike action was planned, then called the proposal rejected by TWU cleaners and inspectors "the best available at the time, short of a strike, especially considering the financial climate we were bargaining in" (*AFL-CIO News*, 28 August).

The LIRR and Metro-North are, respectively, the first- and second-largest commuter railroads in the country, yet divisive craft unionism at both encourages backstabbing deals between management and the various union misleaders. It's absurd to have dozens of unions carving this powerful workforce into tiny components. There must be one industrial union for all mass transit workers—including workers from the closely interlinked New Jersey Transit and the PATH trains between Manhattan and New Jersey.

Metro-North and LIRR workers are covered under the Railway Labor Act, which deems strike action illegal during government-imposed "cooling off periods" that can last for years. The MTA wants to place them under the even more draconian Taylor Law—which declares *all* New York public employee strikes illegal. Such laws are a godsend for labor bureaucrats, particularly phony "oppositionists" like New Directions in TWU Local 100, who boost themselves to union office with militant rhetoric, then claim their "hands are tied" at contract time.

It's not just the Railway Labor Act or the Taylor Law—the *whole system* of regulations, labor boards and court injunctions covered by the National Labor Relations Act is designed to gut labor struggle. This framework is the bible of the labor bureaucrats, who are keenly aware of their role: to police the organized working class, preaching faith in government intervention and the Democratic Party. At LIRR, 470 engineers have been working without a contract since 1991! In May, they held a one-day "illegal" sick-out that paralyzed the railway, and Wall Street howled with rage. Later, union officials admitted their "mistake," and agreed to prevent more "illegal job actions" for at least five years.

For the first time in memory, bosses at the NYC Transit Authority are threatening mass layoffs and outrageously demanding to reopen the contract approved 14 months ago. Since 1989, the TA has slashed 5,000 jobs through attrition; now they want to eliminate 2,000 or more jobs in the months ahead. Even with the 25-cent fare increase, the TA is expecting a $400 million budget gap next year that they will try to squeeze out of the workforce with the help of the union tops. "The numbers are real," says Local 100 president Damaso Seda, "and dealing with them will mean pain for everyone." What Seda means by "everyone" doesn't include the TA or himself—together they peppered last year's contract with dirty little secrets the membership is just discovering.

TA bosses withheld a scheduled 3.2 percent pay increase in early August, and demanded to siphon part of the raise into a supplementary retiree health fund. When the raise did show up in workers' paychecks, reduced to 2.45 percent, the bureaucrats cynically claimed that they achieved a huge victory. In fact, Local 100 tops hid this looming giveback from the workers for over a year, and still won't let the membership see the contract with their own eyes. In many shops and yards transit workers are starting to fight back, with such elemental measures as refusing overtime and enforcing safety rules. But they are well aware that the union brass has a long track record of isolating and sabotaging even these struggles.

At the 240th Street inspection barn, during the hottest days of summer, car maintainers and cleaners rebelled against horribly unsafe work conditions and a crackdown on their breaks, starting to work to rule and refusing overtime for weeks. Union officials sat on their hands while management hit workers with a barrage of disciplinary write-ups and threats to put workers "in the street" for up to a month without pay. In the bus division, TA bosses set up an entire bus repair facility manned with probationary mechanics, forcing them to work up to 80 hours per week as part of a "time study" speedup.

Months after a June 5 subway crash on the Williamsburg Bridge left motorman Layton Gibson dead and scores of passengers injured, the TA admitted that signals and emergency stopping mechanisms on 257

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Feds' Bloody Trail of Terror

Dunleavy/Sygma

Clinton and Reno ordered April 1993 assault with heavy weapons and deadly CS gas on Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Texas, killing 86 men, women and children.

While standing on her cabin porch in Ruby Ridge, Idaho in August 1992, a mother holding her baby in her arms was shot through the head by an FBI sniper, one day after her 14-year-old son was killed by a bullet in the back from a federal agent's gun. Eight months later, on 19 April 1993, the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF) and the state of Texas ran "victory flags" up a pole over the grisly killing field near Waco, Texas, where 86 men, women and children had been burned alive that day. In both these cases, recently the subject of Congressional investigations, the feds were carrying out the government's drive for rigid control of the populace, waged under various guises including "gun control." And it didn't make a dime's bit of difference whether it was the Republican Bush or the Democrat Clinton in the White House.

A decade earlier in Philadelphia—with a Republican in the White House and a black Democratic Party mayor in city hall—Philly cops and federal police officials conspired in bombing and burning down an entire black neighborhood. This was the murderous Mothers Day 1985 rampage against the black back-to-nature group, MOVE. And in 1979, under the Democrat Carter, five union organizers and leftists in Greensboro, North Carolina were cut down by a KKK/Nazi death squad—aided by the FBI, BATF, state and local police. When these bloody atrocities were perpetrated, the Spartacist League immediately protested and exposed the government's lies about its murderous deeds. On the very day of the Waco inferno, the SL responded with emergency demonstrations outside federal offices against this deadly government repression.

Recently, new material on Waco and Ruby Ridge has become available, further debunking the government's lies about its trail of terror. The Waco hearings in the House of Representatives in July generated over 1,500 pages of witness transcripts alone. In this mass of new literature there is ample additional evidence of the feds' blueprints for murder, confirming in detail that, as we wrote at the time, "*the Waco assault was deliberate mass murder, decided at the White House*" (*WV* No. 574, 23 April 1993). What also clearly emerges is the deadly role of the liberals' drive for gun control and of the hysteria against purported "cults" as covers for the state's strengthening of its repressive apparatus.

At the time of the feds' atrocities against MOVE and their later murderous sieges at Ruby Ridge and Waco, we also blasted the obscene silence or outright indifference of ostensible leftists. A host of pseudo-socialists refused to protest *because they tail after the Democrats and accept the capitalist state's assertion of its "right" to a monopoly on the means of violence*. As we noted in our article on "Revolution and the Right to Bear Arms: The Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution" (*Spartacist* No. 43-44, Summer 1989), gun control means that the cops, fascists and other enemies of the oppressed will have guns, while workers and blacks are disarmed.

Ambush at Ruby Ridge, Holocaust at Waco

On the heels of hearings over the government's fiery slaughter of the Branch Davidian commune outside Waco, Senate hearings opened last month on the FBI's "shoot on sight" sniper attack on white separatist Randy Weaver and his family. At Ruby Ridge, the FBI's "rules of engagement" amounted to "kill 'em all, let God sort 'em out," which from medieval Europe to fascist mercenaries today has been the battle cry of barbarism.

As the Republicans attacked the Democrats over Waco, Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno tried to divert outrage against the government's bloody assault with lurid tales of alleged "child abuse" and "weapons stockpiles" by the Branch Davidians. During the hearings, New York Democratic Congressman Charles Schumer was Clinton's bloodhound, demanding an investigation instead into the National Rifle Association (NRA), which had referred to BATF and FBI hit squads as "jackbooted thugs." Fanatical gun control nut Schumer (a staunch Zionist who definitely doesn't preach gun control for Israel's Zionist terrorists) demanded "stronger, more effective law enforcement" against those "who molest children and stockpile weapons"!

The Waco hearings revealed significant details about the government cover-up of this mass murder. Official documents presented at the hearings showed, for example, that there were deliberations about possible fatalities from the FBI's CS gas attack on the Branch Davidians. Former deputy Treasury secretary Roger Altman wrote, four days before the final assault, that in using CS gas, "The risks of tragedy are there. And if the FBI waits indefinitely, Mr. Koresh eventually will concede." In fact, it turns out that the FBI had rejected using tear gas at Ruby Ridge supposedly because of concerns for the safety of the Weaver children, but decided at Waco to use this potentially lethal gas long banned from warfare by the Paris Chemical Weapons Convention!

But there wasn't much that the Democrats' "spin control" could do to clean up the "reputation" of the federal police. In July, the press reported revelations that hundreds of agents from the FBI, the Secret Service, and the U.S. Marshals regularly attended an annual "Good Ol' Boys Roundup" celebration of racism in Tennessee, where they handed out "n____r hunting licenses," staged mock KKK lynchings of men in blackface for a "redneck of the year" award and raped women. The 15-year-old "Good Ol' Boys" festival of white supremacy was traditionally organized right out of the BATF office in Greenville, South Carolina. Now groups of black and female BATF agents are waging lawsuits alleging rampant racism and sexism against their fellow gun-law agents.

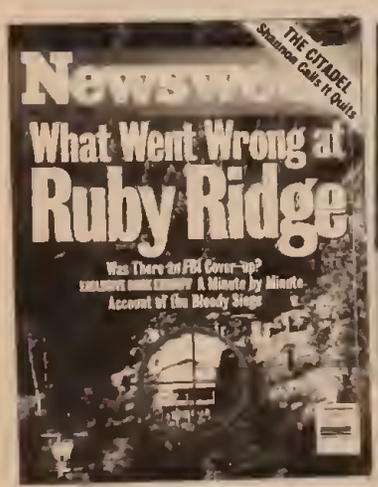
In August, the government announced it was paying $3.1 million to Randy Weaver and his surviving children to settle his lawsuit against the FBI—a virtual admission by the "Justice" Department that they carried out premeditated murder at Ruby Ridge. Yet two years after the implosion of the Idaho prosecutor's case against Weaver, when both judge and jury concluded that it was the FBI which should be on trial, the G-men have come up with a new, patently false claim: that Randy Weaver shot his own son! Any lie, no matter how transparent, will do when the state asserts its armed might to enforce the rule of capital.

First the Massacre, Then the Lies

At the time of the Waco massacre, the media quickly fell into line and saluted commander in chief Clinton and "General" Reno, dutifully broadcasting their lies. In contrast, we warned in *Workers Vanguard* that "child abuse, guns, cultism—these are all cynical pretexts which have nothing to do with what happened on the morning of 19 April 1993." Millions had watched in horror as live television coverage showed flames engulfing the Branch Davidian commune:

> "Clinton and his cohorts could not erase this image, so instead they called it 'mass suicide.' To justify sending in tanks to ram and wreck the complex, pouring in massive amounts of potentially lethal CS gas, allowing the house and its inhabitants to burn to the ground while fire engines were deliberately kept away from the blaze, U.S. top cop Reno claimed the feds had to act because of 'child abuse'."
>
> —"Waco and the White House: First the Massacre, Now the Lies," *WV* No. 575, 7 May 1993

The government's cover-up began with the initial BATF raid on the Branch Davidians in February 1993. A memo presented at the Waco hearings shows that on March 1, the BATF began interviewing its agents in a "shooting review" and "immediately determined that these stories did not add up." Justice Department attorneys "advised [BATF supervisor] Hartnett to stop the ATF shooting review because ATF was creating Brady material" that could undermine prosecution of the Branch Davidians. The *Brady*



Jeane Jordison

Vicki Weaver, here seen with daughter Sara, was killed in cold blood by FBI sniper in feds' August 1992 siege of Randy Weaver home.

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rule stipulates that failure to disclose evidence favorable to the defense invalidates a guilty verdict.

Along with the Congressional hearings, new books and articles on Waco and Ruby Ridge are raising many of the same issues we did earlier, while adding important details about how the feds carried out state murder. In *The Ashes of Waco: An Investigation* (Simon & Schuster, 1995), Texas journalist Dick Reavis provides more evidence that the final conflagration at Mt. Carmel was ignited by the CS gas fired indiscriminately into the Davidians' home. Over 300 CS canisters the size of footballs—called "ferret rounds"—were launched from 58-ton tanks that were also used to ram the house, bashing holes and undermining the structure. As Reavis writes:

> "About three minutes before the ferret rounds began breaking windows, tanks started crashing through Mt. Carmel's walls.... Rather than creating escape routes, the tanks that rammed Mt. Carmel closed them. They demolished the stairways connecting the building's first and second floors, and also pushed debris over a trapdoor leading to a buried school bus, whose exit opened to the fresh air outside. The bodies of six women were found within feet of the trapdoor, dead of smoke inhalation; they apparently took their last breaths while racing toward the newly blocked underground passage."

In an investigative article last July, *Los Angeles Times* reporter Glenn Bunting revealed that "some chemists and other specialists who have studied the spread of the fire" suggest that "the inferno was stoked by the massive amount of tear gas pumped into the building." The gas itself can be lethal, especially for children and the elderly. As Bunting reports, CS gas is considered so potent that Army manuals recommend it only be used outdoors. "'We never considered...that they [the FBI] might shoot 15 or 20 [CS ferret rounds] in one small room, let alone 300 in one morning,' said Rex Applegate, an expert on riot control agents who invented the ferret round" (*Los Angeles Times*, 17 July). Furthermore, mixed with the CS gas was methylene chloride. Dow Chemical, the maker of methylene chloride (and also infamous during the Vietnam War for manufacturing napalm), cautions firefighters that the agent "forms flammable vapor-air mixtures."

Wide World

BATF death squad mobilized for 1993 Waco assault.

When the FBI joined the BATF at Waco, they cut off electricity, water and telephone lines to the Davidians while ringing their commune with razor wire and plenty of firepower. A top FBI official then justified the fiery conclusion of the 51-day siege, saying the Davidians "were thumbing their noses at the criminal justice system." Damning proof of the government's intent to make the Davidians pay with their lives for what the BATF and FBI viewed as unacceptable defiance, was the feds' deliberate decision to keep out firefighting and medical equipment.

Several months later, the Justice Department issued a lying cover-up report on Waco claiming that the FBI rejected having firefighters present because they feared Davidians would shoot at them. The *Los Angeles Times* demolished this lie by reporting that "The FBI refused an offer from Flamechek International, a Santa Paula, Calif., company, to use Czech armored, remote-control tanks that would allow firefighters to extinguish flames while being protected from gunfire." And when fire engines from Waco finally did arrive, as the firestorm was raging, the FBI refused to let them in for 21 minutes!

As we wrote then: "As part of its Big Lie campaign, the government insists that Koresh's followers deliberately started the blaze. We doubt it, but even if someone in the commune started the fire as the tanks of their sworn enemies were smashing through their walls, the responsibility for the deaths of all these people lies squarely on the government" (*WV* No. 575, 7 May 1993).

Gun Control: Government License to Kill

It's no wonder that Waco and Ruby Ridge have come to symbolize for many the fearsome growth of a repressive federal police apparatus. The Branch Davidians, an integrated religious sect that derived its doctrine from Seventh Day Adventism, bothered nobody. They were demonized as a "cult" to justify the government's massive assault against them on charges of violating federal gun-tax laws. Randy Weaver supposedly got what he deserved because he was a white-supremacist who sold two sawed-off shotguns to a BATF informer in a sting operation. The feds went after the quirky, racially integrated Christians in Waco and a family of "survivalist" racists in Ruby Ridge in order to issue a warning to all: defiance of authority will be met with death.

The government wasn't after ex-Green Beret Randy Weaver because he was a supporter of the fascist Aryan Nations. In fact, the leader of the FBI's elite sniper team who shot Weaver's wife in the head has similar politics. Lon Horiuchi, who refused to testify before Congress about his role at Ruby Ridge by invoking the Fifth Amendment to avoid incriminating himself, is a Pat Buchanan supporter who says he would refuse an FBI assignment to defend abortion clinics on the grounds that they're murder mills! Other high-level FBI officials deeply involved with Ruby Ridge also took the Fifth and refused to testify at the Senate hearings.

Republicans hoped that the Waco hearings could inflict additional damage on Clinton's re-election hopes as they coincided with the hearings into his shady Whitewater real estate deal. By counterattacking on Waco and Ruby Ridge, the Republicans also saw these hearings as a chance to distance themselves from associations with right-wing militias linked to the Oklahoma federal building bombing. In response, Clinton intoned, "We must not make war against police," and stepped up "anti-terrorism" hysteria in an attempt to ram through gun control measures. On the eve of the hearings, Clinton's Treasury secretary, Robert Rubin, sent a letter to the media warning that the inquiry could "erode support for federal firearms laws.... This issue is about law and order, and standing with our police and our federal law enforcement officials."

Auth/Philadelphia Inquirer

Clinton's attempt to dismiss fear of federal police as limited to right-wing militia paranoia, however, just isn't working. As writer Richard Lacayo noted, "Federal agents in body armor and black ninja uniforms, armored cars crashing up hillsides, even the fabled helicopters of militia nightmares—Ruby Ridge had all the elements of a paranoid fantasy, with the difference that it was stamped in real flesh and blood" (*Time*, 28 August). A *Time*/CNN poll taken last spring showed that 52 percent of Americans interviewed agreed that "the Federal Government has become so powerful that it poses a threat to the rights and freedoms of citizens" (*Time*, 8 May).

There is a steady stream of evidence that this fear is fully justified. The taped remarks of fascist LAPD detective Mark Fuhrman, spewing out racist threats and bragging about beating up and framing blacks and Latinos, are the missing soundtrack to the videotaped beating of Rodney King, said Los Angeles Urban League spokesman John Mack (London *Guardian*, 2 September). In the World Trade Center bombing trial, FBI crime lab scientist Frederic Whitehurst testified about the feds' fabrication of evidence. In Philadelphia, Justice Department investigators are reviewing over 100,000 arrest records as cops in several districts have admitted to routinely lying, planting evidence, etc. And from Giuliani's mobs of killers-in-blue in New York to an actual police death squad in New Orleans, cops daily execute "suspects" in the streets: in 1993, 455 people were killed by the police, according to the FBI.

Reformists and State Terror

This is not the action of a few "rogue elements," but the workings of the well-oiled machinery of the "justice" system. Waco and Ruby Ridge show that it comes straight from the top. And it's hardly the first time: the feds also participated in the fiery immolation of MOVE in 1985. The mostly black Philadelphia group opposed to killing any living being, even insects—so they, too, were denounced in the media as a "cult." In an attack approved by Democratic mayor Wilson Goode and coordinated with the Republican Reagan administration, the MOVE house was bombed and its eleven occupants (including five children) annihilated. The BATF and FBI provided plastic explosives and automatic weaponry used against MOVE. The bombing set off a fire that burned down the 62-home Osage Avenue neighborhood.

From death row, black political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal wrote of Waco and MOVE: "The firestorm in Waco, Texas, which snuffed out an estimated 86 lives shares eerily reminiscent precedents with the police bombing of MOVE people on May 13th, 1985, in Philadelphia, PA. Both scenes of carnage were preceded by government/media demonization campaigns that portrayed the people under government siege as insane for daring to resist the state. By contrast, the government (i.e., the police) is always seen as reasonable. In Philadelphia, where the contrasts were even sharper due to race, class and politics, the intentional mass murder of MOVE men, women and children was justified by the government. MOVE, they reasoned, were 'terrorists'" (*WV* No. 575, 7 May 1993).

At the time of the MOVE massacre, so-called leftists joined the government-orchestrated campaign labeling the victims a "cult." The fervently pro-gun-control Communist Party (CP) denounced MOVE as an "anti-social cult" which was "a menace to the community" (*Daily World*, 24 May 1985). The pseudo-Trotskyist Revolutionary Workers League grotesquely called for "black self-defense" groups to deal with the "problem" of MOVE (*Fighting Worker*, June 1985). The Stalinoid Workers World Party (WWP) wrote that "Mayor Goode was merely informed of the planned assault and was not a participant in the plans" (*Workers World*, 30 May 1985)." Today, as they belatedly join the campaign to save black radical journalist and MOVE supporter Jamal, all these groups would like to bury their alibis for the bipartisan 1985 assault on MOVE. But ten years later, these same pseudo-leftists still trail the Democrats and readily acquiesce to government repression if it's against so-called "cults."

Not surprisingly, the CP quickly jumped to attention when the White House and press denounced the residents of Waco as armed cultists. Workers World denounced the Waco massacre while hoping nobody remembered their fulsome support to Janet Reno's nomination on the grounds that she was a woman. Back in May 1993, the social-democratic International Socialist Organization (ISO), while running an inside article against the "government-orchestrated massacre in Waco," accepted the Clinton administration's labeling of the Branch Davidians as a "cult." Paper is cheap for such gutless opportunists—

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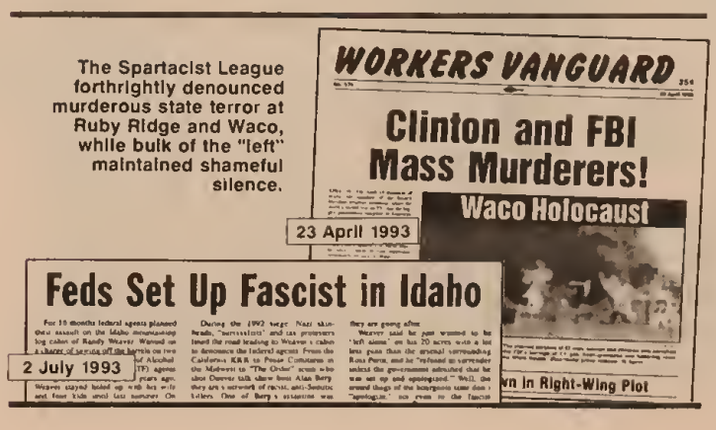
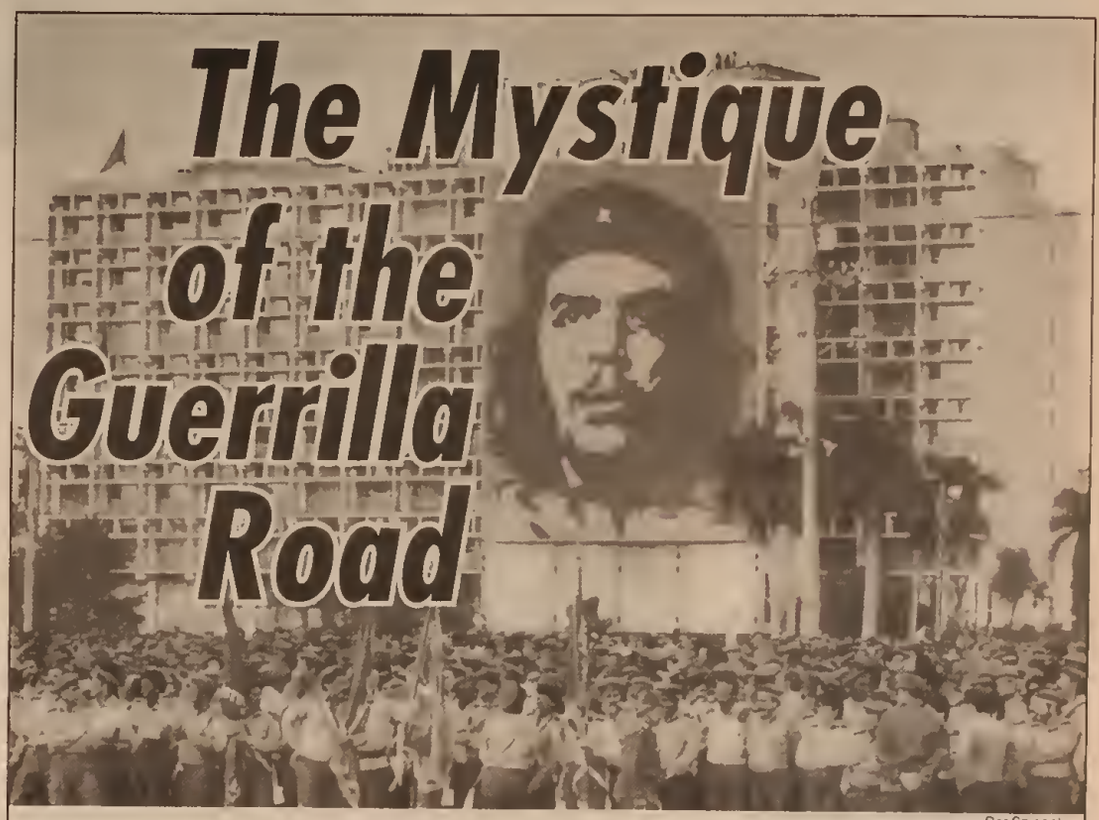
The Spartacist League forthrightly denounced murderous state terror at Ruby Ridge and Waco, while bulk of the "left" maintained shameful silence.



Young Spartacus

Cuba, Castro and Che

The Mystique of the Guerrilla Road



Der Spiegel

Giant portrait of Che Guevara in Havana's Plaza of the Revolution. Castro bureaucracy revives cult of self-sacrificing guerrilla as population reels under impact of U.S. imperialist embargo, collapse of Soviet Union.

There has been an explosion of interest in Che Guevara among radical youth around the world. Che patches and T-shirts are practically the school uniform of leftist students in Italy. In Cuba, as the Castro government dangerously implements capitalist economic "reforms," there is an organized fervor for Che. School children begin their day reciting, "Pioneers of communism we shall be like Che!", portraits of Che once again grace public buildings in Havana, and voluntary labor is mobilized in Che's memory for the "Day of the Heroic Guerrilla"—to commemorate the anniversary of the assassination of Che in October 1967 by U.S.-advised counterinsurgency forces in the Bolivian forest.

The revival of a cult of Che Guevara is in response to the capitalist counter-revolution in the former Soviet Union, the collapse of Stalinist rule throughout East Europe, and the fracturing and increased irrelevance of mass reformist Stalinist parties in the West. Che Guevara, a youthful left-wing rebel with a cause who died with a gun in his hand fighting Yankee imperialism, always had more appeal as a model to alienated and radical youth than the doddering Kremlin bureaucrats who preached "détente" and "peaceful coexistence" with the most rapacious imperialist power on earth. This capitulation to imperialist pressure led to the Stalinists' ultimate betrayal in presiding over the destruction of the Soviet Union.

In the United States, the explosion of the Zapatista peasant revolt in southern Mexico last year sparked interest in guerrillaism. But while young militants look to the legacy of Che Guevara for inspiration to fight the grotesque inequalities and injustices of today, the fact is that the booming cult of Che is being pushed by out-and-out reformists who want to get out in front of alienated youth the better to channel their revolutionary impulses back into a dead end of class collaboration. In Germany, Castro's writings on Che are distributed by the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism), the successor to the Stalinist ruling party of East Germany, which sold out that deformed workers state to the imperialist Fourth Reich! In Italy, the myth of Guevara is thrown out as a net by Rifondazione Comunista (RC)—a rump left over from the demise of the Communist Party, the PCI, which it would like to resuscitate. RC's newspaper, *Liberazione*, is littered with advertisements appealing to youth to take advantage of a "good deal!" For "only 50,000 lire" you can get a Che flag, a Che scarf, a Che beret and two Che patches. For 100,000 lire they'll also throw in a Cuban flag, two RC pullovers, two hammer-and-sickle pins, and a date book! Yet back in the 1970s, when there were Guevarists running around Italy, these old-line Stalinists were in the PCI as it aided and abetted the capitalist state in a bloody witchhunt which jailed 4,000 leftists, Red Brigades militants and others, many of whom still languish in prison.

Today in Cuba, the memory of Che is revived and manipulated by the ruling Castro bureaucracy to encourage workers to endure, with the ascetic heroism of Guevara, the privations imposed on them since the withdrawal of Soviet economic support. Che Guevara opposed all material incentives in the organization of the Cuban economy, yet as the Castro regime pushes the ultimate "material incentive"—the almighty Yankee dollar—which threatens the gains of the Cuban Revolution and creates gross race and class inequalities, Che's memory is cynically invoked as a symbol of revolutionary sacrifice to deflect anger among the poor and the black.

Known for his hot temper, Che would have one hell of a fit if he could see how his legacy has become the shibboleth for *counterrevolutionary* frauds. At the same time, a real examination of the man behind the mystique would show that Guevara was indeed a courageous martyr—and also an exponent of the kind of elitist, bureaucratic, and nationalist Stalinist policies his youthful followers would abhor.

Baldelli/Contrasto

January 1994: Inspired by Zapatista revolt against NAFTA "free trade" rape of Mexico, Italian auto workers carry poster of early 20th-century revolutionary peasant leader Emiliano Zapata.

The Cuban Revolution

Born in Argentina and educated as a doctor, Ernesto Che Guevara teamed up with Fidel Castro's 26th of July Movement after witnessing the CIA's overthrow of the vaguely left-wing Arbenz regime in Guatemala in 1954. As one of Castro's closest comrades-in-arms, Che helped oust the corrupt and crumbling Cuban dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, which fell on New Year's Day 1959. Guevara's belief that a small band (or *foco*) of revolutionary intellectuals could ignite a "revolutionary war" by forging a rural guerrilla army from impoverished peasants sprang directly from his Cuban experience.

The Cuban Revolution had a sensational effect on U.S. society in the early 1960s, driving the government absolutely crazy and radicalizing tens of thousands of youth. To white middle-class Americans, the "red menace" was as close as their backyard bomb shelter, and along comes a "communist revolution" only 90 miles from Florida. But in the tradition of so many Latin American fighters for national liberation from the yoke of Yankee domination, Castro and Guevara were at the time essentially liberal democrats with guns. Indeed, the political program of the 26th of July Movement was simply a call for the return of the 1940 Constitution, and Castro himself ran on the liberal bourgeois Ortodoxo party ticket in 1952.

The Cuban Revolution posed many new questions for Marxists. How could a social revolution take place with scant participation of the working class and without a revolutionary workers party? How did Cuba become a workers state, bureaucratically deformed from its inception? These questions were answered by the precursor to the Spartacist League, the Revolutionary Tendency, a left opposition in the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The Batista regime was hated by the Cuban masses and increasingly viewed as an embarrassment by the upper layers of Cuban society, many of whom backed Castro and his *barbudos* (bearded ones) against the avaricious dictator and his cronies who were robbing the country blind. So the imperialist overlords in Washington let Batista fall, and his supporters fled in their yachts to Miami with suitcases full of money. This panicky exit is captured vividly in films like *The Godfather II* and Robert Redford's *Havana*.

The Castro regime which took power

in January 1959 did not seek to expropriate the capitalists. Instead, Castro formed a coalition government with bourgeois forces and pledged to protect their interests. At the same time, the program of land redistribution and the revolutionary justice meted out to Batista's former police torturers scared Castro's own bourgeois supporters. Nor was this popular with Eisenhower's CIA director Allen Dulles, or his Secretary of State brother, John Foster Dulles, who were both major stockholders of the United Fruit Company. This was a highly unstable situation.

Despite overtures by Castro to appease the United States, Eisenhower tried to bring Cuba's radical petty-bourgeois democrats to heel through brute economic pressure. Washington's policy backfired. Castro responded with sweeping nationalizations of the U.S.-owned sugar plantations, banks and other firms and by grabbing the lifeline offered by the Soviet Union, the other Soviet-bloc countries and China. By early 1961, the holdings of the National City Bank, United Fruit, Standard Oil, the sugar barons and the Mafia—as well as the Cuban bourgeoisie—had been expropriated and the Cuban capitalists were either in exile or prison.

The working class had not contended for power in its own name. Still, the petty-bourgeois Castro government was unable to find a third way between labor and capital to organize society. Facing the unrelenting pressure of imperialism, the government's weakness as representatives of an intermediate layer, the petty bourgeoisie, forced it to choose between capitulating or creating the property forms of another class, the working class, which they however were hostile to and distrusted.

The Revolutionary Tendency argued that the nature of the state which in 1960-61 issued from the Cuban Revolution was a *deformed workers state*, in which capitalism had been overthrown, but the working class does not hold political power. Reflecting its newly acquired social position—i.e., holding a political monopoly at the head of a nationalized economy—the guerrillas in power embraced the ersatz "Marxism" which is the ideological reflection of a Stalinist bureaucracy. Amid all the initial enthusiasm for Castro and the Cuban Revolution on the left, the RT alone pointed out that the *Fidelistas* were constructing a society that most resembled the bureaucratic regime in the Soviet Union after decades of Stalinist degeneration.

At the time, our unique political analysis was viewed as heretical. The SWP and most of the left were swept away by the revolutionary bravado of Castro and Guevara. Following the defeat of the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, leftist youth were inspired by the Cubans' heroic defense of their revolution against American imperialism. Guerrilla insurgencies sprang up around Latin America, leading Washington to spend millions on "counterinsurgency" programs to prop up their puppets. For a time, the leftist guerrillas received training and aid from Cuba, culminating in the Tricontinental and OLAS (Organization of Latin American Solidarity) conferences in Havana in 1966-67.

During this period, Cuba assumed a militant posture toward the U.S. and its Latin American clients. Enduring an imperialist economic embargo, repeated *gusano* invasions and a string of assassination attempts, the Castro regime was, as we called it, "Stalinism under the gun." But particularly after the disaster of Che's Bolivian *foco*, Castro emulated Stalin's policy of selling out revolutions internationally to jockey for diplomatic advantage. Helping mislead the Chilean workers down the "peaceful" road under Allende's Unidad Popular capitalist coalition government in 1971-73, leading to the bloody tragedy of the Pinochet coup, and counseling the Sandinistas not to expropriate the bourgeoisie, a policy which culminated in the drawn-out defeat of the Nicaraguan Revolution in the 1980s, are just two examples.

The Spartacist analysis of Cuba was an extension of our Trotskyist understanding of how the revolutionary leadership, organizational methods and political aims of the Bolshevik Revolution were destroyed by Stalin. In Russia, the liberating *internationalist* goals of the Bolshevik Revolution under Lenin and Trotsky were grotesquely perverted by the Stalinist bureaucracy into a lie of "socialism in one country"—a nationalist and counterrevolutionary accommodation to imperialism that culminated in the destruction of the Soviet Union itself in 1991. Similarly in Cuba, the role played by the consolidating Castro-Stalinist bureaucracy was that of a transmission belt for the pressures of world imperialism on the workers state. In both countries, the Stalinists brought down formidable powers of state repression on Communist left oppositionists, defenders of the revolution, while international capitalism was appeased.

The *exceptional* circumstances of the Cuban Revolution cannot be repeated, particularly since the collapse of the Soviet Union which served as the military and industrial powerhouse for Cuba and indeed every state which overthrew capitalist rule. Tragically, those who followed the "guerrilla road" to revolution elsewhere found a dead end of bourgeois-nationalist regimes (Algeria)—or worse. The mountains of Latin America are literally scattered with the graves of young revolutionaries, including Guevara himself, as a tragic testimony to the inability of guerrillaism to defeat the despotic dictatorships backed to the hilt by U.S. imperialism.

As we wrote in "Theses on Guerrilla Warfare" (*Spartacist* No. 11, March-April 1968):

> "Though revolutionaries should unconditionally support all progressive measures taken against imperialism by a victorious guerrilla movement, they should never forget that the guerrilla leadership, bureaucratically and uneasily ruling over the state, threatens to return the conquests of the revolution to imperialism. Therefore, revolutionaries should incessantly strive to make *the proletariat*, whether of a state remaining within the bounds of imperialism or of a deformed workers state, aware of its independent political tasks. The struggle for the accomplishment of these tasks, which requires the indispensable formation and steeling of a Leninist party, finds one of its greatest obstacles in the reactionary stratum balancing over society."

Just as we Trotskyists fought tooth and nail against capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, so today do we fight to defend the gains of the Cuban Revolution from imperialist attack *and internal counterrevolution*. We have always called for a political revolution to oust the parasitic bureaucracy and put the workers at the head of their own state. With the dangerous inroads of capitalism in Cuba today creating a society where those with dollars get what they want while those with pesos have nothing, defense of the Cuban Revolution will take place in struggles over vital gains like the basic right to a job.

In this country, real solidarity with the Cuban Revolution is a fundamental duty for all opponents of U.S. imperialism. Yet rad-lib muddleheads lend themselves to the service of capitalist counterrevolution by lashing up with liberal Democrats and "progressive capitalists" (like Ted Turner and Lee Iacocca?) who oppose the U.S. economic embargo as counterproductive (and costly to their profits), preferring to undermine the revolution through greater capitalist economic penetration. In contrast, we Spartacists link our opposition to the blockade with defense of the revolution and its gains, based on collectivized

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Carlos Villagran

Workers hang on to overloaded Havana bus as oil shortage chokes transportation system.

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Cuba...

(continued from page 9)

property and a planned economy. The fundamental truth is that Cuba alone cannot stand as a workers state. The future of the Cuban Revolution hangs in the balance of class struggle outside the Caribbean island, and this fact underlines the urgent necessity for revolutionary struggle here in the U.S., in Latin America, and elsewhere.

Marxism vs. Guevarist Idealism

While the Kremlin under Khrushchev sought "peaceful coexistence" with the U.S. imperialist carpet-bombers of Vietnam, Che Guevara appealed to the Latin American left to open new fronts in the war against the Yankee colossus and wage "*Two, Three, Many Vietnams!*" We in the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs solidarize with the revolu-

WV Photo

Spartacists call for internationalist defense of Cuban Revolution in September 1991 protest against cutoff of Soviet aid to beleaguered island.

tionary content of this slogan insofar as it is a call for the defeat of the American ruling class. It speaks volumes about the degeneration of the U.S. left that they raise the banner "*No More Vietnams!*" When raised in the Central America anti-intervention movement in the 1980s this slogan expressed the social-patriotic aversion to any more *losing* wars for U.S. imperialism. It reflected an even more repulsive alignment of the left with their own bourgeoisie during the racist U.S.-led slaughter of Iraq in the '90s. It's certainly no accident that Richard Nixon titled a volume of his memoirs *No More Vietnams*!

Despite the revolutionary spirit of Guevara's battle cry against imperialism, his call for a peasant-based guerrilla war on many fronts was a flat rejection of Marxism, Leninism and the proletarian struggle for power. Moreover, while Guevara is reported by those who knew him to have been a sincere and self-sacrificing egalitarian, his political program was fundamentally elitist in that he rejected outright the need for the working people to express their voice and power through their own class organs, such as workers councils (soviets). Instead, the masses were supposed to submit to the leadership of a self-appointed band of petty-bourgeois radical intellectuals become *guerrilleros* who took to the hills.

The anti-working-class prejudices of the guerrilla road were rendered explicit by Che's literary disciple, Regis Debray, whose 1967 book, *Revolution in the Revolution?* became something of a bible for New Left "Third World" enthusiasts. A young French university lecturer who apparently never noticed the workers who were to jolt imperialism with the proletarian revolt in Paris in May 1968, Debray wrote: "any man, even a comrade, who spends his life in a city is unwittingly bourgeois in comparison with a *guerrillero*." Debray sneeringly dismissed the "working-class model" of revolution and the Trotskyist "metaphysic." Traveling to Bolivia in 1967 to "cover" Che's guerrillas, he was arrested and tortured. Later, dropping his infatuation with guerrillaism and, as always, following the *dernier cri* of Parisian petty-bourgeois fashion, Debray became an adviser to French "socialist" president Mitterrand in the 1980s. And continuing his fascination with *caudillos* (strongmen), his latest opus is an adulation of... Charles de Gaulle (*Charles de Gaulle, Futurist of the Nation* [Verso, 1994])!

Like a rural Auguste Blanqui (the 19th-century French utopian communist who sought to take power through revolutionary secret societies) Che recruited to his small revolutionary band and believed that simply through an act of will his followers would prevail in toppling the state. In contrast, Karl Marx studied the capitalist mode of production and saw that there are two main classes in capitalist society: the bourgeoisie, which owns all the means of production, and the proletarians who sell their labor power to the capitalists. Marx explained that capitalism has created its own gravedigger by creating the proletariat, the only class capable of destroying capitalism and setting up an egalitarian society where the wealth created by its labor is used for the benefit of all mankind. Because of its vast numbers, its location in the urban centers of finance and manufacture, and its strategic position with its hands on the means of production in the factories, where the common experience of the workers creates solidarity and organization, the proletariat uniquely has the social power and class interest to overthrow capitalism.

To carry out the historical necessity of overthrowing capitalism requires the intervention of a revolutionary workers party to bring the ideas of scientific socialism into the working class. Lenin refined that conception of the revolutionary party and created a new type of party, a party of professional revolutionists, which recruits to its ranks the most class-conscious workers and those intellectuals willing to break from their middle-class or even bourgeois backgrounds.

To the extent that Che Guevara looked to any layer for organized support, he looked to the peasants, who are part of what Marx called the petty bourgeoisie—literally small bourgeois—consisting of professionals, teachers, small businessmen, intellectuals and the scattered rural peasantry. This layer is atomized and lacks the cohesion, social power and clear class interest of the two fundamental classes. In the normal functioning of the market, peasants are competitive and their fundamental aspiration is to be a propertied class. An oppressed landless peasantry can be a key revolutionary factor, and many fighters for communism will be drawn from middle-class backgrounds. But the petty bourgeoisie as such cannot lead the revolution—it will follow either the bourgeoisie or a proletariat which offers a revolutionary solution to its precarious situation.

Guevara's politics were a particularly idealist, voluntarist brand of Stalinism. This reflected his attempt to theorize and build "socialism" in one small, poor and besieged country. Lacking the economic resources to achieve prosperity, Guevara simply dismissed the workers' desires for a decent standard of living as bourgeois. Writing off the proletariat of the West as "bought off," and thereby consciously rejecting a *revolutionary-internationalist* perspective, Guevara's "socialism" was to be built by exhorting the laboring masses to sacrifice and ignore their supposedly base material interests. In his essay on "Socialism and Man in Cuba," Che rejects "material incentives" as opposed to "moral incentives" and argues:

> "Pursuing the chimera of achieving socialism with the aid of the blunted weapons left to us by capitalism (the commodity as the economic cell, profitability, and individual material interest as levers, etc.), it is possible to come to a blind alley.... Meanwhile, the adapted economic base has undermined the development of consciousness. To build communism, a new man must be created simultaneously with the material base."

Marx insisted that socialism could only be built at the highest level of the development of the productive forces, achieving equality on the basis of plenty. As Marxists, our aim in fighting for a society where those who labor rule is to *eliminate scarcity*, not glorify it! When the means of production are collectively owned and democratically organized in a planned economy on an international scale, harnessing the resources of the advanced industrial countries, then production will serve human needs, not profits, and the standard of living for working people around the world will rise dramatically, not fall. Che Guevara accepted the framework of the status quo in seeking to build socialism in this beleaguered island when the urgent task was to extend socialist revolution not only throughout Latin America but centrally to the imperialist countries, first and foremost Cuba's nemesis, the United States. By rejecting the revolutionary capacity of the industrial proletariat in the imperialist countries, the Castro/Guevara leadership helped to isolate the Cuban Revolution.

Che's economic plans brought the Cuban economy to the brink of disaster. As we wrote in "'Radical Egalitarian' Stalinism: A Post Mortem" (*Spartacist* No. 25, Summer 1978):

> "Genuine economic egalitarianism is not possible as long as political power is monopolized by a Stalinist ruling oligarchy. The genuinely egalitarian use of moral incentives requires a government with the moral authority derived from the democratic participation of the working masses expressed through soviet institutions. Wage labor and the commodity nature of consumer goods will be overcome through the appropriation of the economic wealth of the advanced capitalist world—the fruit of the transitional period inaugurated by the victory of the international proletarian revolution."

Against the reformist Communist parties who argued that Latin America was not ready for revolution, Guevara simply argued that socialism was an act of will. He spoke of "skipping stages" and for this was even accused of "Trotskyism." This is because Trotskyists also believe that the fight in Latin America and throughout the so-called Third World of countries which have been forcibly held in a state of backwardness by imperialism is for socialist revolution. However, we do not think that the level of development of productive forces is irrelevant, or that socialism can be achieved simply by an act of will. As for Guevara's attitude toward Trotskyism, after the Cuban government had banned the Trotskyist paper *Voz Proletaria* in 1961 and smashed the printing plates for an edition of Trotsky's book, *The Permanent Revolution*, Guevara declared:

> "We consider the Trotskyist party to be acting against the revolution. For example, they were taking the line that the revolutionary government is petty bourgeois, and were calling on the proletariat to exert pressure on the government, and even to carry out another revolution in which the proletariat would come to power."
>
> —see "For Workers Political Revolution in Cuba!" *WV* No. 223, 19 January 1979

The Cuban Trotskyists were arrested in 1963, even though they were active defenders of the revolution in the workers militias.

We fight for the Trotskyist program of *permanent revolution*. We recognize that in economically backward countries, where the domestic bourgeoisie is so utterly tied to and subservient to imperialism, even the most basic democratic demands such as agrarian revolution or genuine national independence require the conquest of power by the proletariat, led by its Leninist party, with the support of the poor peasants. This will then necessarily pose socialist tasks and the extension of the revolution to the imperialist centers.

Today the post-Soviet world is a dangerous place of heightened imperialist rivalries threatening new wars, and a world where U.S. imperialism's appetite for intervention—from Haiti to Somalia to the Balkans—is unchecked. But it is also a world where workers in the imperialist centers have given every sign of willingness to engage in sharp class struggle, and in these struggles they are notably inspired by revolutionary events in the Third World. As comrade Jan Norden noted in a recent speech in Italy:

> "In addition to the cult of Che, earlier this year you saw the COBAS [factory committees] of Alfa Romeo carrying pictures of Emiliano Zapata, hailing the outbreak of an Indian peasant revolt by the Zapatista National Liberation Army in the Mexican state of Chiapas. That was pretty strange at one level, workers carrying the portrait of a peasant revolutionary, but it was eminently internationalist, and showed a desire for revolutionary struggle at home.
>
> "And if you want an example of how we Spartacists of the International Communist League deal with such events, it is captured in this: When the Zapatista revolt broke out in Mexico, whereas virtually the entire left declared, 'We are all Zapatistas,' our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México declared that we 'saluted the Zapatista rebels with the red flag of workers revolution.' The key is to forge a Leninist-Trotskyist party, which is a painstaking task, going through a whole process like the Bolsheviks did. That is what we are committed to doing, as part of a genuinely democratic-centralist international, and we ask you to join us in this task." ■

Cuba and Marxist Theory

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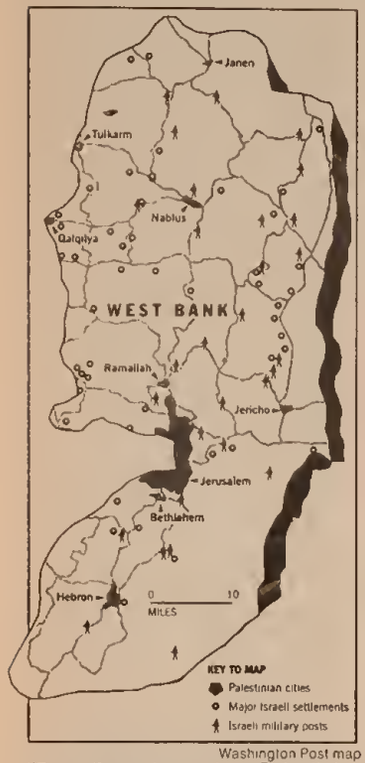
Israel-PLO Pact...

(continued from page 16)

perpetrated under the watchful gaze of Israeli troops. Armed settlers and soldiers have continued to rampage through the town while the Palestinian population is subjected to virtual house arrest through one curfew after another. Last month, settlers invaded a Palestinian girls high school which dared fly the PLO flag from its roof, brutally beating students and ransacking the building.

Ever since the signing of the 1993 accord, Zionist ultrarightists have threatened civil war against even the most minimal Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank. The powerful Union of Rabbis, echoed by a thousand reserve officers, openly calls for soldiers to disobey orders



Washington Post map

"Peace" pact creates Palestinian ghetto in West Bank, ceding six towns and several hundred villages to PLO "control," surrounded by Israeli army and Zionist settlements. Israel out of the Occupied Territories!

for the removal of even a single settler from the Occupied Territories. Following the announcement of the new agreement, more than a thousand settlers, joined by leaders of the right-wing Likud opposition, stormed through Hebron denouncing Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin for "crimes against the Jewish people."

But despite his occasional denunciations of the ultrarightist settlers for their attacks on his government, Rabin and his thoroughly capitalist "Labor" Party do not oppose the settlements. Labor initiated the settlement policy, and the expansion of these armed anti-Palestinian fortresses throughout the West Bank has been an integral part of Labor policy. Even following a public outcry against the Hebron settlers after the February 1994 mass murder, Rabin—and his supposedly "dovish" foreign minister Shimon Peres—refused to shut down the fascist enclave there so as not to set a "negative precedent." The Labor government has committed a whopping $200-250 million for each of the next six years to settlement development.

While nominally disowning right-wing talk of a "Greater Israel," Rabin blithely proclaims, "We want Jerusalem, we want the Jordan River to be our security border, and we want other areas here and there" (*Jerusalem Post*, 26 August). What the "here and there" amounts to is that, for all Arafat's cynical eyewash that the PLO is on the road to "an independent Palestinian national entity" encompassing 90 percent of the West Bank, the "interim" agreement ceding 30 percent of the area to nominal Palestinian control is likely to be pretty much the *final* outcome of the "peace" charade. According to the *Jerusalem Post*, "Jewish settlers will not be evacuated even under an agreement on the final status of the territories" and "the settlements will be organized into blocs of territory" which will be annexed to Israel.

But even where it exists, the PLO administration will simply be a fig leaf for Israeli domination, as it is now in the Gaza Strip and Jericho. Israel determines who will vote in Palestinian elections, what size the Palestinian police force will be, what arms it can carry, etc. As we warned two years ago, the PLO has become a surrogate police force for the Zionist occupiers, imprisoning, torturing and killing militant Palestinian youth.

The "democratic" Israeli state is one of the few countries in the world which *openly* mandates torture for political prisoners. The Rabin regime recently overturned a ruling by its own attorney general outlawing the use during interrogation of "violent shaking," which can leave victims brain-damaged and sometimes dead after a few minutes. And as recent revelations about the mass executions of Egyptian POWs demonstrate, the Zionists themselves learned much from the practices of Hitler's Nazis. After retired general Arieh Biroh confessed last month to the coldblooded murder of 49 POWs during the 1956 war, numerous other accounts have come out of unarmed prisoners being forced to dig mass graves in the desert before they were gunned down by their Israeli captors. Military historian Arieh Yitzhaki says at least a thousand more POWs were killed in the 1967 war.

Nor were the victims only Egyptian soldiers. An eyewitness account of one incident of Israeli mass murder of Palestinian civilians in 1956 brings to mind how the Nazi SS death squads (*Einsatzgruppen*) slaughtered Soviet Jews in World War II: "Soldiers using loudspeakers ordered us to leave our homes. Everybody went out, and the men and women were separated. We were about twenty men, and the army took us to a place to the side and shot at us.... I pretended to be dead, and thus saved my life." The Israeli regime, including self-styled "left-wingers" like Meretz spokesman Shulamit Aloni, does not even make a pretense of bringing its murderers to trial.

To bring down the blood-drenched Zionist regime will take nothing short of *workers revolution*. The PLO's current role as cops for the Zionist occupation forces, after years of futile reliance on the Arab bourgeoisies and looking to Israel's imperialist patrons, is the sharpest illustration of the dead end of petty-bourgeois nationalism, and of the bankruptcy of the numerous "revolutionaries" who enthused over Arafat and his more "radical" nationalist rivals. Chief among the latter is the Israeli Revolutionary Communist League, part of the late Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat, which tailed Palestinian nationalism right into the hip pocket of the Israeli bourgeoisie. Even after the "Gaza-Jericho" accord had clearly shown itself to be a slavemaster's diktat, even after the bloody Hebron massacre, the RCL continued to whine to "put pressure on the government" to demand "the exact implementation of the agreements" (*The Other Front*, 5 September 1994).

Other leftists, like the Healyites in the 1970s and '80s and more recently the French Gauche Révolutionnaire/JCR (associated with the British Militant group), have hailed Libyan strongman Muammar Qaddafi as the embodiment of a so-called "Arab Revolution." (The GR/JCR has even taken to reprinting Qaddafi's speeches.) Qaddafi recently proclaimed his opposition to the Israel-PLO accords...by expelling hundreds, and possibly thousands, of the country's 30,000 Palestinian immigrants. Busloads of Palestinians have been dumped in the desert near the Egyptian border in order, claims Qaddafi, to expose Israel's refusal to let them in and show "that this people is still without a homeland."

Libya has also begun rounding up and deporting thousands of Egyptians and Sudanese who have lived and worked there for decades, claiming that they are taking jobs from Libyan workers while unemployment rages at 30 percent. The Libyan economy has indeed been ravaged by imperialist economic sanctions instigated by the U.S., supposedly to "punish" Qaddafi for the mysterious bombing of a Pan Am flight over Lockerbie, Scotland in December 1988. Washington has long had the Libyan strongman in its gun sights: in 1986, U.S. jets rained down terror on Tripoli in an attempt to assassinate Qaddafi.

From the bloody 1970 "Black September" massacre perpetrated by Jordan's King Hussein, to the expulsions of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians by Kuwait and Saudi Arabia following the U.S.-led imperialist rape of Iraq in 1991, to the "radical" Qaddafi today, the Arab bourgeoisies have shown themselves to be no less the enemies of the Palestinian people than the Zionist oppressors.

The PLO's capitulation has served only to push militant Palestinians into the arms of the fundamentalist reactionaries of Hamas, who would treat leftists, women and Jews no differently than the Israeli rulers treat Palestinians. What is needed are Trotskyist parties to lead the working class—Hebrew-speaking and Arab alike—at the head of all the oppressed, in a struggle to sweep away all the murderous capitalist regimes in the region and create a socialist federation of the Near East in which all peoples will have national and social justice. ■

He Exposed Israel's Nuclear Arsenal

Free Mordechai Vanunu!

In a letter to his supporters last month, Mordechai Vanunu announced that he would stage a hunger strike September 30 on the ninth anniversary of his kidnapping by the Israeli government. Ever since his arrest, Vanunu has been subjected to solitary confinement in a tiny, windowless prison cell. His "crime": exposing to the world the vast scope of Israel's nuclear arsenal. Based on his experience as a technician at the top-secret Dimona nuclear facility, Vanunu revealed that the war-crazed Zionist madmen had upwards of *200 nuclear warheads*, enough to vaporize every Arab city in the Near East and to strike at what was then the Soviet Union.

For his courageous act on behalf of all humanity, Mordechai Vanunu was sentenced to 18 years of a living death. For more than *3,000 days* he has been denied any physical human contact. In July, a Beersheva court heard his petition for an amelioration of his prison conditions but refused to overturn the solitary confinement. Aside from weekly visits by family members, who Vanunu is not even allowed to touch, the only people who can speak to him are the prison warden and one guard. Meanwhile, dozens of other Israelis are held in secret in Zionist dungeons on charges of espionage, in addition to the thousands of Palestinians who are regularly imprisoned and tortured. The international working class and all the oppressed must raise an outcry demanding: *Free Mordechai Vanunu and all victims of Zionist repression!*

AP

Heroic Israeli technician Mordechai Vanunu, kidnapped in 1986 by Mossad secret police after revealing Israel's arsenal of nuclear weapons.

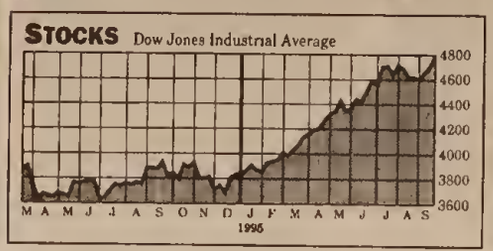
AP

Israeli troops massacred hundreds of captured Egyptian soldiers and Palestinian civilians in 1956 war.

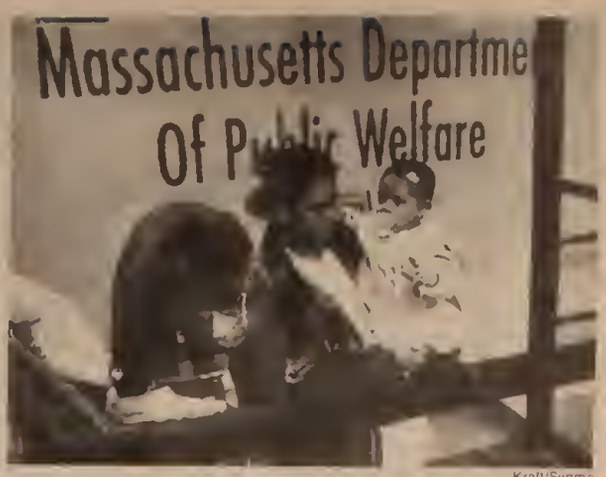
Gibson/AP

Wall Street rallies as joblessness rises

Other numbers show the



Wall Street Journal graph



Krall/Sygma

Clinton, Gingrich say: Let 'em eat pink slips. Corporate "downsizing," murderous budget cuts send stocks soaring.

Welfare...

(continued from page 1)

to organize and broaden such defensive struggles into a movement capable of overthrowing the capitalist system. The indispensable condition for this is a multiracial revolutionary workers party.

Genocide U.S.A.

The assault on welfare is facilitated by a racist ideological offensive, exemplified by the infamous tract, *The Bell Curve*, with its sinister claim that blacks are genetically inferior, and now *The End of Racism* by Dinesh D'Souza, which argues that slavery was not racist! In September, a government-funded conference discussed a supposed genetic connection between crime and race. New York University sociologist Dorothy Nelkin remarked, "Genetic explanations of crime provide convenient excuses for those seeking to dismantle the welfare state" (*New York Times*, 28 September).

Tellingly, the assault on welfare is carried out under the same "states' rights" banner raised by diehard racist segregationists in the 1950s and '60s. State governments will now determine who—if anybody—gets benefits and are already engaged in a frenzied competition to cut payments and eligibility. Reeking with racist and sexist reaction and hypocrisy, the budget-ax murderers talk of "family values," "illegitimacy" and "child abuse" to justify killing children and breaking up families. Wisconsin, for example, threatens to cut off any woman who refuses to leave her home for a slave-labor job once her child is three months old. Meanwhile, there is a full-scale assault on even the limited right to abortion, from the halls of Congress to "right to life" terrorist attacks on the clinics.

With racist arrogance, the opponents of welfare decry laziness as the root cause of the supposed "welfare dependency cycle." What sane person would choose welfare over a decent-paying job? The sharp rise in homelessness, poverty and reliance on welfare—among whites as well as blacks—over the past couple of decades has been fueled by a massive destruction of unionized jobs. The devastation of basic industries like steel and auto in the Midwest was accompanied by the wholesale transfer of factories and investment to the low-wage, open shop South and to neocolonial havens of superexploitation in Mexico and other Third World countries.

The same labor tops who have presided over this massive slaughter of jobs, while trying to shift the blame with chauvinist poison against "foreign workers," refuse to lift a finger on behalf of the ghetto masses at home. Yet the fates of the union movement and the minority poor are inextricably intertwined. A labor movement that fails to fight for all the oppressed, through a struggle for power, is incapable of defending even the immediate economic interests of its own members. The destruction of welfare and other social programs is part of a drive to force down the wages of those workers who still have a job. Even as they throw millions off welfare, the rulers slash away at public-sector jobs, the only part of the economy which has experienced a rise in union membership in recent years. Meanwhile, welfare recipients are being drafted to do work that was once done by unionized municipal workers.

Farley/Newsday

Lincoln Hospital, the Bronx. With diseases like tuberculosis and asthma rampant in the inner cities, the poor wait for care in teeming public hospitals—and now it's going to get worse.

Take New York City, for example. Since the racist Giuliani administration came to office just two years ago, some 17,000 city jobs have been eliminated. Under a "workfare" program instituted last January—now being extended to the 300,000 single mothers on AFDC—23,000 welfare recipients are now being forced to work at a fraction of normal wages at clerical and maintenance jobs in sanitation garages and schools, and cleaning parks and office buildings. At the same time, 10,000 City University students are threatened with a loss of financial aid because the new "workfare" requirements mean they will have to give up their full-time student status.

The Wall Street financiers and their Republicrat politicians don't care whether minority youth get an education because there are no jobs waiting for them anyway. Head Start, which has demonstrably raised the educational levels of young children from poor families, is being slashed. Not because of high cost or failure: it's one of the most successful—and cheapest—social programs instituted in the 1960s. It's going because the kids it serves are not intended to live. Ditto for the 20 percent cut in Medicaid, the primary means of health care for one in four children in the U.S., with even deeper cuts in federal payments to hospitals serving the poor.

Diseases of poverty like tuberculosis, once virtually eradicated, have returned with a fury. The South Bronx is in the grip of an asthma epidemic! Ever-growing numbers of people are without any form of health insurance, while programs to provide free vaccinations which would save children in poor families from death or crippling disabilities are eliminated. From the standpoint of public health or even simple economics, such policies are not rational. Once it spreads, TB does not discriminate between rich and poor. Nor is it economically rational to spend more on imprisoning a ghetto youth than it would cost to put him through Harvard, or on speeding up the assembly line of death at a cost of a million dollars or more per execution. But capitalism is not a rational system. Intensifying police-state repression is the corollary to capitalist looting and a program of starvation.

Because "modern" American capitalism cannot employ the millions of jobless in a way that produces adequate profits, in the view of this country's rulers, whole layers of the minority poor are a surplus population. As we wrote in 1988 when Washington first moved toward welfare "reform":

> "*Genocide is what this new 'workfare' is all about!* Millions of single mothers on welfare who refuse to take a job—any job, anywhere, at any starvation wage—will be cut off without a cent, literally left to starve.... The children will either be left to wander the mean streets alone or be ripped away from their mothers through 'protective payments' to unspecified 'third parties.' This is not welfare reform, it's a plan to turn the ghettos into vast cemeteries—because *there are no jobs to get*."
>
> —"Genocide U.S.A.," *WV* No. 463, 21 October 1988

This indictment is now accepted even by liberal bourgeois commentators. UCLA law professor Joel Handler remarks: "You can deny welfare for childless adults, the homeless, people like that. They'll drift around and die slowly under the bridges, out of sight." But, he adds, "you have no choice but to do something about the children." The ruling class is hardly so squeamish. Even the more "benign" Senate version of "welfare reform" will deny *three*

Hardball...

(continued from page 5)

miles of track are grossly inadequate. Known as a meticulous train operator, Gibson was killed as the rising sun glared off the bridge where signals were installed in 1918! Of course, the TA blamed the operator *as they have in each of eight crashes and derailments since 1990*. The bosses' latest response is to use radar guns on trains (most of which don't have speedometers) and discipline "speeders." Horribly overworked motormen are told to chew gum, roll down the window, and not to work seven days in a row! The fact is, the TA murdered Layton Gibson!

Any union leadership worth its salt would have *shut down the system* over these incidents, but the TWU bigwigs work overtime to isolate and diffuse the workers' anger over these and other crimes. Last year, while some divisions passed motions to defend James Frazier, the black track worker who was shot in the head by racist cops and summarily fired by the TA, the Local 100 brass sabotaged his defense by never mobilizing the membership to protest the frame-up charges against him. The TWU must oppose *all* acts of racist injustice, whether against transit workers or the riding public. Transit workers can rally riders to their side by demanding *free mass transit—rip out the turnstiles!*

To lay the groundwork for a counter-attack against the bosses, transit workers from the TA, Metro-North and LIRR must bind together in action against their common enemy. The MTA's threatened layoffs must be met with more than just empty words. A mass meeting to authorize a strike would be a good start, but the existing labor tops and wannabe bureaucrats must be swept aside. The problem is not just a vicious Congress or governor or mayor, but the whole capitalist system and both parties which perpetuate it. To win, we need a class-struggle leadership in the unions and a workers party fighting for a workers government. ■

CORRECTIONS

In the introduction to the "Quote of the Week" in *WV* No. 629 (22 September) we wrote that it was 40 rather than 30 years since the infamous 1965 massacre in Indonesia.

In the article "Independence for Quebec," a photo caption incorrectly identified Lucien Bouchard as a Parti Québécois leader. He is the leader of the Bloc Québécois in the federal parliament.

The article "Free Geronimo Now!" stated that a motion is being filed for rehearing an appeal by Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) in his lawsuit against persistent prison harassment. The motion is actually for a rehearing by the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals of its decision reversing the order by U.S. District Judge Stanley Weigel in favor of Geronimo, which had directed that he be given a single cell.

WV No. 627 (25 August) incorrectly reported the demonstration demanding freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal in Volta Redonda, Brazil took place on August 10. The correct date is August 9.

million children any means of survival.

It is notable that the author of the 1988 legislation, New York Senator Daniel Moynihan, was one of the few Democrats to oppose the Dole/Clinton welfare bill, which tears away even the fig leaf of job placement. Moynihan's welfare policy of "malign neglect," which he devised under the Nixon administration, hasn't changed over the years; it's just a measure of how rapidly and openly this genocidal drive has escalated. Moynihan's latest proposal—enthusiastically embraced by Republican leaders—is to cut Social Security benefits by cheating on the annual cost-of-living adjustment. The assault on welfare and other "poverty" programs is the thin end of the wedge for going after the vastly more expensive—and broad-based—Social Security pensions and Medicare benefits for the elderly.

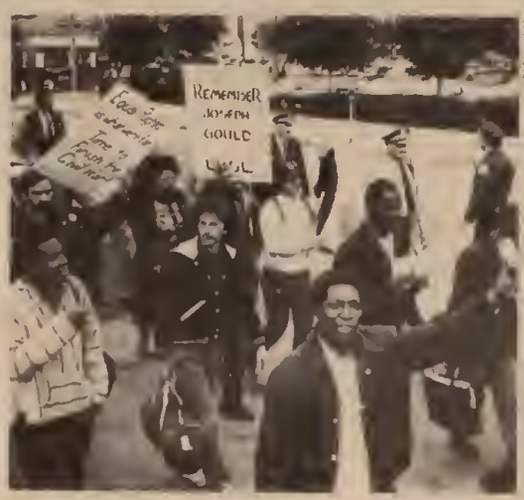
Our TV screens are now filled with big-business ads featuring disgusting yuppies clamoring to "balance the budget" over the bodies of the elderly. But far from being on the verge of bankruptcy, the Social Security trust fund has always run a large surplus, which for decades has been looted by the Treasury to pay for the Pentagon's missiles and aircraft carriers, interest on the national debt and the like. Social Security is projected to be solvent for the next 35 years at present levels of payroll taxes, benefits and eligibility unless the Treasury reneges on the trust fund's long-term bonds, as some now propose doing. The drive to eliminate or cut Social Security and Medicare is a savage attack on all working people—including the young—who would be forced to shoulder the cost of providing for their elderly relatives.

Corporate CEOs want to reduce costly Social Security payroll taxes and also figure that a reduction in employees' taxes will make it easier to hold down or cut wages. Over and above concerns about profitability, there is the question of strengthening the role of American finance capital in the world economy.

During the Cold War, a large part of this country's productive wealth, especially its scientific and technological resources, was expended by the Pentagon. Under Reagan, an accelerated military buildup combined with tax cuts for the rich produced a massive increase in the government budget deficit as the U.S. went from being the world's biggest creditor nation to being the world's biggest debtor nation. So Wall Street wants to take money from old people in order to reduce its debts to Japanese and German bankers.

For a Revolutionary Workers Party!

The liberals and labor bureaucrats, echoed by their fake-socialist hangers-on, bemoan the fact that Clinton's Democrats have ceased being the party of Roosevelt's New Deal and LBJ's "Great Society." The Democratic Party was no less capitalist, racist and anti-working-class in the '30s and '60s than it is today. The social welfare programs enacted in those eras were not evidence of some "humanitarian" capitalism, but rather sops aimed at derailing and suppressing—along with a hefty dose of repression—massive labor and black struggles which gave rise to a significant left. As we noted following the 1994 Republican Congressional victory, the popular-frontist New Deal coalition "represented a *betrayal* by the CIO union tops and the Stalinist Communist Party, who beheaded the possibility of an independent workers party and corralled the working class behind the phony 'friends of labor' Democrats" (*WV* No. 611, 25 November 1994).



WW photo

September 18: Chicago demonstration expresses outrage at cop's killing of homeless man, Joseph Gould.

The Social Security Act (which included Aid to Dependent Children) was passed in 1935, a year after citywide general strikes led by self-declared reds rocked San Francisco, Minneapolis and Toledo. Even then, Social Security and the other New Deal reforms effectively excluded blacks and the various "relief" programs did not cover women. Until the 1960s, when the Northern ghettos exploded in anger, well under a million families were eligible for any form of welfare. Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society" programs—which included Medicaid and Medicare—were designed to pacify the rebellious ghettos, mainly by co-opting a layer of young black activists. The "poverty" programs of the 1960s are now being scrapped *not* because they have failed, as right-wingers contend and many liberals agree, but because they succeeded in their *real purpose*: the suppression of black radicalism.

Jesse Jackson is today regarded as the foremost spokesman for old-fashioned "welfare state" liberalism. Yet more than any other black leader, Jackson helped create the political climate which allows the Republican right to dominate the Washington scene. During the 1970s, Jackson's Operation Push in Chicago, which was funded by major corporations like Coca-Cola, pushed the fraud of "black capitalism" and lectured impoverished ghetto youth to "pull yourself up by the bootstraps."

Sharing responsibility with the black Democrats for the ascendancy of racist reaction is the labor bureaucracy. The hidebound AFL-CIO leadership, expressing the outlook of the job-trusting white labor aristocracy, opposed militant black struggle while backing the U.S. rulers' dirty imperialist war in Vietnam. The net result was the weakening and political isolation of the trade-union movement.

Following the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the Soviet Union, America's rulers believe they can now do *anything* to the workers, the poor, the elderly, the black and Hispanic communities without the slightest danger of serious social unrest, not to speak of red revolution. Typical is the gloating response of one investment broker to AT&T's plans to cut its workforce through a corporate reorganization: "Investors today like the fact that 20,000 people are going to lose their jobs" (*Wall Street Journal*, 28 September).

Writing in the mid-19th century, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels described the horrendous conditions of the English working class during the rise of industrial capitalism: whole families, including young children, forced to work 12 or 15 hours a day in disease-ridden mills to eke out a living; consigned to orphanages, workhouses or poorhouses when they lost their jobs or fell into debt. For decades, Keynesian liberals pointed to the supposed disappearance of such conditions as evidence that Marxism and its program of communist revolution were "outmoded." But the immiseration of the working class analyzed by Marx and Engels, always present in the neocolonial countries, is today palpably evident throughout America, with its slave-labor sweatshops from Southern California to New York's Chinatown—except there are no poorhouses or workhouses, only bridges under which the poor and homeless can die. This is no aberration, but the true face of raw capitalist exploitation.

Accepting the immutability of capitalism, *New York Times* (20 September) journalist David Rosenbaum writes, "The problem is that no one really knows how to lift people out of poverty once and for all." Wrong! We communists know how. While defending every existing social program against capitalist attack, the working class must fight to replace the demeaning and dehumanizing capitalist welfare system with a struggle for *jobs for all* under a socialist society. What Leon Trotsky wrote in the 1938 Transitional Program for proletarian revolution, shortly after the advent of the New Deal, is even more apt today:

> "*The right to employment* is the only serious right left to the worker in a society based upon exploitation. This right today is being shorn from him at every step. Against unemployment, 'structural' as well as 'conjunctural,' the time is ripe to advance, along with the slogan of public works, the slogan of a *sliding scale of working hours*. Trade unions and other mass organizations should bind the workers and the unemployed together in the solidarity of mutual responsibility.... "The question is one of guarding the proletariat from decay, demoralization, and ruin. The question is one of life or death of the only creative and progressive class, and by that token of the future of mankind. If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish."

The capitalist would-be masters of the universe delude themselves into thinking their rule is eternal. There are going to be in the future, as in the past, big social struggles in this country. The key question is, who will lead these struggles and where will they lead. What is needed is a multiracial workers party capable of leading all of the exploited and oppressed against the capitalist bosses and their state. In a small but significant way, the Spartacist League has pointed the way to uniting organized labor and the ghetto poor in struggle, from stopping the Klan and Nazis from marching in major cities to defending former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal. For a workers party to fight for international socialist revolution! ■

Join the Campaign!

The international campaign of protest temporarily stayed the executioner's hand, but as expected, the "prosecutor in robes," Judge Sabo, ruled on September 15 against Mumia's appeal in a flagrant disregard of the massive evidence presented of a police and prosecution frame-up. Mumia is now closer to a legal lynching. As the next stage of legal appeals goes forward, we must redouble our efforts for his freedom. As Mumia said himself in "The Stay," Judge Sabo's earlier (August 7) ruling for a stay was an attempt "to blunt the edge off of a growing and militant anti-death penalty movement.... Let us utilize this precious time to build a stronger and broader movement, to not 'stay' one execution, but to halt them all!"

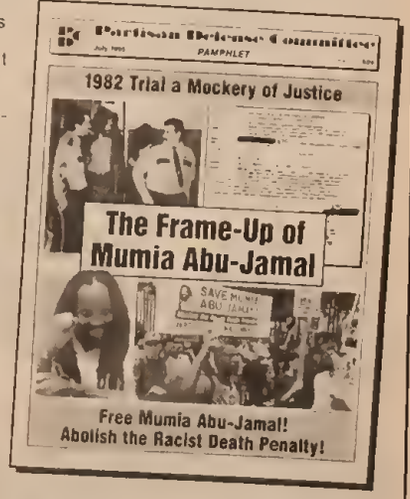
1 **Organize protest!** Pass motions demanding Jamal's freedom in your unions, campus, community and church organizations. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Jamal. Publicize Jamal's case in your union or organization's newsletter. Get on the Partisan Defense Committee phone tree to organize in your area.

2 **Spread the word!** The current issue of the PDC's *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* is devoted to the struggle to save Mumia Abu-Jamal. And the new PDC pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, exposes in detail the prosecution's case of lies, the coercion of witnesses and the FBI's COINTELPRO terror campaign against Mumia and the Black Panther Party. Order bundles of the special campaign issue of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* and *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, 25 copies of either publication for $10. For only $1, buy the PDC's new button: "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" Get your local bookstore to stock Jamal's powerful *Live from Death Row*. Contact the PDC for speakers, to arrange showings of the PDC's video, *From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal*. The video can be purchased for $30 from the PDC at the address below. Contributions of $5 or more to the PDC include a year's subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*.

3 **Send protests to:** Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120. Ridge changes his phone and fax number daily to try and stay ahead of the growing movement for Jamal! As we go to press, the numbers are: phone (717) 789-2500; fax (717) 783-3369

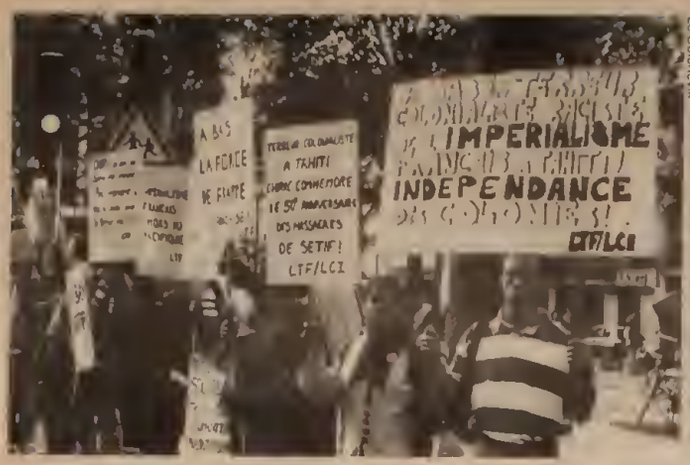
4 **Funds are urgently needed!** To get a new trial and overturn the death sentence could cost over a million dollars. **Make a contribution today** to the Bill of Rights Foundation (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense") and mail it to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.

5 **Write to Jamal to express your solidarity:** Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090.



Spread the word: order bundles of the PDC pamphlet!

For more information: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013 • (212) 406-4252



Le Bolchévik

AFP

Left: Ligue Trotskyste de France at protest against French nuclear testing links call for independence for the colonies with defense of North Africans in France against racist state terror. Right: Tahitian youth and workers erupt against colonial subjugation.

Joint Statement...

(continued from page 16)

junior partner Prime Minister Paul Keating, and French and Australian "left" chauvinists alike. As proletarian internationalists, we have opposed the nationalist slaughter in the former Yugoslavia on all sides while denouncing all imperialist intervention. Now the character of the war has changed as the weight of Western imperialism is increasingly pressed against the Bosnian Serbs. In the face of NATO's terror bombing, we call for unconditional military defence of the Bosnian Serbs against U.S./NATO imperialism and its clients of the Muslim-Croatian alliance, while fighting for workers revolution to overthrow all the nationalist butchers and forge a Socialist Federation of the Balkans.

The counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state has reopened the Pandora's box of interimperialist rivalries. The furor over the French tests not only exposes the vile hypocrisy of imperialist talk about "peace" and "non-proliferation," but also throws a harsh light on these mounting interimperialist tensions.

U.S. imperialism, the world's most dangerous nuclear power and the only one to have used nuclear weapons, slaughtering civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, is concerned that Japan not acquire nuclear weaponry. Japan (whose finance minister was among the myriad parliamentarians putting in an appearance in Tahiti) is opposed to the *French and American* nukes in the Pacific. Increasingly squared off against its American imperialist rivals for who will be first in the rape of the Chinese deformed workers state, Japan itself is preparing to forge its own nuclear arsenal. Japan is intent on extending its neocolonial influence in the region to reconstruct a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." It already has tons of weapons-grade plutonium and the fourth-largest military in the world.

Objections in the European Union (EU) to French tests have been carefully calibrated to concerns about "safety" and "access to technical information." The most muted opposition has come from Britain and Germany. Britain clings to its own nuclear weaponry, dependent on American technological input, to sustain its claim to be a "great" power, and has a 1992 agreement with France for nuclear collaboration. German imperialism, the dominant power in Europe, greeted with "interest" Chirac's proposal to put the French strategic nuclear forces at the disposal of the EU. German imperialism, which at most is "a screwdriver's turn away" from having its own nuclear weapons, is mindful of widespread fears of German rearmament among the European targets of past German militarism—the French arsenal provides an option for them to annex a nuclear capacity.

Australian Imperialist Jingoism and Hypocrisy

Jackal Australian imperialism, which would be happy to see the back of French colonial power in the South Pacific to better play its own role of local counterrevolutionary gendarme and consolidate its own niche, has responded in kind with a vile Australian nationalist anti-French campaign. Not only have protests targeted French diplomatic offices but also French restaurants and individual French-descended residents. Scandalously if not surprisingly, the social-patriotic Laborite misleaders of the Australian working class have called on the workers to participate in the bourgeoisie's campaign to boycott French products and ships. Trade union and Labor Party leaders who would never say peep about the counterrevolutionary ANZUS treaty and American military bases and who were prominent in the racist outcry about an Asian "invasion" when small numbers of Chinese refugees landed on the north coast in late 1994 vie with hoary old reactionaries from ex-servicemen's organisations fresh from the racist "Victory in the Pacific" commemorations.

Thomson/AP

As racist Australian ruling class promotes France-bashing chauvinism, social-patriots march with bigots at anti-French protest in Canberra, on Bastille Day, July 14.

Under a thin veil of anti-nuclear verbiage, "far-left" social-democratic hangers-on like the Democratic Socialist Party and the International Socialist Organisation have offered themselves up as the "best builders" of this campaign, urging the government to do more. In New Zealand, the ISO explicitly calls for a frigite to be sent to Mururoa. The "leftists" and pacifists who line up with their own ruling class against its imperialist rivals are not building a new "peace movement" but are participating in a drive toward bloody new imperialist wars! The Spartacist League/Australia, which fights for a workers republic in Australia, part of a socialist Asia, has denounced this nationalist *union sacrée* as a class betrayal of the interests of the workers and oppressed in Australia and internationally, leading ultimately to social-patriotic unity in the bourgeoisie's war to defend their markets and spheres of influence in another interimperialist war—in the case of the Australian bourgeoisie, in the position of subordinate ally of the considerably more powerful and dangerous U.S. imperialist power.

The Australian and New Zealand governments have fallen over themselves to distinguish their protests about the tests from any identification with the anti-colonial protests. And well they might. The White Australian imperialist enclave was not just shaped through the genocidal expropriation of the Aborigines but also the mass expulsions of Chinese and Pacific Island workers who were key to opening up the settlements of north Queensland and other parts of Australia. They don't want a restive anti-imperialist population to threaten the profits of the likes of Colonial Sugar Refineries. Canberra braintrusts and arms the army of its Papua New Guinea neocolony, whose people are manifestly victims of White Australia imperialism, in a murderous war against the Bougainville people.

The high moral tone and anti-nuke posture that minor imperialist powers like Australia and New Zealand sometimes take is only a symptom of their resentments at their subordinate roles and frequently in the interests of their greater imperialist patron. In 1950 the Australian government invited the British imperialists to conduct nuclear testing at Maralinga, on the lands of the Aboriginal Tjarutja people, irradiating the site and contaminating it with plutonium. Today the U.S. Navy still rules the oceans and Australia is pivotal in U.S. control of the southwest Pacific and Indian Ocean. The U.S. spy bases at Pine Gap and Nurrungar are part of a global network of the world's biggest nuclear madman and "world policeman." When Gough Whitlam tried to tinker with this arrangement in 1975, the Australian bourgeoisie and the U.S. imperialists had him unceremoniously dumped by the CIA crony installed as the queen's governor general. From the Korean War to the dirty, losing war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants, to its support to the bloody CIA-engineered 1965 massacre of communists, workers and peasants in Indonesia which paved the way for Suharto's "New Order," jackal Australian imperialism has played the role of counterrevolutionary gendarme in the region. As in Indonesia before the coup in 1965 and more recently with Australian investment in Vietnam, Australian front men often serve where U.S. imperialism cannot openly go.

French Imperialism's Colonialist Nuclear Arrogance

For nearly three decades, the *force de frappe* warheads had targeted major cities in the USSR, threatening tens of millions of Soviet citizens with the horror of nuclear annihilation. From de Gaulle to Mitterrand, French imperialism flaunted its arsenal of nuclear terrorism to posture as a *grande puissance* in the anti-Soviet alliance. While the French social-chauvinist left, from the Social Democracy to the Stalinist PCF, rallied to the defence of this anti-Soviet arsenal, the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), section of the International Communist League, opposed the *force de frappe* and imperialist militarism as part and parcel of our revolutionary defence of the Soviet Union. It was the existence of the Soviet nuclear arsenal which stymied U.S. imperialist moves to use its atomic weaponry, notably in Asia during the Korean and Vietnam wars. So today with the nuclear arsenal of the Chinese deformed workers state, we Trotskyists couple the urgent struggle for proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy with the unconditional military defence of the gains of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, which includes the recognition of the right of the People's Republic of China to maintain and develop nuclear weaponry.

By aggressively asserting the determination to maintain and modernize the *force de frappe*, Chirac is wielding his nuclear terror machine as a direct threat to all potential rivals of French imperialism which might one day threaten its "vital interests," and against all the neocolonial peoples who would not accept the imperialist yoke. Chirac's ravings are not simply macho posturing: the 50th anniversary of the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki—a racist mass murder which was also a bloody message to the Soviet Union—is here to remind us that ultimately, the imperialist bourgeoisies will resort to the most hideous acts of barbarism, including nuclear genocide, to defend those same "vital interests."

Chirac's policies abroad are also intended to cement a racist, nationalist consensus at home. His election promises to increase police funding and tighten immigration controls indicated clearly what his "populist" concerns about unemployment and the "fractures" in French society really meant. Now using the pretext of the criminal bombings in metropolitan France and elsewhere Chirac has deployed the police and the *army* in Paris to institute a veritable state of siege, unleashing a racist operation of identity checks, roundups, and deportations aimed to terrorise the communities of second-generation North Africans who were born in France but

are still deemed "immigrants" in the eyes of the racist, colonialist French state. The current police terror is intended to intimidate anyone who fights social reaction and forestall trade-union struggle as the capitalists demand new attacks on the living standards of the working class and especially sweeping cuts in social welfare provisions. The LTF has called united-front protests and demanded:

> "The workers movement must make the struggle against racist terror and segregation central to its fight. Stop the charter flights and deportations! Defend the right of asylum! Cops out of the ghetto/estates! Crush the fascists before they crush us! Worker-immigrant defence guards based on the factories! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!"

The leaders of the reformist PS and PCF refuse to fight the racist roundups or against colonial repression in Tahiti. The despicable silence of these social-chauvinists on these issues reveals their dedication to a "cleaner" French imperialism. Their refusal to challenge either the imperialist aims of the bourgeoisie or the racist "consensus" at home shows their "protest" against the French nuclear testing for what it is, empty hypocritical posturing which leaves the chauvinist consensus around the *force de frappe* unscathed.

But France's oppressed colonial subjects have exploded in outrage. On 29 June more than 10,000—over a tenth of Tahiti's population—marched in Papeete to protest Chirac's decision. Two days later, several thousand protesters marched in Nouméa, in New Caledonia, where the independentist trade union USTKE, recalling the bloody assault ordered by Mitterrand's prime minister Chirac against Kanak independentist fighters in Ouvéa in 1988, carried a banner declaring "Gossanah, Mururoa, Chirac murderer." Prominent in the massive Tahiti demonstration, apparently the biggest ever in the island, was the independentist party Tavini Huiraatira, whose leader Oscar Temaru then sailed to Mururoa on board Greenpeace's flagship, the *Rainbow Warrior II*—named after the ecologist group's ship sunk in 1985 by French *saboteurs* acting on orders from "socialist" president Mitterrand. And when a new round of protests shook the island in early September, protesters stormed Tahiti's main airport, setting fire to part of the terminal.

Marching in Mitterrand's footsteps, on July 9 Chirac had *Rainbow Warrior II* taken out by hooded French Navy thugs and seized her crew. We denounce this grotesque act of piracy, and we won't forget the long list of bloody terrorist attacks carried out by French colonialism in the region under both right and "left" governments, from the assassination of Kanak independentist leader Eloi Machoro by Mitterrand's praetorian guard in 1985 to the murderous sinking of the *Rainbow Warrior* and the Ouvéa slaughter. French imperialism out of the Pacific! Immediate independence for Polynesia, New Caledonia and all the other remaining French colonies!

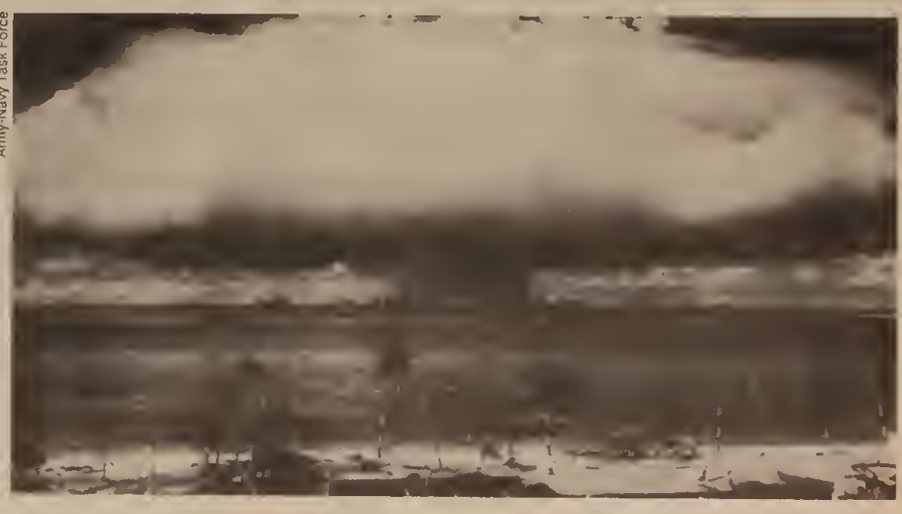
Eco-chauvinism and the Drive Toward War

The diverse currents of petty-bourgeois protest, the pacifists, the environmentalists, the anti-nuclear groups, who oppose the tests are at best utopian. The real hazard, environmental and otherwise, of nuclear weapons is the drive to use them in imperialist war. The Greens have no solution to the looming inter-imperialist rivalries, but rather line up behind their respective imperialists over Bosnia. The pacifists think they can make their rapacious capitalist ruling classes better, make them disarm and live peacefully side by side. Their protests display a "not in my backyard" selectivity, not unlike the Third World governments who bulldoze shantytowns because they are "ruining the neighbourhood." A few years ago the environmentalist outcry about overfishing in the waters off north Australia dovetailed neatly with rabid racist protectionism directed at Asian fishermen. Under capitalism proposals such as the call to reduce total energy consumption can only mean that the vast mass of people in the Third World should continue forever to go without adequate drinking water and electricity, while the well-off in advanced capitalist countries make a few gestures like putting their (non-French) wine bottles in the right recycling container.

The capitalist mode of production and the bourgeois nation-state have become a decisive fetter on the development of the economy and of society, with the drive for new markets and new sources of labour and raw materials inherent and leading inevitably towards war. Capitalism, irrational and degenerate, now dooms tens of millions even in "advanced" countries to suffer in poverty and ignorance amidst plenty. In the imperialist epoch, the period of the death agony of capitalism, the tendency toward world economy collides with explosive sharpness against private ownership of the means of production and the nation-state with its borders, passports, monetary system, customs and the armies for the protection of customs. The task of the proletariat is not the defence or "improvement" of the national state but its complete and final liquidation. Only when the proletariat internationally rips the means of production from the hands of the national bourgeoisies through the socialist revolution can the mighty productive energies of the world be liberated, finally uprooting every kind of racism, backwardness and obscurantism, and creating the socialist system which can feed and house and educate everyone.

The Australian nationalists seized upon Bastille Day as an occasion for their anti-French crusade. The French capitalists have long since turned July 14 into a celebration of the imperialist "*gloire*" of France, not the anniversary of the day that the exploited and oppressed masses opened the prison doors. The French Revolution offered citizenship to all drawn to its promise of "*liberté, egalité, fraternité*" and abolished slavery, whereas today dark-skinned "immigrants" are criminalised and deported. Many of the original white settlers in Australia were convicts, including a significant number, Irish and others, transported for their radical activity in sympathy with the French Revolution. But the Australian ruling class lives in the spirit of Edmund Burke, the arch opponent of the French Revolution. The ideals of that Revolution, progressive, humanist and liberating, are borne today by the communist fighters for workers socialist revolution.

Today the choice posed by Rosa Luxemburg at the turn of the century—"socialism or barbarism"—is even starker. Facing nuclear-armed imperialist powers, it is socialism or annihilation. The threat of a thermonuclear World War III will only be avoided by the triumph of international working-class revolution, opening the way to a genuinely classless society of abundance and universal equality in which the full tremendous power of modern science and technology, including nuclear energy, will be put to the service of human progress. This requires an international and internationalist leadership—a genuinely communist International, reforged on the political foundations of Leon Trotsky's Fourth International. From Paris to Canberra, we Trotskyists of the ICL say: *The main enemy is at home! Long live proletarian internationalism! Workers of the world unite!* ■



Army-Navy Task Force

U.S. A-bomb test on Bikini Atoll, 1946. Australian jackal imperialism opposes French tests while maintaining its own neo-colonies in South Pacific under American nuclear "umbrella."

Fed's Bloody Trail...

(continued from page 7)

none of them demonstrated, as the Spartacist League did, against the carnage at Waco, and the wretched RWL howled about our banner calling Clinton and Reno mass murderers at a gay rights march in Washington a week after the massacre. Recently, the ISO revealed its true position, dismissing the Congressional hearings into the feds' inferno at Waco as purely a "sop to the right-wing militias" under the despicable headline, "Wacko Speaks Up on Waco" (*Socialist Worker*, 1 September).

Ironically, even the *Wall Street Journal* (12 May) published an editorial on the tenth anniversary of the MOVE massacre, calling it "Black Waco." The *Journal* noted that "thoughtful blacks who wondered 10 years ago how Philadelphia and MOVE could have spun so disastrously into flames must shake their heads now at the way white America is flailing around Waco, the BATF and separatist militias." Naturally, this conservative voice of big business is no friend of MOVE. Their editorial was motivated by growing concern within ruling-class circles that the "credibility of the institutions invested with the power to enforce the laws" is in deep trouble.

We have written that the 1985 bombing of Philly MOVE was the signature of the Reagan years, just as the 1979 Greensboro massacre was for "human rights" Democrat Carter. Today, the Clinton administration bears the indelible bloody stamp of the Waco holocaust. The Spartacist League has sought to sear the memory of the government's slaughter of dissidents into the collective consciousness of the working class and oppressed—and to warn of the threat that they represent.

MOVE, Ruby Ridge and Waco are part of a drive to concentrate more repressive powers in the federal government. In the name of "fighting crime," Clinton has moved to hire 100,000 more police, pushing for military involvement in civilian law enforcement and star chamber "anti-terrorist" courts for immigrants. Now liberal Democrats like Dianne Feinstein want to introduce an encrypted, database-linked national identity card encoding "biometric" data on computer chips. (Lacking such high-tech methods, the Nazis simply tattooed numbers on their victims' bodies.) In the midst of a concerted attack on the living standards of the working class, producing the largest gap ever between rich and poor, the racist American ruling class is asserting that "social peace" means the disenfranchised masses must be disarmed and cowed at any cost.

Every move to strengthen police powers directly threatens the ability of workers and minorities to mobilize in their own interests and self-defense—for example, against fascists and strikebreakers. Defense of the rights of the working people to struggle in their interests against the capitalist masters is posed pointblank with the government's assault on civil liberties. The Spartacist League fights to build a revolutionary workers party, which will put the butchers of MOVE and Waco out of business for good, through socialist revolution which sweeps away this decaying capitalist system and the fascism and misery it breeds. ■

WV Photo

Spartacist demonstration outside FBI headquarters in Washington following feds' Waco holocaust.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Israel-PLO Pact Imprisons Palestinians

Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!

Two years after the U.S.-orchestrated "peace process" was first kicked off amid much fanfare, Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) finally announced an interim agreement for "redeployment" of Israeli troops in the occupied West Bank. Far from being the step toward Palestinian "sovereignty" proclaimed by Yasir Arafat's PLO, this latest deal effectively formalizes the imprisonment of the Palestinian masses under the iron heel of Zionist state terror. Even as Israeli and PLO negotiators were finalizing the agreement in the Red Sea resort of Taba, three Palestinian protesters were shot dead by Israeli troops in the streets of Nablus.

As we said at the time, the September 1993 "Gaza-Jericho first" accord was not "even the most deformed expression of self-determination" but rather amounted to "'community control' over a couple of impoverished slums" ("Israel-PLO Deal for Palestinian Ghetto," *WV* No. 583, 10 September 1993). The current deal simply extends this arrangement to six more Palestinian towns in the West Bank and, in the future, to several hundred villages. All roads linking the towns, all border areas, all "state" lands and anywhere there is even a handful of Zionist "settlers" will remain firmly under the grip of the Israeli army. Thus, Hebron is to be partitioned, with the army maintaining total control of 15 percent, in order to "protect" a few hundred fascistic settlers among over 100,000 Palestinians.

Hebron epitomizes the face of the new "Palestinian entity" being fashioned by Israel and its PLO lackeys. It was there that, five months after the signing of the 1993 agreement, Brooklyn-born fascist Baruch Goldstein slaughtered at least 29 Palestinians in a genocidal rampage

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Arad/Contrast Press

Under new accord, Israeli army and fascistic Zionist settlers will continue to terrorize Palestinians in West Bank city of Hebron.

Joint Statement Protesting French Nuclear Tests

French and Australian Trotskyists Say: The Main Enemy Is at Home!

Independence for French Colonies! Australian Imperialism Hands Off the South Pacific!

We publish below a September 30 joint statement by the Ligue Trotskyste de France and the Spartacist League of Australia, sections of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), in response to the French nuclear tests in the Pacific.

The orgy of chauvinism in Australia and France touched off by the dispute over renewed French nuclear testing in the Pacific underlines how capitalism in its epoch of imperialist decay leads inexorably through trade war to world war, unless the problem is destroyed at its root by socialist revolution. The enemy of the workers and oppressed is not "the French" or "the Australians" but the rapacious capitalist ruling classes which dream of plundering the whole world while turning the screws on their "own" workers in the interests of profit. The real and terrible danger of war will only be ended by the workers of all countries joining together, rejecting all the divide-and-rule capitalist machinations parroted by the current misleaders of the working class, to throw out their exploiters and take the future in their own hands. The International Communist League says: No to the French nuclear tests! Down with all imperialist militarism! Independence now for the French colonies! The main enemy is at home!

The decision by the Chirac government, which at the same time put "metropolitan" France in a racist state of siege with its anti-immigrant Operation "Vigipirate," to resume testing at Mururoa Atoll is a sinister imperialist and colonialist provocation which must be opposed by class-conscious workers internationally. This display of arrogant, aggressive nuke-toting chauvinism has provoked widespread revulsion all over the world, not least in France itself. Populations in and around the Pacific Ocean have been especially outraged by the French government's brazenly colonialist statement that they intend to do what they want in their last colonial outposts in the Pacific. Chirac's boastful "screw you world" attitude also predictably provoked a powerful anti-French nationalist backlash amongst France's imperialist rivals.

But the hue and cry over the French nuclear tests by other capitalist governments is the rankest hypocrisy. The imperialist powers are lurching toward trade war and ultimately another global conflagration and the French nuclear tests and the national chauvinist howling of the Australian imperialists and their Labor servants against them must be seen in that context. The danger can be clearly seen today in the Balkans, ignition point for the first global inter-imperialist slaughter. While the French imperialists test their nuclear devices in Mururoa and the Australian imperialists pontificate on the dangers of nuclear weaponry to the ecology of "their" backyard, tons of NATO bombs have been rained down on the Bosnian Serbs, a campaign supported by the bellicose Chirac, America's slavish Australian

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 631

20 October 1995

Racist Backlash Against O.J. Simpson Acquittal

Race, Class and American "Justice"

Skally/Daily Breeze

Vindictive L.A. cops seek payback for Simpson acquittal by arresting black youth graffiti artists in South-Central.

For a moment, it seemed as though the whole country had come to a standstill: phone traffic plunged, assembly lines stopped, classrooms went silent, even trading on the stock and commodities exchanges ground almost to a halt. Then cheers erupted in a chorus that resounded from one end of black America to the other, from run-down inner-city housing projects to swank bank offices, from prison cells to black colleges and churches. Not only blacks rejoiced. Amid shouts of "The Juice is loose," in Times Square blacks and whites embraced, whites at Atlanta's airport applauded, Latino bus riders in Los Angeles cheered. But in city after city there were scenes of sharp racial polarization, as shocked or angry whites stood alongside jubilant black co-workers or fellow pedestrians.

One of the longest and costliest, certainly the most publicized and analyzed of criminal trials in American history came to a close with an explosive climax, as the jury of eight black women, one black man, two white women and one Latino man declared Simpson not guilty of the murder of his ex-wife Nicole Brown and her friend Ronald Goldman. We don't know what happened the night they were brutally slain. But we do know a blatant frame-up when we see one. In the face of ample proof that the police and prosecutors lied, that evidence had been planted, that fascist detective Mark Fuhrman—at the center of the prosecution's case—was driven by racist contempt for a black man married to a white woman, the jury rightly observed the legal standard "*falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus*" (false in one thing, false in everything) and the legal definition of innocence, finding Simpson not guilty because he had not been proven so beyond a reasonable doubt. The fact that it only required a couple hours of deliberation to reach a unanimous verdict constituted a scathing indictment of the prosecution's case.

Notwithstanding the media circus which gorged itself on this sordid crime, the jury grasped the simple truth that a conviction would have been an open endorsement of flagrant police racism and frame-up. As L.A. Urban League leader John Mack trenchantly remarked, Fuhrman's taped genocidal ravings were the missing soundtrack to the vicious videotaped LAPD beating of Rodney King in 1991. The understanding that the cops regularly frame people up is pervasive in the ghettos and barrios, and it is widespread as well among other sectors of the population which have had direct experience with the racist, strikebreaking thugs in blue. In the coal fields of West Virginia, white United Mine Worker militants and their families, veterans of bitter class warfare, had no trouble with the Simpson verdict.

A flood of commentaries in the mass media expressed alarm at the racial fault line in American society "revealed" by the reactions to the Simpson acquittal. The breathtaking banality of this "revelation," self-evident to every ghetto school kid, was supplemented by a hefty measure of hypocrisy, as the capitalist press went out of its way to fan the flames of race war. To believe TV and newspaper reports, not one white person in the country supported the jury's verdict. In fact, the reaction among whites was mixed: despite the media campaign, a Gallup-CNN poll taken a couple of days after Simpson was acquitted reported 42 percent of

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Farrakhan's Reactionary Dead End

Million Man March Appeases Racist Exploiters

At a time when the murderous racist rulers of this country are smashing every gain won through the blood and toil of the workers and minorities, the nationalist demagogue Louis Farrakhan, later joined by former NAACP president Ben Chavis and Jesse Jackson, called a march of a "million black men" for *atonement*. They forgive the oppressors and exploiters for their enormous crimes against black people, working people and poor, while blaming the oppressed for their oppression.

To hell with atonement! What's needed is integrated class struggle to fight for the liberation of black people and all the oppressed. Black oppression in this country is rooted in the bedrock of American capitalism, from the days of chattel slavery to the wage slavery of modern industry. It took a revolutionary civil war to destroy the Southern slavocracy, and it will take a third American revolution, a workers revolution, to overthrow the whole capitalist system of racist degradation and impoverishment.

"Black Men's Rally for Responsibility," the *Washington Post* called the October 16 event, which was possibly the largest-ever march in the capital. From the podium Farrakhan echoed Clinton's speech, delivered the same day in Texas, by laying the blame for conditions in the ghettos on the "personal responsibility" of black men. What about the vista of permanent unemployment, the assault on health care, the elimination of welfare, the overflowing prison population and racist

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No to Sexism, Nationalism! For Revolutionary Integrationism!
Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Government Hands Off Cyberporn!

Watch out! Government computer snoops are on the prowl and you could be their next target. Like high school honors senior Paul Kim of Bellevue, Washington, who lost a chance in a National Merit scholarship and possibly entrance to Harvard because he posted a parody of his school on the World Wide Web with links to Internet sites that offer sexually explicit material. Or Robert Thomas, owner of Amateur Action Bulletin Board Service in Milpitas, California, who for years has been offering a wide range of what the government deems pornography. He was busted by a postal inspector in Memphis who downloaded pictures explicitly to nail Thomas. Thomas and his wife, Carleen, were found guilty by a Tennessee jury and he is now in prison. We say: Distributing "dirty pictures" is no crime. Down with the anti-sex witchhunt!

This crackdown has a very sinister edge beyond the usual moralistic hysteria and fear against "smut" and "filth" contaminating innocent children. With even the National Security Agency (NSA) unable to crack some of the encryption programs now available to PC users, the government is zealously trying to clamp down on them, using export laws classifying such programs as munitions. This has angered powerful capitalist interests, including American software manufacturers and businesses who seek to protect against intrusion on their communications by competitors (and the feds). Pretty Good Privacy (PGP) designer, Phil Zimmerman has been the target of a two-year (!) investigation for possible violation of federal weapons-export laws because his "cryptography for the masses" went outside the U.S. Zimmerman faces a possible five-year sentence and $1 million fine if convicted!

One government proposal to deal with encryption programs, pushed heavily by the Clinton administration last year, was to require manufacturers to install an encryption standard—vetted by the NSA—known as the "clipper chip." This would permit the government to read all communications encoded by that chip. This device has since been dropped, in part because the encryption genie is out of the bottle; technology already exists to get around it. But that has only spurred the government on a quixotic quest to develop a more advanced "clipper chip."

While *Newsweek* (6 February) screeches that cyber (computer) crime is "probably the fastest growing brand of wrongdoing in America," the real targets are not vicious criminals but ordinary people pursuing their interests in the supposed privacy of their own homes. Ever worried by and distrustful of a discontented population, the rulers of this country seek to tighten control over every aspect of our lives. The Senate recently passed a "Communications Decency Act of 1995" that would slap fines of up to $100,000 and prison terms of up to two years on anyone who knowingly transmits materials that are "obscene, lewd, lascivious, filthy or indecent" to a minor—i.e., any kid with a modem.

As to what the government considers "obscene," you can get an idea from the largely successful efforts by arch-reactionary Senator Jesse Helms to censor the National Endowment for the Arts. The Exon amendment passed by the Senate would restrict even profane language in cyberspace, and a bill introduced by Utah Republican Orrin Hatch "would expand the reach of child pornography laws to encompass wholly imaginary, computer-generated pictures" (*Nation*, 16 October).

Civil liberties groups are rightfully alarmed at the far-reaching dangers of these bills. Jerry Berman of the Center for Democracy and Technology complained, "What they're trying to do is design a whole city to look like Disney World." More repressive and draconian measures are on the way, including criminalizing both photos and computer-generated fantasy images. David Wasch worries that "lawmakers...threaten to transform a medium that personifies free communication into one where posted love letters between husband and wife could be grounds for arrest and imprisonment for indecency" (*New York Times*, 20 June). With 30 million users on the Internet (a communications system initially created for Defense Department researchers) the government desperately wants to assert control.

For all the hysterics around rampant pornography on the Internet, the truth is that sexually explicit matter accounts for a very small proportion (less than one-half of 1 percent) of materials on the Net. To find it takes computer skills and often code words. It's not like little Susie is going to log on to get info for her history assignment and accidently hit "alt.bestiality.Barney"! This crusade is another avenue toward criminalizing sexuality, and *regimenting the population across the board*. In the name of fighting "child abuse," they want to read everyone's mail. It comes from the government of Bill Clinton and Janet Reno, who slaughtered 86 men, women and children in a religious commune outside Waco, Texas and justified this with the hypocritical claim of "saving the children"!

The Justice Department recently concluded a two-year investigation in which over 125 homes and offices were searched, thousands of E-mail messages were opened and raids were conducted in over half of the nation's FBI districts. A dozen America Online customers were arrested for swapping digitized sex photos of kids. As both Republicans and Democrats wave the flag of "family values," the reactionary social climate in the country has paved the way for increased censorship and outright persecution of so-called "deviants." The war on cyberporn is yet another assault on the First Amendment. We demand: No censorship or "pornography" laws!

There certainly is a new breed of predator surfing the Net, but it isn't the child molester as we would be led to believe. It is the government agents posing as children. The March 1995 issue of *Playboy* outlines a frightening FBI plot which drew two men into a "chat group" involving fantasies of kidnapping a youth and making a sexually explicit snuff film. Though no victim was ever targeted nor any murder committed, both men were convicted of conspiracy to commit murder and received sentences of 30 years plus. *Playboy* pointed out, "No kids, no crime. A government obsessed with the idea of snuff films.... And if Uncle Sam had not been on the other end of the computer, there would never have been talk of a crime." The appeals judge noted, "Even to talk of such awful crimes is abhorrent, but the extent of what occurred was just that, talk."

Even talk is verboten under "family values" rules. FBI agents complained of minors and adults discussing sex in the on-line "chat rooms." The anti-sex witchhunt has meant no sex education, birth control given out in two letters (NO), attempts to crush youthful sexuality... and now they want to outlaw talking about it in your own room! Talk about "safe sex"—no one's going to catch a sexually transmitted disease from a megabyte. And for some kids, like a gay teenager who lives out in the boonies, this may be his or her life line to sanity or self-esteem.

The bipartisan campaign against cyberporn is a truly obscene campaign to persecute kids in the name of sheltering them from digitized dirty pictures while countless families are about to be thrown into the streets to starve as welfare "reform" takes hold. The real violence and crime of society flows from the mass immiserization of the population by the greedy capitalist class. As the economy goes down the tubes and the bourgeoisie intrudes into every aspect of our lives, they now seek to make virtual reality, well, virtually illegal... but it won't be a virtual prison they'll throw you into. Down with the cyberporn witchhunt! Government censors butt out! ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

For Revolutionary Integrationism!

Louis Farrakhan's "Million Man March" calls for "atonement," blaming black men for the conditions of their own oppression and telling black women to stay home. Farrakhan's retrogressive program, an expression of black separatism, is an accommodation to the vicious racism inherent in American capitalist society. Forty years ago, veteran American Trotskyist Dick Fraser fought for the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party to intervene into the unfolding struggles for black equality with a program to link this fight with the struggle for socialist revolution, in which black workers would play a leading role. Commenting on the "Back to Africa" movement led by Marcus Garvey in the early part of this century, Fraser noted that "the Negro movement expresses separation at the time of its greatest backwardness, defeat and isolation." Fraser's fight for revolutionary integrationism and development of the Marxist analysis of racial oppression is a cornerstone of the Trotskyist program today upheld by the Spartacist League.

Only once during the past 130 years have the Negro masses intimated in any way that they might take the road of separatism. This was the result of a social catastrophe: the defeat of the Negroes in the Reconstruction. This defeat pushed them back into such a terrible isolation and demoralization, that there was no channel for the movement to express its traditional demand for equality. The result was the Garvey movement. This occurred, and could have occurred, only in the deepest isolation and confusion of the Negro masses. The real meaning of the Garvey movement is that it provided a transition from the abject defeat of the Negroes to the renewal of their traditional struggle for direct equality. It did not at all signify a fundamental nationalism.

The division of American society into races cuts across the working class. The white monopoly in skilled crafts created an aristocracy of labor corresponding to the racial division of society in general. The working class generally accepted the idea that they secure an economic advantage from the subordinate position of Negroes in the working class.

But as the roll of the skilled crafts diminishes in modern industry, the possibility of maintaining an aristocratic division in the working class is revealed as a weapon against the working class as a whole, dividing it and preventing unified class action against capitalism....

Segregation is the foundation of prejudice. The Negroes, in their struggle against segregation are constantly clearing the ground for the emergence of class consciousness in the working class as a whole....

The dual nature of the Negro struggle arises from the fact that a *whole people* regardless of class distinction are the victims of discrimination. This problem of a whole people can be solved only through the proletarian revolution, under the leadership of the working class. The Negro struggle is therefore not the same as the class struggle, but in its independent character is allied to the working class. Because of the independent form of the Negro movement, it does not thereby become a national or separatist struggle, but draws its laws of development from its character as a racial struggle against segregation and discrimination.

—Richard Fraser, "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Question" (January 1955)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is October 17.

No. 631 **20 October 1995**

International Outcry Over Death Sentence by Gulf Emirate

Execution of Filipina Maid Stopped

TOKYO—Last month, an Islamic court in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) condemned a 16-year-old Filipina maid, Sarah Balahagan, to death by firing squad for killing her employer in self-defense after he assaulted and raped her at knife point. Coming after the execution of another Filipina maid in Singapore earlier this year, the death sentence against Balabagan provoked international outrage. Demonstrations were held in the Philippines and elsewhere calling to save Sarah. As the outcry mounted, on October 14 the court announced that, following intervention by the UAE president, the death sentence had been revoked in exchange for blood money from Balabagan's family.

The death penalty is barbaric and an outrage against humanity. We call for the abolition of capital punishment, in the UAE and the Philippines as well as in Japan and the United States, two of the few imperialist countries which enforce this practice of state murder. Ironically, the fact that the feudal emirate has a pre-capitalist legal code provided the device—exchanging blood money for blood violence—to save this woman's life. But we warn that although the death sentence against Sarah Balahagan was dropped, she is not out of danger, and demand that she be immediately released and granted safe passage out of the country.

The case of Sarah Balabagan has highlighted the conditions faced by the several million Filipino overseas contract workers (OCW) scattered around Asia. Almost 1.5 million work in Saudi Arabia and the various Persian Gulf oil sheikdoms, including the UAE, where they along with OCWs from Sri Lanka, India and elsewhere in the region—perform much of the backbreaking labor and personal services for a feudalistic elite. Recent newspaper reports have revealed that Saudi Arabia has executed at least eleven women over the last three years, while hundreds of foreign women workers have been ferociously lashed in the Gulf states. In Japan, where abuse of Filipina "hostesses" and factory workers is rampant, the more than 100,000 Filipino contract workers have been following Balabagan's case closely.

AP

Free Sarah Balabagan! Sixteen-year-old maid (left) still in prison in the United Arab Emirates after death penalty lifted. Above, protest at UAE consulate in Manila.

At the age of 15, Sarah Balahagan left Mindanao in the Philippines in order to help support her Muslim family, only to find a life of vulnerability, degradation, unremitting toil and brutality. Shortly after her arrival in May 1994, documented in letters she sent home, Sarah's employer demanded that she "surrender her virginity" in exchange for money and gold. When Sarah refused, she was raped at knife point. Attempting to fend off her attacker, she managed to grab the knife and stab him "in defense of my life and honor" (*Today* [Manila], 27 June 1995).

The case was originally brought to trial in June of this year. Balabagan was found guilty of manslaughter, sentenced to seven years imprisonment for "abusing her right to self-defense," and fined $42,000 in "blood money." At the same time, the court awarded her $27,000 in compensation, a virtual acknowledgment that she had been raped. Feeling the heat for its inaction following the hanging of Flor Contemplacion in Singapore this past March, the Philippine government of General Fidel Ramos appealed the verdict, demanding a bigger monetary award for the rape and a reduction in sentence. The UAE's response was to order a retrial with new judges, who subsequently convicted Balahagan of premeditated murder and ordered her execution.

A recent news article in a Gulf states magazine referred to Filipina maids in the country as a "minefield." Other reports put the spotlight on beheadings of women in public squares as security measures instituted by the Saudi royal family to ensure stability. The more than 150,000 Filipino workers in the UAE have held "prayer sessions" for Balabagan ever since she was sentenced. And a strike by Filipino workers at a natural gas development in Qatar over working hours and pay last July no doubt impressed the sultans and emirs who lord it over their subjects while relying on the menial labor of slaves and foreign workers without rights.

These anachronistic absolutist rulers are propped up by billions of oil dollars and Western arms. The firing squad and executioner's sword are part of a whole panoply of state terror by these autocratic regimes which cannot tolerate even a breath of democratic rights. But the overseas workers, strategically located in the oil and other industries, are the Achilles heel of the Gulf statelets. And while the petty royalty seek to hide any hint of opposition through rigid censorship, there are mumblings of discontent. The *Financial Times* (13 October) noted that the case of Sarah Balabagan "has sharply reminded United Arab Emirates authorities of their over-dependence on imported labour." Out of a total population of 2.5-3 million, some 70 percent are "foreigners," including 750,000 workers from India and another 400,000 from Pakistan.

Female and "Foreign"

Filipinas, even in their own country, are viewed as objects to be kept in "their place" in accordance with the pervasive anti-woman attitudes reinforced by organized religion, both Catholic and, in the southern islands, Muslim. But the nightmare which befell Sarah Balabagan exemplifies the status of women and the particular plight of foreign workers who have crossed borders lured by promises of good jobs, only to find themselves viewed as expendable commodities, ruthlessly exploited without legal or trade-union protection and readily thrown away when their labor is no longer needed. Held in contempt, vulnerable, and isolated, foreign women workers are frequent victims of rape, beatings and whippings before laughing prison guards, and in general are treated no better than animals.

A 1994 report from the Philippine Overseas Workers Welfare Administration states that Saudi Arabia topped the list of countries abusing Filipino workers, but rape and sexual abuse cases were highest in "poor, little" Kuwait, the country which sparked U.S. imperialist-led murderous war against Iraq under the banner of "freedom and democracy." The UAE (which recently began granting loans to its male citizens already married to "foreigners" to finance taking a "local" woman as their second wife) is one of three countries in the world to which the Philippine government has banned contract labor by "non-professional" women workers because of rampant sexual abuses. In the last six months of 1992, four foreign maids attempted suicide there.

The London *Independent* recently published a five-part series (9-13 October) exposing the normally secretive "killing fields" in the Gulf, whose victims include Saudis, Filipinas, Sri Lankans, Nigerians, Indonesians and Pakistanis. Among the most horrendous cases are that of 19-year-old Sithy Farook from Sri Lanka, executed by a seven-man firing squad in the UAE last April on charges of killing a four-year-old after becoming desperately overwrought by her job of caring for 17 children; and a Filipina worker in Saudi Arabia, Leonarda Akula, who was publicly beheaded for killing her employer and his wife (after they imprisoned her in their house) and their 18-year-old son who tried to rape her.

The author of the *Independent* series, Robert Fisk, writes:

> "The nature of the Islamic trials and the cruel methods of execution call into question the morality of the West's military and political support for Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states whose supposedly civilised values were defended by 500,000 US, British and other Western

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Spartacist Events

BOSTON

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Saturdays, 2 p.m. Next classes, October 21: *The Marxist Understanding of the State and Imperialism*, October 28: *The Russian Revolution of 1917*, Boston University, CLA (College of Liberal Arts) Room 418, 725 Commonwealth Ave.

For more information: (617) 666-9453

CHAMPAIGN/URBANA

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Alternate Thursdays, 7 p.m. Next class, November 2: *1917—The Russian Revolution*; University of Illinois-Champaign/Urbana, Illini Union, Room 217

For more information: (312) 663-0715

NEW YORK CITY

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Alternate Fridays, 7 p.m. Next classes, October 20: *The Revolution Betrayed*; November 3: *Women's Liberation through Socialist Revolution*; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren Street (one block below Chambers Street)

For more information: (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Forums

TORONTO

Saturday, October 21, 7:30 p.m.: *National Chauvinism Is Poison to Class Struggle—For Quebec Independence!* Speaker: Charles Galarneau, *Spartacist Canada* Editorial Board; St. Paul's Centre, 427 Bloor Street W. (just west of Spadina)

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m. Next class, October 30: *The Marxist Programme*; International Student Centre, 33 St. George Street (north of College)

For more information: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. Next classes, October 26: *Marx's View of Economics*; November 9: *The State: Lessons of the Paris Commune of 1871*, Britannia Community Centre, Room L4, 1661 Napier (off Commercial Drive)

For more information: (604) 687-0353

Free, Quality, Integrated Education for All!

Boston Schools: Liberals Attack Affirmative Action

A wealthy white Boston lawyer, Michael McLaughlin, has brought suit against the city's school department. Taking his cue from the national forces of racist reaction, who seek to smash affirmative action and bury the corpse of busing for school desegregation, McLaughlin's suit alleges that his daughter was denied access to the prestigious Boston Latin examination school because of "reverse discrimination." Claiming that "all vestiges of unlawful discrimination have been eliminated," McLaughlin seeks to overturn the racial guidelines established after the pitched battles in the early 1970s to desegregate Boston schools.

McLaughlin claims he took the action reluctantly and doesn't want to become a poster boy for the anti-affirmative action crowd. But his action was immediately hailed by arch-reactionary James Kelly, the president of the Boston City Council who got his start in city politics with the brick-throwing anti-busing bigots in South Boston, and by Kelly's friends in the ultra-racist South Boston Information Center. Recently, McLaughlin resigned from a law firm that had been involved in pro-civil rights litigation so that he could pursue his reactionary court suit.

Before this suit is even resolved, an emboldened mayor Thomas Menino is already doing away with the racial guidelines for admission by restricting admissions by quotas at an experimental elementary school in white West Roxbury. This, along with incoming school superintendent and top Clinton aide Thomas Payzant's desire to reopen the debate over affirmative action, sends out a clear message that any and all programs that aid minority youth in education are on the chopping block.

These attacks on affirmative action are a very real threat to students because Boston public schooling, mirroring inner-city education across the country, is, in a word, abominable. This was highlighted earlier this year when the Jeremiah E. Burke high school lost its regional academic certification. Situated in the middle of the poor and black Grove Hall section of Roxbury, Burke had no librarian and one guidance counselor for 940 students. At a hearing last March, frustrated parents wanted to know why the soon to be decertified school resembled a prison (*Boston Globe*, 30 March).

Burke High is hardly alone —four other schools are listed on academic probation for lacking such basics as chalk, toilet paper and working clocks. *Sixty percent* of Boston's public high schools are either decertified, on probation or on warning status because of their inability to meet already egregiously low academic standards which, even when passed, often produce functional illiterates.

Boston Latin, on the other hand, represents one of a tiny handful of prestigious "public" schools which turn out the next generation of leaders. Steeped in Boston "Brahmin" tradition (and gin), Latin is the oldest school in the country (founded in 1635) and boasts graduates like John Hancock and Joseph Kennedy Sr. As one of three public schools in the city requiring a highly competitive entrance examination, Latin sends nearly 85 percent of its graduates to college.

Boston Latin has always been a bastion of race and class privilege. As soon as their kids are out of diapers, wealthy families send them to the best private schools and tutors so that they can pass the exam to get into Latin. So much for a level playing field for the working-class and minority youth competing for a desk at Latin! In a city school system that is estimated to be only 18 percent white and with rapidly growing black and immigrant populations, Boston Latin is still more than half white. Yet to the likes of McLaughlin, the guidelines which allow blacks and Hispanics only 35 percent of the coveted school's places must be ripped up.

The very existence of elite schools like Boston Latin is predicated on the maintenance of race and class inequalities. Obviously, if quality education were free and available to all children, there would be no need for competition for schools like Latin. The Spartacus Youth Club fights for *free quality education for all*. Even a basic democratic demand like this is anathema to the capitalist class because it would require millions of dollars and the racist American ruling class has consciously written off the futures of large numbers of inner-city blacks whom they consider expendable. Their class priorities are clear: when it comes to black America, they only have money for more prisons and more cops.

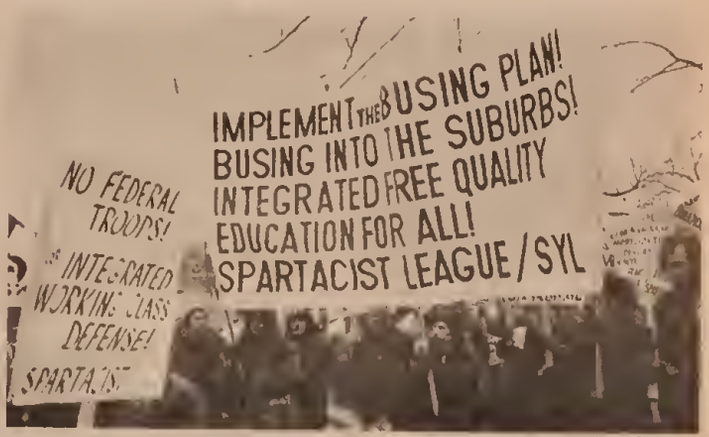
The abominable level of public education in Boston is a direct result of the malign neglect that came in the aftermath of the smashing of school busing in the mid-1970s. Indeed, it was Northern liberal Democratic Party-controlled Boston where school desegregation was killed by an alliance of violent racist bigots in the streets with pusillanimous limousine liberals in Congress who made sure that no buses with black schoolchildren rolled out to their leafy suburbs where the good schools are. Although hardly adequate even as a solution to school segregation, the busing programs of the '70s were often initiated and weakly implemented by federal judges in the aftermath of the mass social struggles of the civil rights movement.

The Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League took an active part in the fight to defend school busing. We fought for the formation of labor-black defense guards to protect black children from the racist mobs. Against the criminal illusions in and reliance on the capitalist state, we particularly opposed the call by left liberals and the Socialist Workers Party for "federal troops to Boston." Against the narrow limits set by the federal judges, which tended to pair poor white districts like South Boston with poor black districts like Roxbury, pitting them against each other, we called to *extend busing to the suburbs* so poor kids, black and white, could get a fair shot at a real education.

continued on page 10

Boston Globe

Boston, 1974: Anti-busing racist mob goes after Haitian worker. Spartacists fought for integrated working-class defense of busing and its extension to the suburbs.



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Deadly Cop Terror on the Streets

Lynch Law U.S.A.

In the wake of Los Angeles cop Mark Fuhrman's racist spewings, heard by virtually the entire population of the United States except for 12 jurors sealed off by Judge Ito, the media has been filled with "rogue cop" exposés and hand wringing about why nobody seems to trust the cops. It's really pretty obvious: the cops lie, they're corrupt, they're vicious—and as every black and minority person in the U.S. knows, they're deadly racist killers. And that's just in normal times.

Now it's worse, as the capitalist rulers have decided to let the poor and the inner cities rot, slashing what pathetic remnants of social programs still exist, abandoning even the pretense of caring for broad sectors of the population. To carry this out, the ruling class requires a brutal army of repression. While legal lynching under the racist death penalty escalates (40 prisoners have already been executed this year, more than one a week, the most since capital punishment was reinstated in 1976), the cops are carrying out lynch law in the streets. According to FBI statistics, in 1989, nationwide 369 people were killed by the cops, while by 1993 the figure had risen to 455—well over one a day!

AFP

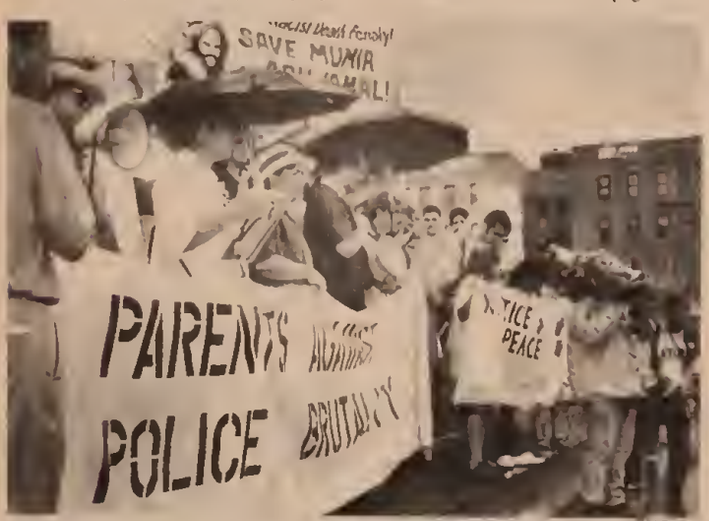
Cop terror in Miami.

Their reckless contempt for human life was starkly revealed in Chicago this summer. Joseph Gould, a black resident of a homeless shelter, was trying to earn some change washing auto windshields on the night of July 30. Off-duty cop Gregory Becker came out of a nightclub and reportedly became so enraged at the presence of this "squeegee man" that he went to his car, pulled out a gun, held it to Gould's skull and pulled the trigger. Then the cop just drove off. But witnesses got his license number and Becker was arrested the next morning. However, Cook County State's Attorney Jack O'Malley and a compliant judge dropped murder charges down to official misconduct for not reporting he'd discharged his weapon!

There is the hollow thud of repetition to cop executions in the streets. On September 6, in San Francisco's Ingleside district, yet another young black man was killed, shot in the back of the head at close range as he was riding away on a bicycle. This time it was two black cops who did the shooting. William Hankston Jr., 29, had been in a park which cops had targeted in their phony "war on drugs." In June, another black man, Aaron Williams, was beaten to death by 12 cops. And San Francisco is still seething after 22-year-old Brian Sullivan was gunned down in 1993 by the SF cop known as "the bogeyman," who'd wracked up dozens of civilian complaints.

In New York, the election two years ago of Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who narrowly won with the Staten Island vote, was a green light for the thugs now dressed in militaristic "navy blue" (closer to SS black) uniforms. From Harlem and Washington Heights to Brooklyn and the Bronx, New York's Deadliest have been on a rampage. Even according to the NYPD's own statistics, there were 54 deaths at the hands of police during 1994—31 from gunfire and another 23 who "died while in police custody." This was a 42 percent increase over the previous year, with the vast majority of victims black and Hispanic.

Many others are thrown behind bars for what Giuliani terms "quality of life violations," as the courts and prisons are filled with subway "fare beaters," the homeless, indigent "squeegee men," kids suspected of playing hooky from school. A grandmother was arrested in Central Park for letting her grandchild pee against a tree. Meanwhile, the police run riot: days after a mob of New York cops terrorized hotel guests during a police convention in Washington, D.C., the NYPD staged a mammoth operation spearheaded by a tank-like armored combat vehicle clanking down Avenue A to evict a few dozen artists and anarchist squatters on the Lower East Side. And this past weekend, an army of cops clashed with a crowd of hundreds who gathered in an East Village project after police shot a "drug suspect" in cold blood.



WV Photo

Protest demonstration at Bronx courthouse, last July 7, against NYPD execution of Anthony Rosario and Hilton Vega Jr. and other victims of racist police.

The direct link between the mayor's office and racist cop terror reached chilling expression in January, when two Hispanic youths, Anthony Rosario, 18, and his 21-year-old cousin, Hilton Vega Jr., were executed outright by two cops who had served as Giuliani's bodyguards during his campaign. After the killings, the mayor personally called one of the shooters, Detective Patrick Brosnan, to congratulate him! Anthony Rosario's mother, Margarita Rosario, has been fighting for justice, and has launched a $100 million civil suit against the police department, the two cops and the City of New York.

After a Bronx grand jury cleared the killer cops in April, buying the lie that the two murdered youths were robbers, the Rosario family hired a respected pathologist to do an independent autopsy; she concluded that Vega and Rosario "were prone on the floor at the time of the shootings." In August, the Civilian Complaint Review Board (CCRB), a supposedly independent "all-civilian" agency (in reality staffed by five mayoral and three NYPD appointees) determined that the two cops had "used unnecessary and excessive force."

Meanwhile the cover-up continues. The CCRB has ceased its investigation pending the outcome of an FBI probe into "possible civil rights violations," while the cops have been protecting and defending the con man and police informer who set up the two young men. In 1992, the formation of the "civilian" CCRB by black Democratic former mayor Dinkins drove the cops into a frenzy; led by then-candidate Giuliani, 10,000 white cops stormed City Hall. In the face of such racist cop bonapartism, the Spartacist League called for mobilizing labor in defense of black and Hispanic neighborhoods under attack.

Futility of "Review Boards"

So what can be done? In Chicago, U.S. Representative Bobby Rush complained that atrocities like the murder of Joseph Gould take away from "good police officers who diligently do their jobs." Such whitewashing of the police is grotesque coming from former Black Panther Rush, whose comrades Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were slaughtered in their beds in 1969 by racist cops and the FBI. To the racist government which is out to eliminate welfare, slash Medicaid and gut Medicare, the killer cops are diligently doing their jobs as they gun down minority youth and fill the prisons and death rows with black and Hispanic men.

There's police brutality, racist police terror, and then there's Philly. In Philadelphia, where Mumia Abu-Jamal was put on death row by a cop frame-up—and a bomb dropped by a police helicopter on the MOVE commune in 1985 killed eleven black people and burned down a black neighborhood—some *100,000 arrests* are presently under review as blatant racist frame-ups. Finally, in 1993 they set up a police "advisory commission" after years of legal wrangling by the cops to kill it. On September 19, the panel held its first hearing, on the case of Moises DeJesus, and all hell broke loose.

Several hundred police jammed into the room, disrupting the proceedings in city council chambers with jeers of "kangaroo, kangaroo" as witness after witness told how in August 1994 police beat the 250-pound tow-truck driver to death. Moises' mother, Rosa, said she had called an ambulance when her son suffered one of his frequent seizures, from an old brain injury. Instead, the police arrived, beat and handcuffed him and threw him in a patrol car. But it didn't stop there. The cops pulled DeJesus out of the cruiser's smashed rear window, beat him mercilessly with long flashlights and nightsticks, and continued to hit him as they dragged him a half block and threw his limp body into the police wagon.

In March, District Attorney Lynne Abraham said her own "investigation" of the DeJesus arrest found no criminal misconduct by the police. She said he died of coronary arrest caused by cocaine and prescription drugs—a claim that even the city's medical examiner is backing away from. As the hearings opened in September, Fraternal Order of Police head Costello lashed out against Democratic mayor Ed Rendell, telling him, "Call off the hearings! You created it, you can kill it." Rendell, a pro-death penalty former prosecutor who handled the original arraignment of Mumia Abu-Jamal in 1981, is too soft for Costello. Instead Costello backs the Republican challenger, Joseph Rocks, whose brother is vice president of the Philly FOP. The cops went to court to block the panel from compelling police to testify, and shut down the hearings for a week.

continued on page 11

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Million Man March...

(continued from page 1)

police terror? These are non-issues for this apostle of "black capitalism," whose message is "do for self."

This march was a reactionary appeasement of the capitalist rulers. Clearly, most participants in this massive outpouring of black men were not there because they agree with Farrakhan's racist tirades against Jews and Asian immigrants or because they have bought into his vision of "black capitalism" in a racially segregated society. But despite the outrage and despair over the hellish conditions of racist America felt by the hundreds of thousands at the Mall in Washington, this march was *directly counterposed* to any struggle for black emancipation.

At a meeting on September 28, the Political Bureau of the Spartacist League/U.S. passed a motion stating:

> "Farrakhan's 'Million Man March' for 'Atonement' is a right-wing, segregationist, and sexually exclusionist mobilization whose aim appears to be to pressure the Democratic Party to acknowledge the black constituency. Clinton's 'New Democrats' spat on in '92. The utter vacuum of black leadership, intersecting the intensification of racist state repression and slashing of opportunities for blacks in all spheres of life, creates circumstances such that even this Booker T. Washington-type mobilization, which blames black people for their oppression and tells the women to step back, stay home and pray, is attracting the support of unionists and youth who have no interest in Farrakhan *per se*.
>
> "The participation of the big public service unions is particularly regressive and perverse. The purpose of unions is to represent all of the working people, yet they are now lending themselves to a march from which white workers and all women are excluded. This is a poisonous reactionary mobilization we will stay away from."

Palmer U.S. News & World Report

Nation of Islam security guards in Baltimore housing project. U.S. government funds Farrakhan's rent-a-cops in service of racist repression.

While many liberals and reformist leftists tried to dance around these hard facts, the march was not only built by Farrakhan but also built his authority as the pre-eminent black leader in Clinton/Gingrich's America. And that's not accidental, for his message is not that different from theirs. At the same time mass support for this reactionary separatist is passive and superficial, and could be blown away by any significant social struggle.

Reactionary Message, Reactionary Messenger

Farrakhan first called for the rally last December, proclaiming a "holy day of atonement" for black men for "not playing the role of head of the household" and for "the abuse and misuse of our women and girls." Chavis, who was ousted as head of the NAACP in part because of his attempts to reconcile with Farrakhan, later took on the role of national organizer. But the march really took off in the last month and a half with the endorsement of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) and several black churches. They were joined by Jesse Jackson and a number of black elected officials (BEOs), including Washington mayor Marion Barry and Detroit's mayor Dennis Archer.

Their watchword was "black operational unity." This was largely an expression of the desperation and impotence of "black elected officials" and other misleaders. For years, Jackson has been riding in the back of the Democratic Party bus, trying desperately to gain influence, appealing to the broad range of "constituencies"—blacks, women, white workers, Jews—that made up the "New Deal coalition." He even sought "reconciliation" with that symbol of Dixiecrat segregation, former Alabama governor George Wallace. To no avail. And with Clinton, he was kicked off the bus. Likewise, with the Republican ascendancy in Congress, the Congressional Black Caucus lost even the semblance of any influence.

So to get some "clout," they embraced Farrakhan's march, hoping that the sight of a million black men in front of the Capitol would give them some bargaining power. The "march" was also a giant voter enrollment device, "Operation Big Vote," ostentatiously encouraging participants to register as independents. This was linked to the recent boom in support, as an independent or Republican presidential candidate, for former Pentagon chief Colin Powell, who was invited to address the rally. It is ironic that Nation of Islam (NOI) leader Farrakhan expresses admiration for Powell, whose claim to fame was perpetrating the massacre of over 100,000 of Iraqi Muslims!

Significantly, the march had wide (if grudging) support among the white ruling class. President Clinton supported the "aims" of the march and "honored" the participants. Senate Republican leader Dole said "I like the talk about self-reliance, about picking yourself up, cleaning up our cities and getting kids off drugs," while cynically vituperating about Farrakhan's anti-Semitism. While the Zionist Anti-Defamation League scurrilously compared this march with a Klan or Nazi mobilization, even the American Jewish Committee had positive words to say about a march for "atonement," which was, after all, consciously modeled on the Jewish Yom Kippur. And, grotesquely, Philadelphia's Democratic mayor Ed Rendell, who has been demanding the execution of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, helped build the march.

Zionist support for Farrakhan, despite their mutual animosity, is not coincidental or hypocritical. What Farrakhan offers is a black version of Zionism. The Zionist state of Israel was founded on a program of racial separatism and "Jewish capitalism." And there are deep parallels between Farrakhan's program and that of the current right-wing consensus in American bourgeois politics. When Clinton was elected in 1992, the NOI leader hailed the yuppie racist's plan for welfare "reform" and called to "cut federal spending" (Louis Farrakhan, *A Torchlight for America*). As journalist Don Terry noted in the *New York Times* (15 October), "In many ways, Mr. Farrakhan is a conservative, and on the surface, at least, some of the rally's themes echo those heard at Republican gatherings: God, loyalty, family, discipline."

Various liberal black integrationists, feeling the pressure to jump on the bandwagon for Farrakhan's march, went into contortions trying to separate the "message" from the messenger. Harvard professor Cornel West called on "radical democrats" to participate in order not to "yield the terrain to Minister Farrakhan." Social democrat Manning Marable initially called for the march to have "a much broader character," later calling it a "diversion" while continuing to look for "common ground" with Farrakhan. But West, the CBC and BEOs climbed on board because in the face of the bipartisan assault on black rights and social welfare, they have no alternative agenda to Farrakhan's illusory perspective of "self help" through black capitalism.

While they may squirm over some of Farrakhan's egregiously reactionary social positions, they basically have the same message as the "messenger." A key theme shared by all of the sponsors of the march is support for the deadly "war on drugs," which is really a war on the black ghettos. From Jesse Jackson to Louis Farrakhan, these bourgeois black misleaders shamelessly boost this campaign of state repression that has led to the imprisonment of a vast section of the country's black youth. As a recent report by the Sentencing Project makes clear, the "war on drugs" has been "an unmitigated disaster for young blacks and other minorities." For all the talk of "family values," from Gingrich, Dole and Clinton to Farrakhan, the report concludes:

> "As increasing numbers of young black men are arrested and incarcerated, their life prospects are seriously diminished. Their possibilities for gainful employment are reduced, thereby making them less attractive as marriage partners and unable to provide for children they father. This in turn contributes to the deepening of poverty in low-income communities."

Today, fully one in three black men between the ages of 20 and 29 are in the clutches of the criminal "justice" system, whether in jail, facing trial or on probation or parole. This is the direct result of the "war on drugs," which is racist to the core. For example, getting caught with 5 grams of "crack" cocaine, prevalent in the ghetto, draws the same sentence as 500 grams of powder cocaine, the yuppie drug of choice. Congress recently overruled a recommendation by the federal government's own sentencing commission to equalize the penalties.

The stark fact is that while blacks constitute 12 percent of the population and an almost identical proportion (13 percent) of regular drug users, blacks account for 35 percent of all drug arrests, 55 percent of convictions and 74 percent of prison sentences. Some 90 percent of all sentences to state prison for drug possession in 1992 were meted out to blacks and Hispanics. And in 16 states, not a single white person has ever been prosecuted for crack possession. When Jesse Jackson leads chants of "up with hope, down with dope," he is cheerleading for this drive to turn the ghettos into a vast prison.

Farrakhan: Bad News for Black People

The fundamentally reactionary character of the Million Man March was demonstrated not least by its exclusion of women. This provoked angry opposition

Join the Labor Black Leagues!

The Labor Black Leagues were formed as a result of the Spartacist League-initiated militant labor/black mobilization that stopped the Klan from marching in Washington, D.C. November 1982. We stand for mobilizing the masses of minority and working people for militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America. Initiated by and fraternally allied with the Spartacist League, a multiracial revolutionary Marxist organization, the Labor Black League for Social Defense is part of the revolutionary movement of the workers and oppressed against the bosses and for socialism.

There is a crisis of leadership today. Black misleaders are wedded to either pro-capitalist racist Democratic Party liberalism or do-nothing dead-end black separatism. The Labor Black League for Social Defense is a multiracial organization of militant workers and youth fighting for revolutionary integrationism for black freedom through socialist revolution.

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1) Militant Labor/Black/Hispanic mobilizations drawing on the organized power of the unions to stop the racist terrorists, in and out of uniforms! Stop the Nazis! Stop the KKK!

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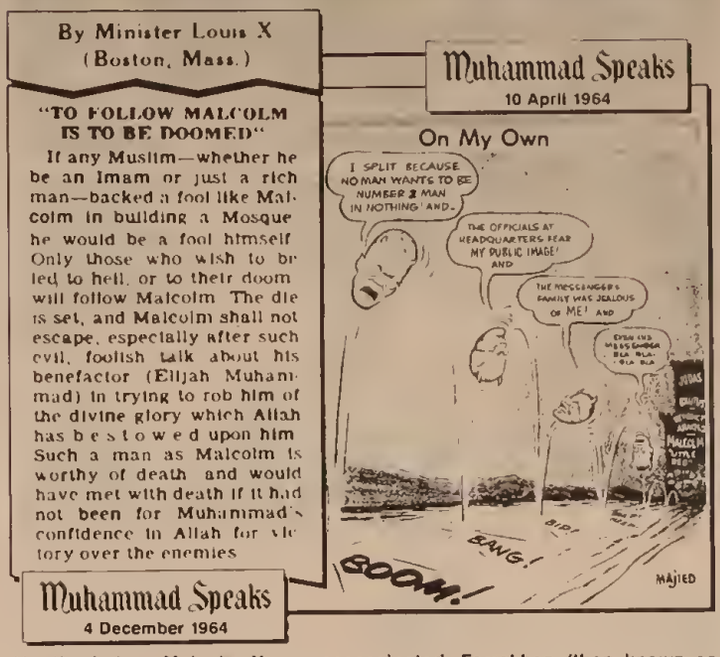
Farrakhan: The Man Who Wanted Malcolm X Dead



Months before Malcolm X was assassinated, Farrakhan (then known as Minister Louis X) declared Malcolm was "worthy of death," while *Muhammad Speaks* called for his head to roll.

from a number of black women. Many uneasily accepted a subaltern role of organizing for the march so that "their" men could attend. C. DeLores Tucker, who campaigned against Time-Warner because of the lyrics on "gangsta rap" CDs, supported the march as a step against "pornography and violence." In a cynical concession, several women were added to the speaker's list, including poet Maya Angelou, Rosa Parks of the 1956 Montgomery bus boycott, and even Malcolm X's widow, Betty Shabazz.

However, some black feminists denounced the march, most prominently Angela Davis. But Davis et al. can offer no solution for triply oppressed black women workers, because such reformists are beholden to Clinton's Democratic Party, which pushes the same "family values" reaction as Newt Gingrich or Louis Farrakhan. For our part, we recall that the vanguard of the abolitionist movement against slavery—John Brown, Frederick Douglass, Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth and the Grimké sisters—stood for the commonality of interests of all the oppressed. As Frederick Douglass proclaimed, "Right is of no sex—Truth is of no color." In our struggle for socialist revolution to eliminate black and women's oppression, we stand on the tradition of these radical-democratic revolutionaries.

Despite the efforts of his "mainstream" allies to downplay his role, Farrakhan made it very clear that in going "big time" he had no intention of toning down his virulent anti-Semitism and bigotry. On the eve of the march, a two-day conference was held in Washington featuring Farrakhan's notoriously anti-Semitic deputy Khallid Muhammad who spewed diatribes against Jews, white women and "race mixing." And a couple of days earlier, Farrakhan himself, in a Reuters TV interview, declared that not only did he consider Jews to be "bloodsuckers" but that this applied to a whole list of ethnic groups:

> "Many of the Jews who owned the homes, the apartments in the black community, we considered them bloodsuckers because they took from our community and built their community but didn't offer anything back to our community. And when the Jews left, the Palestinian Arabs came, Koreans came, Vietnamese and other ethnic and racial groups came. And so this is a type and we call them bloodsuckers."

With such views, it's no wonder that Farrakhan is more than willing to collaborate with white-supremacists like California Nazi Tom Metzger. Even back in the 1960s under Elijah Mubammad, the NOI got funding from Texas ultrarightist H.L. Hunt and cultivated relations with the American Nazi Party and the KKK. This is a suicidal trap for black people, who would be the first victims of a fascist takeover.

The petty-bourgeois hucksters of the NOI seek to pit one sector of the oppressed against others because their program is to become the "bloodsuckers"—that is the capitalist exploiters—of "their" people, claiming the ghetto as their exclusive market. During the rally, a call went out from the podium for everyone to wave a dollar bill in the air as a symbol of the potential for black "empowerment." This scene of hundreds of thousands of men waving dollar bills encapsulates the fraud of "black capitalism": the idea that a significant black bourgeoisie could be consolidated in racist America is a reactionary utopia. In the face of a genocidal drive that is devastating the ghettos, Farrakhan & Co. preach accommodation to the racist capitalist status quo.

As we wrote last year, in an article reprinted in the Spartacist pamphlet series *Black History and the Class Struggle* No. 11 (August 1994), "Farrakhan Is Bad News for Black People." Farrakhan's hostility to militant black struggle is underscored by his vendetta against Malcolm X. While today he tries to claim the mantle of Malcolm, two months before his assassination, Farrakhan proclaimed that Malcolm was "worthy of death." In his 1993 Savior's Day speech, the NOI leader thundered, "we dealt with him like a nation deals with a traitor."

Despite his anti-white bombast and the NOI program which still calls for "complete separation in a state or territory of our own," Farrakhan seeks to hire himself out to the racist capitalist rulers *as a cop over the ghetto masses*. After patrolling the Mayfair Mansions housing project in Washington, D.C., in the early '90s the NOI Security Agency won contracts to guard federally subsidized apartment complexes in Baltimore, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. The NOI rent-a-cops serve the racist rulers in carrying out repression of black youth no less than the government's official killers in blue. And in Farrakhan's black capitalist utopia this serves a greater purpose: profits. He writes that if the NOI were given "unhindered" rein, "we could effect a change in the lifestyle of our people that would allow us to do more with less wages."

Eve Arnold

Delegation of American Nazi Party at 1961 Nation of Islam meeting in Washington, D.C. Farrakhan treacherously seeks "common ground" with genocidal fascists on basis of anti-Semitism and segregationism.

For Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

Many march participants, and some speakers, compared Farrakhan's "Million Man March" to Martin Luther King's 1963 march on Washington. This was the high-water mark of the liberal civil rights movement. It was intended by its liberal Democratic Party organizers to *defuse* the militancy of sections of the movement, notably the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and steer the movement into the calmer waters of legislative reform to get rid of Jim Crow segregation. Malcolm X aptly called that march the "Farce on Washington." What does that make Farrakhan's march, which blames black people for their oppression and tells the women to stay home?

When the civil rights movement "went North," it came up against the realities of black oppression—in jobs, housing, schools—which are rooted in the very structure of American capitalism and cannot be eliminated through legal reforms. Frustration in the Northern ghettos exploded in a series of ghetto upheavals in the mid-'60s, which were brutally put down by cops and National Guard troops. Simultaneously, the federal government sought to buy off discontent and create a layer of black middle class and professionals as a buffer against black unrest. Today, there is a greater disparity in income among blacks than among whites, with 20 percent of black families earning half of all black income.

This layer, which continues to endure the daily humiliations of racism, has seen the openings which they were afforded slam shut, especially for their children. Predisposed by their relatively privileged position to buy into the sham of "black capitalism," many members of the black middle class are turning in despair from the goal of integration and some have provided an audience for Farrakhan's demagogy. The outlook of this layer is typified by Ben Chavis. When the Spartacist League and the Labor Black Leagues launched a campaign of demonstrations last year protesting against Jim Crow racism at Denny's restaurant chain and calling for unionization, the NAACP under Chavis cut a deal that gave them a seat on the chain's board of directors, as well as empty promises for black franchises and managers.

By its very nature, black oppression cannot be ended without an overturn of the capitalist system. As American Trotskyist Richard Fraser wrote in his seminal work, "For the Materialist Conception of the Negro Struggle" (January 1955): "The dual nature of the Negro struggle arises from the fact that a *whole people* regardless of class distinction are the victims of discrimination. This problem of a whole people can be solved only through the proletarian revolution, under the leadership of the working class." Adopting Fraser's perspective of "revolutionary integrationism," the Spartacist League declared in one of its founding documents, written at the time of the ghetto struggles of the '60s:

> "The Negro people are an oppressed race-color caste, in the main comprising the most exploited layer of the American working class. Because of the generations of exceptional oppression, degradation and humiliation, Black people as a group have special needs and problems necessitating additional and special forms of struggle. It is this part of the struggle which has begun today, and from which the most active and militant sections of Black people will gain a deep education and experience in the lessons of struggle. Because of their position as both the most oppressed and also the most conscious and experienced section, revolutionary black workers are slated to play an exceptional role in the coming American revolution."
>
> —"Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom" (1967), *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9

Farrakhan's program of enforcing a strict separation and a return to Jim Crow segregation could only be realized through a victory of the most extreme right-wing racist forces in this country. Grotesquely, a significant number of unions supported Farrakhan's march, particularly public employees unions in Washington, D.C. and Philadelphia. The only force that could benefit from unions throwing their weight behind a racially and sexually exclusionist program is the Ku Klux Klan.

The march takes place against the backdrop of a steady immiseration of the whole working class, with real wages dropping by over 20 percent during the last two decades. The absence of serious class struggle is centrally due to the role of the union bureaucracy and the related dispersal and co-optation of labor radicals. The labor police of capital have presided over the destruction not only of millions of jobs but also of large sections of their own organizations without lifting a finger in struggle. It's no wonder, then, that they turn a complete blind eye to hideous conditions for blacks and other oppressed minorities.

What is required is forging a revolutionary leadership of the workers movement, including through a political struggle against the sellout leadership in the unions, whose first loyalty is not to the workers but to the capitalist system. We Trotskyists continue the tradition of the Communist International in Lenin's day, which proclaimed itself "not simply the organization of the enslaved white workers of Europe and America but equally the organization of the oppressed colored peoples of the world" whose duty is "to encourage and support the international organization of the Negro people in their struggle against the common enemy." We seek to forge a multiracial vanguard party which can lead the proletariat at the head of all the oppressed in a struggle for workers revolution, to replace the capitalist system, whose decay is so painfully evident in America's inner cities today, with a socialist society that can realize the promise of emancipation and equality for all ■

Simpson Acquittal...

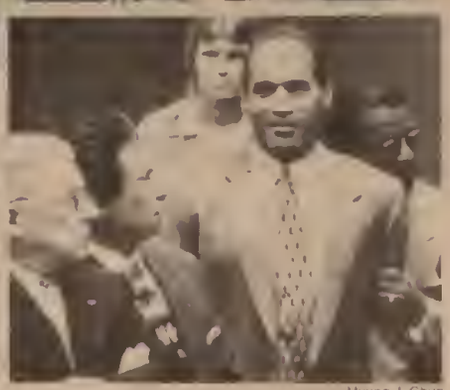
(continued from page 1)

whites said the jurors made the right decision. Yet a steady stream of racist vitriol was directed at Simpson's black lead attorney, Johnnie Cochran, at the majority black jury, at every black person across the country who saw in the verdict a brief glimpse of justice.

Simpson's acquittal was met with a bloodthirsty outcry. Reeking with racist arrogance, yuppie lead prosecutor Marcia Clark declared: "Liberals don't want to admit it, but a majority black jury won't convict in a case like this." *Los Angeles Times* columnist Al Martinez scurrilously ranted, "The Johnnie Cochran Troupe did everything but tap-dance and tumble before a jury that wouldn't know DNA from the PTA." With incredible chutzpah, high-flying white executives and suburbanites moaned that Simpson beat the rap only because of his wealth! We didn't hear these screams of outrage when white multimillionaire Claus von Bülow got off on appeal on the charge of attempted murder of his wife.

It's striking that in the forefront of the uproar were feminists and liberals, who presumed Simpson guilty from the start. The National Organization for Women (NOW) in L.A. organized screaming protests against the acquittal. On the Op-Ed pages of the *New York Times*, liberal feminist Maureen Dowd fumed about Simpson going free: "Hide your wives and daughters." Black columnist Bob Herbert lashed out at the "degrading spectacle" of black people "furiously celebrating the Simpson verdict," maligning it as "a collective dance on the graves of two innocent people." Anthony Lewis pointed to the prosecution's "conclusive" evidence and dismissed defense claims that the cops framed Simpson, asking incredibly: "What motive would they have to do that?" What motive?! What world does Lewis live in?

Fisher/Quad City Times



Myung J. Chun

Racial polarization in response to Simpson acquittal: as black students in Illinois college cheered, many whites expressed shock.

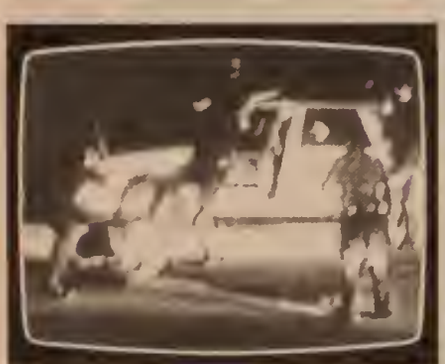
O.J. got the same frame-up treatment meted out daily in the ghettos. But the fundamental divide in this deeply racist society, as in every capitalist country, is not race but class. With his millions, O.J. Simpson was able to buy himself an ace team of lawyers. The sentiment of one Seattle man was repeated nationwide: "If it had been me or anybody else, or any other black man," he said, "without the money and without the fame, he'd be in jail or on death row or dead already."

Former Black Panther Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) has been in a California prison for 25 years, framed up for a crime the government knows he did not commit. And Mumia Abu-Jamal remains on death row in Pennsylvania, innocent of any "crime" but his eloquent and outspoken defense of the oppressed. As Jamal wrote in a column on the Simpson verdict titled "The Power of Money":

> "If O.J. Simpson were a poor man of no influence, with the exact same errors in his case, he would still be on death row, for without money for good investigators, good jury specialists and good lawyers, who would know that such errors ever existed."

To free political prisoners such as Geronimo and Mumia, and the countless nameless, faceless black men and women who are daily entrapped by lying prosecutors or shot dead by racist cops will take a powerful movement of social struggle that strikes at the core of this criminal system, the capitalist state apparatus.

The passivity of the labor movement, enforced by misleaders whose fundamental loyalties are to the capitalist system, has created such despair in the face of an onslaught of racist reaction that Simpson's acquittal was seen by many as a rare sign of hope on the horizon. Nonetheless, it is to mobilizing the potentially decisive power of the working class that opponents of racist oppression must look. The 1992 plebeian upheaval in L.A. after Rodney King's racist cop tormentors walked and the recent picket-line battles in the Midwest point to the basic Marxist understanding that the workings of the profit system itself will provoke social struggle. What is needed is a multiracial revolutionary workers party to fuse the anger of the black ghetto masses with the militancy and social power of white West Virginia miners and the integrated urban working class in a struggle that sweeps away the entire machinery of capitalist exploitation and oppression.



George Holliday Video

Black Star

Fascist L.A. cop Mark Fuhrman's genocidal ranting was "missing soundtrack" for videotape of vicious LAPD beating of Rodney King.

Around the country, cops and fascists took the racist backlash to the streets. In a black neighborhood of South Philadelphia, as a police cruiser slowly drove past blacks holding signs reading "Not Guilty," the cop inside ominously gave the finger to the crowd. Black San Francisco mayoral candidate Willie Brown reported getting dozens of hate calls. L.A.'s black weekly, the *Sentinel*, received at least a dozen threats to burn down their building or of a drive-by shooting. Within 15 minutes of the verdict, Harlem's *Amsterdam News* was warned, "There's going to be a whole lot of dead n-----s." This threat was punctuated in Boston by the burning of a cross and in southern Pennsylvania hooded Klansmen paraded in the streets.

That O.J. Simpson, a multimillionaire celebrity and Reagan/Bush conservative whose ambition was to be a Republican Senator, would become a symbol for the downtrodden and dispossessed in itself speaks volumes about the depth of racial oppression in the U.S. Even a black superstar who "made it" according to the rules of (white) American capitalism, once he was in the clutches of "the law," was treated like a nigger.

The Capitalist State—Frame-Up, Inc.

The central strand in the prosecution's case was the "testilying" of fascist cop Mark Fuhrman. Months earlier, this swastika-wearing racist pig had boasted, "If I go down, they lose the case." Then came the bombshell exposé of Fuhrman's genocidal rantings on 12 hours of audiotape. Judge Ito allowed the jury to hear only the tiniest portion of Fuhrman's repeated slurs of blacks, Hispanics and Jews, and not one mention of 18 incidents he nauseatingly described of L.A. cops beating suspects, coercing testimony, lying, destroying and manufacturing evidence. But the evidence they were allowed to hear and see was more than enough to convince the jury that the prosecution's star witness was a lying bigot who regularly plants evidence against interracial couples.

The "mountain of evidence" claimed by the prosecution was almost all highly suspicious and tainted: the still-moist bloody glove "discovered" by Fuhrman six hours after the murder; the socks "found" on a carpet that a police videotape taken minutes earlier showed to be bare; the failure to discover blood on the socks and Simpson's back gate until weeks later. And "incompetence" alone could not explain why the chief detective transported a vial of Simpson's blood from police headquarters 20 miles to Simpson's house.

Then there is Fuhrman himself. The capitalist media sanctimoniously denounced "rogue cops," but anyone who ever had a run-in with the LAPD recognized it as business as usual. In fact, Fuhrman was so typical that he didn't even make it onto the 1991 Christopher Commission's list of the LAPD's 44 worst cops. The prosecution *knew* that he had a record as a sadistic racist going back at least to the late '70s. When a fellow cop married a Jewish woman, Fuhrman painted a swastika on his locker. Yet this fascist cop was one of the first four detectives to arrive at Simpson's house following the murder.

To believe the prosecution's alibi for introducing illegally obtained evidence, the cops landed on Simpson's doorstep not because he was their prime suspect—though his mug shot was featured in a California cop training film on domestic violence—but because they wanted to break the news of his ex-wife's death to him gently and help care for his children! Then Fuhrman jumped over the fence to scour Simpson's estate—without a search warrant. Writer Joe Domanick, author of a book on the LAPD, remarked: "Mark Fuhrman went over the wall at O.J. Simpson's house simply because that's what he always did."

Indeed, it was a striking expression of the arrogant bonapartism of the police and prosecutors, who chafe at the most minimal constraints, that they treated this case as though they were dealing with an anonymous ghetto youth saddled with an apathetic and underpaid public defender. The seemingly endless list of slipshod omissions, constitutional violations and outright lies in the Simpson investigation make sense only if it is understood that the cops and prosecution do not depend on getting evidence to secure a conviction.

The American "justice" system is *predicated on frame-up*—of the guilty as well as the innocent—whether out of vindictiveness or sheer laziness. The cops' word is usually all it takes, occasionally augmented by some "scientific" evidence churned out in a police crime lab. Most of the time, it works. One homicide cop inadvertently made that clear when he complained, "There are people doing life without parole who have been convicted with one-tenth of the evidence that they had in the Simpson case." But Simpson's "dream team" of high-priced lawyers, experts and investigators—though arrayed against a massive prosecution effort backed by the full power of the state and well over a million dollars in corporate "pro bono" funding—had the resources to unravel the lies and discredit the DNA tests. William O'Dell Harris, a black man from West Virginia, did not: he spent seven years behind bars before it came out that the DNA evidence used to convict him had been fabricated by a police chemist.

What was on trial in the Simpson case was the LAPD and, by extension, every police department in the country. The cops—black as well as white—act as an occupying army in the ghettos and adopt a corresponding mentality of racist contempt against all black people. Liberals leapt to denounce the Simpson verdict because, no less than the conservative right, they are committed to upholding the sanctity of the capitalist state. If anything, in recent years liberals have placed themselves in the vanguard of the drive for "law and order" with their push for ever more stringent gun control, seeking to ensure the state's monopoly over armed force. They bemoan the "excesses" of "rogue cops" and decry racism in the police force as an "aberration" because they seek to strengthen the authority of this institution of racist class domination. As we wrote in "The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal" (*WV* No. 625, 30 June):

> "This sinister web of spying, intimidation and frame-up is not an aberration which can be cleansed from the system, as liberals would have it. Rather it goes to the very core of the capitalist state which, with its cops and courts, its prosecutors and executioners, is an instrument for the repression of the working class and the oppressed. This is part of the Marxist understanding of the capitalist state, and as Marxists we understand that it will take nothing less than a workers revolution to sweep away this machinery of state terror whose purpose is to keep profits and interest payments flowing into the coffers of Wall Street."

Police State, U.S.A.

Not for the first time, the effective exercise of a democratic right—trial by a jury of one's peers—is leading to calls for its elimination. California governor Pete Wilson is pushing for a ballot initiative to allow for convictions by non-unanimous juries. Other measures call for further eroding defendants' right to refuse to testify, limiting the use of expert witnesses, restricting TV coverage of trials and allowing for the wholesale introduction of illegally obtained

evidence. Many of these measures represent a frontal assault on the Bill of Rights, the Fourth Amendment's ban on unreasonable search and seizure (already vitiated by numerous Supreme Court decisions), the Fifth Amendment's guarantee against self-incrimination, the Sixth Amendment's promise of the right to counsel and a public trial.

Viewed in combination with the current onslaught on the rights of immigrants—including naturalized citizens—and the massive intrusion of Christian Coalition religious bigotry into politics, this assault on constitutional rights reflects a reactionary yearning to return the Constitution to the exclusive benefit of those it initially was intended to cover: property-owning men who were of course English-speaking, Protestant and surely "white." Over the ensuing two centuries, including a revolutionary civil war, the definition of "citizen" came to include many—though by no means all—of those people resident in the United States.

The achievement of substantial legal equality for black people, beginning after World War II, was also heavily motivated by U.S. imperialism's felt need to look good internationally—not least in its competition with the Soviet Union in the Third World. However, even as citizenship rights were extended to broader sectors of the population, these rights—notably the Second Amendment right to bear arms—were simultaneously attenuated. Now, some significant elements of white racist reaction, exemplified by the nativist groups who designate black people as "Fourteenth Amendment citizens," are placing a large question mark over the very extension of citizenship to freed black slaves. We call for full citizenship rights for everyone who lives here.

The capitalist rulers have implemented a barrage of new legislation aimed at bolstering their powers of repression, while dusting off old legislation. The recent conviction in the NYC "terrorism" trial of blind Egyptian cleric Omar Abdel Rahman and nine other Islamic fundamentalists on charges of "seditious conspiracy" is an ominous precedent for widespread police-state frame-ups. The ten were not even charged with carrying out a crime, but simply with a "conspiracy of intent." Sedition laws have historically been used to go after leftists and labor activists, from the 1919-20 Palmer raids which rounded up thousands of foreign-born leftists in the aftermath of the 1917 Russian Revolution to the World War II prosecution of 18 Trotskyist leaders. Most recently, the feds attempted to use sedition laws in a failed 1989 case against three members of the Ohio 7, New Left radicals who were already serving time on another frame-up conviction.

With bipartisan support, the capitalist rulers are trying to turn the United States into a "democratic" police state. The occupation of the ghettos proceeds apace with the militarization of the Mexican border. As Johnnie Cochran aptly put it, "The vision of America has become barbed wire from sea to shining sea." The latest report from the U.S. Sentencing Project shows that fully *one third* of all black men in their twenties are now either in prison or on parole or probation—up from 23 percent six years ago—largely as a result of the "war on drugs." Meanwhile, some *three million* kids and their mothers are about to be deprived of even the most minimal means of existence, as Clinton/Gingrich/Dole abolish welfare. This is the pathology of capitalism in its death agony.

Behind the current escalation of police-state terror is the drastic decline in the living standards of wide layers of the population. The discontents wracking America stem from the decline of U.S. capitalism as an area of production in the world market, signaled by the August 1971 fall from the gold standard at the height of the losing, imperialist war in Vietnam. Even as wide swathes of American industry and millions of unionized manufacturing jobs have been devastated, the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union has led those who own the equity and debt of America to fantasize about an infinite vista of pure profit and unhammered exploitation. This is the banner of the Gingrich/Dole Congress (with Clinton limping along behind it), pushing a fantastical scheme of a utopian capitalism which can somehow pay for a huge military machine and rid itself of an enormous debt while slashing taxes for the rich, all simply by demolishing social welfare for the poor.

Meanwhile there is growing despair not only in the black ghettos but in the Idaho hillsides and in the Midwest Rust Belt. The expressions of this despair are, however, sharply differentiated along race lines. In the ghettos, and even more so among the black middle class, there is an openness to pseudo-nationalist demagogues like Louis Farrakhan. Among whites who now feel cut out of the "American dream," there's a tendency to look to rightist answers, including eccentricities, blaming current social and economic ills on, e.g., immigrants, the "ZOG" (Zionist Occupation Government), satanism and single black welfare mothers. In the absence of sharp class struggle leading to a decisive fight for political power by the working class, this is a recipe not only for increased racial polarization but ultimately for one-sided genocidal race war.

Yet this widespread disaffection also creates an immediate problem for the ruling class. If there is one thing on which various sectors of the population agree, it is that the government can't be trusted. Clinton's draconian "counter-terrorism" bill has run aground on distrust over the feds' murderous assaults at Waco and Ruby Ridge. And, even before the Simpson acquittal, cops and prosecutors were complaining that it is getting increasingly difficult to get largely black and Hispanic juries in the inner cities to convict. The Bronx, for example, has an acquittal rate of over 47 percent for black defendants in felony cases. An editorial in the *Wall Street Journal* (4 October), titled "The Jury's Right," wrote that "we would be fools not to see that the Simpson jury is trying to tell this country something important." The verdict, said this mouthpiece for finance capital, sent "a large message" about the criminal justice system: "They don't trust it. Neither do a lot of other people."

Reflecting similar concerns within the bourgeoisie, William J. McDonough, head of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, recently warned "We are forced to face the question of whether we will be able to go forward together as a unified society with a confident outlook or as a society of diverse economic groups suspicious of both the future and each other" (*New Yorker*, 16 October). Yet even more far-sighted capitalist spokesmen have no answers, because at bottom this is an irrational system predicated on anarchic market forces which lead to the destruction of productive capacity and of ever wider layers of the working population. And that necessarily means increased police repression.

For a Leninist Party, Tribune of the People!

The Simpson trial provided a graphic illustration of the suicidal character of ethnic and sectoralist politics in racist, capitalist America. Ronald Goldman's father—whose lawyer was earlier Fuhrman's spokesman!—violently denounced Cochran for comparing Fuhrman with Hitler in his summation speech. Cochran's statement was eminently true. Referring to Fuhrman's genocidal call to "place all the n-----s on a pile and burn them," Cochran warned "There was another man not too long ago in the world who had those same views. . . This man, this scourge, became one of the worst people in the history of this world, Adolf Hitler, because people didn't care or didn't try to stop him." It takes the mindset of a bigoted Zionist to see this as black anti-Semitism or any kind of trivialization of the Holocaust. If the Fuhrmans of this country were to take power, Jews would be in peril as well as blacks.

More pronounced has been the feminist outcry over the Simpson acquittal. Tammy Bruce, the rabid leader of the L.A. chapter of NOW, barely tried to restrain her bloodlust for a Simpson lynching party. Simpson was a reprehensible wife-beater, but that doesn't prove that he was a murderer, as the feminists and the prosecution would have it. Sexual relations between black men and white women are an explosive issue in this profoundly racist society. It is enough to recall the Scottsboro case of nine young blacks in the 1930s who were nearly lynched on the false charge of raping two white women. Countless black men in the Jim Crow South *were* lynched for nothing more than "reckless eyeballing" of white women. That's what happened to 14-year-old Emmett Till in Mississippi 40 years ago, and nobody was tried for *his* murder.

The Simpson case provided an excruciating contradiction for opportunists whose politics are based on tailing after various petty-bourgeois forces, from feminists to black nationalists. Sam Marcy's Workers World Party decided that after the Fuhrman tapes, "racism eclipsed the other critical social issue in the spotlight—domestic violence" (*Workers World*, October 12). And if Fuhrman's genocidal rantings had not been revealed, would that have swung the balance the other way?

One group which had no contradictions is the Workers League (WL) of David North. In the last couple of years, this dubious outfit has written off the trade unions as any sort of working-class organizations and denounced the right to self-determination for oppressed nations. Now, the WL has become the "left wing" of outright racist reaction. In a commentary co-authored by WL supremo North, these racist pro-cop "socialists" sounded like a press release from the prosecution: "A very wealthy man was able to manipulate the legal system and, as in this case, literally get away with murder." North admits the cops, dismissing "claims of frame-up" which "confuse routine sloppiness, lies and arrogance with a genuine conspiracy to manufacture a case." Since Simpson was not a leftist or a worker, they claim, he could not have been the victim of a police and government frame-up. And what of racism? Not an issue for North, who explicitly equates "white racism and black nationalism" as "mutually complementary."

This is far from the first time that the WL has acted as bloodhounds for the cops. When SWP militant Mark Curtis was framed up on bogus rape charges by Des Moines, Iowa cops and prosecutors in 1988, the Northites scripted the summation for the prosecution, which in many cases was virtually identical with the WL statement. And in 1992, the Workers League acted as spokesmen for a white racist backlash against the presence of a school named after Malcolm X in the predominantly white Warrendale area of Detroit. As school doors were defaced with swastikas by avowed opponents of integration, the WL blithely claimed, "the issue in Warrendale is not race." And in the Simpson trial, North & Co. declare that "Racism...is only a secondary and incidental basis of the oppressive role of the police."

For years, the Northites have presented a "colorblind" version of "socialism" that dates back to the American social democracy before the impact of the Russian Revolution was felt. In the early part of this century, Socialist Party leader Eugene V. Debs once declared, "We have nothing special to offer the Negro." But North has more in common with Debs' social-chauvinist opponent, Milwaukee "sewer socialist" Victor Berger, who was an open racist.

Marxists have a different, and counterposed, tradition. A defining political struggle in the early socialist movement was over the case of Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish officer in the French general staff who was framed up in an anti-Semitic witchhunt. Dreyfus was no leftist or worker any more than O.J. Simpson is, but rather a conservative militarist and supporter of French imperialism. Nonetheless, genuine socialists did not wait for Dreyfus's tormentors to admit they were carrying out a frame-up—which the French army high command finally did only a month ago, *100 years* after the fact—but rallied to his defense as part of the fight against anti-Semitism and all aspects of political reaction.

WV Photo

Labor must be mobilized to fight police terror: union contingent in Philadelphia demonstration on August 12 for death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Russian Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin had in mind the Dreyfus case and similar instances of chauvinist persecution in writing that the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat must be a *tribune of the people*, fighting against every manifestation of oppression and anti-democratic discrimination. Following Lenin's example, the Spartacist League calls for a revolutionary workers party which champions the cause of all the oppressed. The Simpson case confirmed yet again that, despite the changed demographics of American society with the influx of Hispanic and Asian immigrants in recent years, black oppression remains, as it has always been, the cornerstone of reaction in the U.S. We fight for *black liberation through socialist revolution*.

Large numbers of black people understand that the whole system of police frame-up and judicial persecution is loaded against them. But this racist "*in*justice" system will not be defeated in the courtroom with high-priced lawyers. In recent years, the SL and the Partisan Defense Committee played a key role in organizing the fight to free death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. We seek in particular to mobilize the social power of labor to free Mumia from the clutches of his would-be executioners and abolish the racist death penalty. For the one third of young black men in the clutches of the cops and courts, for the millions of welfare mothers and children facing starvation, for the working class as a whole, the program of revolutionary class struggle to sweep away the capitalist oppressors is the only road to liberation. ■

Filipina Maid...

(continued from page 3)

troops after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990."

Indeed, the imperialist "Desert Slaughter" of Iraq was not about morality but about control of oil and U.S. imperialist domination. But while denouncing the Arab oil sheikdoms for their cruel and inhumane treatment of foreign workers and wondering what the Gulf War was all about, the *Independent* "forgets" to mention the plight of domestic servants in Britain—enslaved not only by sheiks who have moved there, but also by expatriates who have returned and brought their servants with them—documented in Bridget Anderson's book, *Britain's Secret Slaves*, published by Anti-Slavery International.

And in the U.S., a whole industry of garment sweatshops is based on Asian and Latina women workers, often working in literal slavery. In the article "USA: Immigrant Women Workers Expose Racist Abuse" (*Women and Revolution* No. 42, Spring/Summer 1993), we wrote of the conditions of Latina maids. Now immigrants, both legal and "illegal," are the targets of a racist backlash symbolized by California's Proposition 187.

In Japan, we well remember Marieris Stoson and the 32 other Filipinas whose deaths in 1991, while working as "hostesses," were covered up as the Philippine embassy in Tokyo refused to seriously investigate. Stoson was 21 when her bruised, battered and stabbed body was returned to her home in Manila. One young woman was thrown out of a window, another was drowned in a bathtub. These women were enticed from their impoverished homeland, forced into prostitution or imprisoned in factory dormitories and subjected to all kinds of abuses. Their male counterparts scrimp to make a living as dock workers at the port of Yokohama or as day laborers throughout the country. Working in some of the dirtiest, hardest jobs, they are subjected to non-payment of wages when they can find work, and suffer systematic abuse of their health.

In a leaflet calling for defense of the rights of foreign workers distributed on May Day 1993, the Spartacist Group Japan demanded full citizenship rights for all foreign workers and for foreign workers to be integrated into the same unions as their Japanese brothers and sisters.

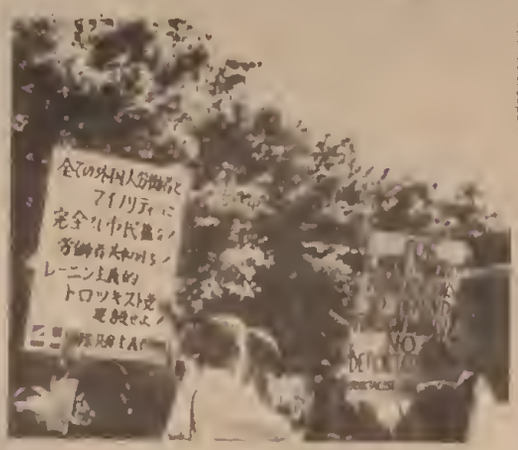
"The Sun Never Sets on a Filipino Worker"

Similar to the furor unleashed following the execution of Flor Contemplacion, the case of Sarah Balabagan has unleashed a cry of outrage in the Philippines, where 2,000 people a day leave to work overseas. Contemplacion was viewed as a hero and victim among a great majority of the Filipino working class; at least three movies were produced about her life, drawing many thousands who could identify with her fate.

While the Ramos government hypocritically mouths words of condemnation of Balabagan's sentence, it is careful not to push too far. As one government official put it, "We intend to keep our relations with the U.A.E. It is one of the friendliest countries to the Philippines" (*Asiaweek*, 29 September). It is also a top market for imported Philippine products. Meanwhile, Ramos hands down death sentences at home and whips up nationalism in the form of praising the stranglehold of Catholicism on the Philippines while denouncing the "fanaticism" of Islam. This past summer a task force of 3,000 police and presidential guards backed by armored cars descended on the Muslim quarters of Manila in a pre-dawn raid, arresting 300 suspected "gang members," an obvious attempt to intimidate the Muslim insurgency movement in the south.

After overthrowing the dictatorship of the hated Ferdinand Marcos, General Fidel Ramos poses as a democrat and defender of OCWs. But whether under Marcos or Ramos, as the obedient servant of U.S. imperialism and executor of the dictates of the International Monetary Fund, the Philippine government has kept the majority of the population at or below starvation level so that they must leave the country to earn a living. A spiraling escalation in the price of rice and other commodities and a threatened increase in oil prices, combined with Ramos' repeated calls for emergency powers and attempts to implement police-state measures (such as detention without trial and a national identification system) have brought large numbers of protesters into the streets.

Since the 18th century when the first migrant workers left the islands to labor as orange pickers in Hawaii, their numbers have swelled to more than 5 million and their destinations have expanded around the globe. The Marcos regime sped up this human export industry in the mid-1970s when he urged Filipinos to go abroad to earn hard currency and reduce unemployment. Today, the Philippines is the world's largest labor exporter, embracing some 10 percent of the population, who remit the country's biggest source of foreign currency—an estimated $3-6 billion annually. Most of the OCWs are women who are employed mainly as domestics at the lower end of the pay scale.



Spartacist Japan

Spartacist Group Japan demands "Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign Workers!" at rally against police roundup of Iranian immigrants in Tokyo in 1993.

Demonstrations in defense of Filipina maids have included contingents from trade unions. But even in the case of the left-led KMU labor federation, under the cover of socialist rhetoric, their real politics are nationalist reformism, putting pressure on the bourgeois ruler of the day. Ultimately, the fate of the thousands of other Sarahs, Flors and Leonardas, and of the increasing millions of foreign workers throughout the world, depends on the forging of a revolutionary internationalist vanguard party of the proletariat. Equality of women and elimination of poverty are tasks that cannot be solved short of socialist revolution on an international scale.

The outcry over the threatened execution of Sarah Balabagan must not fall silent. Only when those who labor rule will the sheiks and their executioners, holdovers of medieval backwardness, as well as their powerful imperialist patrons who have repeatedly engulfed the world in the flames of modern warfare, be swept from the stage of history. ■

Boston...

(continued from page 4)

At the height of the racist tide against busing, the liberals conspicuously turned their backs on integration in education, beginning with the 1974 Supreme Court decision *Milliken v. Bradley* which exempted Detroit's richer and whiter suburbs from desegregation. In Boston, successive relaxing of guidelines along with massive white flight to parochial schools and the suburbs made desegregation efforts all but a dead letter. The rump of the busing program now shuttles minority students from one side of town to another, but integrates nothing. Even this pathetic pretension is under attack as Kelly promises to press forward his agenda of openly segregated "neighborhood schools."

The assaults on affirmative action and busing in Boston are but one still frame from the horror movie playing nationwide. The *New York Times* speculates that as many as 1,000 pending court suits are seeking to throw out already attenuated school busing orders. Desegregation programs have already been eliminated in Norfolk, Virginia and Oklahoma City. Recently a federal judge in Denver not only reversed a 21-year-old program for school desegregation, but upheld an amendment to the Colorado Constitution prohibiting any school busing to achieve racial balance. In the case of *Missouri v. Jenkins*, the U.S. Supreme Court invalidated a desegregation order imposed on the Kansas City school system with Clarence Thomas delivering a consenting opinion.

The capitalist class puts only as much money into education as it thinks it can get back from an exploitable workforce. The vicious and gratuitously racist cutbacks in education, like the genocidal cutbacks in welfare and health care, are coldly calculated to reduce the cost of one of capitalism's most important commodities, labor power, the cost of a new generation of wage slaves. With virtually no jobs available, the bourgeoisie sees no reason to spend a cent for black people, and reverts to its historically normative animus against the very prospect of black equality. As we said in a leaflet protesting the University of California's knifing of affirmative action in admissions, "Having eliminated millions of manufacturing jobs, effected genocidal cuts in welfare and gutted the public health care system, the ruling class now wants to declare that they never have to hire a black person again" (or provide him or her with anything approaching an education).

Even before the takeover of the federal judiciary by nutty ultraright Reaganite conservatives and the rise of racist Clinton/Gingrich reaction, the American bourgeoisie, a class in decay, had proven itself manifestly incapable of fulfilling as basic a democratic right as equal access to a decent education. The fight for quality integrated schooling as part and parcel of the struggle to desegregate every aspect of social life in this country will take nothing less than a socialist revolution. For this monumental task we need a revolutionary workers party that can lead the integrated working class to burn the racism out of American society. ■

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L.A. Cuts...

(continued from page 12)

country club set, but stiffed largely minority L.A. County.

Buried in the voluminous media coverage of the crisis is the fact that the county's contract with Local 660 expired on September 30. Instead of hanging the health care workers out to dry, what's called for is a strike by all L.A. County workers to spike the threatened layoffs. Such an action would have a broad appeal to all public employees who face the government's austerity ax and to the millions who depend upon public health care. County workers understand that without a job, they will face the same impossible situation that public hospital patients do today.

Many of the rank and file who have turned out in the thousands for protests over the past few months don't buy the roll-over-and-play-dead approach of the union leadership. When Local 660 general manager Gilbert Cedillo tried to tout his "partnership" idea to a demonstration of 500, he was drowned out by chants of "no privatizations." SEIU 660, with its highly integrated membership, was one of the most prominent unions in last year's campaign against Prop. 187. Then as now, the union leadership funneled the just outrage against this racist measure into the Democratic Party, using the demonstrations to solicit volunteers to get out the vote for Kathleen Brown, who was calling to militarize the border.

The health care crisis has sharply highlighted the union leaders' slavish loyalty to the Democratic Party. SEIU International chief John Sweeney, who is running for AFL-CIO president, has intervened in L.A. seeking to demonstrate his claim to represent "new blood" to revive the federation. Sweeny, who is a member of the Democratic National Committee, wangled a private meeting with Clinton, who coughed up some federal funds, resulting in the "victory" of 2,800 layoffs! And while the Local 660 leadership concentrates its fire on Republican governor Wilson, whose presidential primary bid based on anti-immigrant racism just bombed out, it is in fact the Democratic majority on the County Board of Supervisors which is implementing these deadly cuts.

When pink slips were issued for the originally slated layoffs on September 15, the County Sheriff's Department provocatively announced a "tactical alert" showing that the state intends to enforce its austerity program with its racist thugs in blue. L.A. rulers remember only too well the massive outpouring of rage at the 1992 acquittal of the cops who nearly beat Rodney King to death. In a city which has a gap between rich and poor that ranks third behind Calcutta and Rio de Janeiro (*Nation*, 19 September), the ruling class relies on racist cop terror from the likes of Mark Fuhrman and his cohorts to contain any manifestation of social protest. While L.A. mayor Riordan moans about "belt tightening," he still managed to hire 600 more cops in the past year!

To wage a real fight against these racist genocidal plans requires a political struggle to oust the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy and break with the Democrats. What's desperately needed is to build a class-struggle leadership in the unions and a revolutionary workers party that will unite the oppressed behind the social power of the working class to sweep away the decaying capitalist system which is visibly destroying health care as it intensifies state repression. ■

Boeing...

(continued from page 12)

the workforce from 166,000 in 1989 to 105,000 today—slashing more than 15,000 machinist jobs in Washington state alone. Workers "have watched their colleagues vanish as work previously done in Renton or Everett has been moved to Mexico, Poland, China, or Alabama," according to the *Seattle Times* (8 October). The company now wants over half of its airline production work done by outside contractors. The *Asian Wall Street Journal* (16 October) reported Boeing plans to produce as many as 1,500 tail assemblies in China.

Boeing workers were especially infuriated by company pleas that "our customers—airlines and governments alike—tell us our products simply cost too much," as Shrontz and Boeing president Phil Condit whined in a pre-strike letter to employees. Shrontz pulls down a cool $1,500,000 and Condit over $800,000 each year in salary, not counting the millions in bonuses its top executives "earned" when Boeing's stock soared last year. But while the bosses play hardball, IAM International president George Kourpias "tours" the picket lines boasting of meeting with Clinton to beg for "national policies to respond to international competition in ways that strengthen domestic production."

Boeing is counting on the IAM bureaucrats to divert the power of the striking membership into the trap of protectionism. With their blanket theme of "American work for American workers," the IAM misleaders are channeling workers' anger against "cheap foreign labor" instead of against the greedy bosses. At an October 11 rally outside Boeing's Seattle headquarters, strikers carried signs with flag-waving appeals, such as "Boeing—Stay in the U.S.A." and "Export Planes—Not Our Jobs."

One striker who has worked at Boeing since 1966 told the *New York Times* (14 October), "Our biggest competitors are not McDonnell Douglas and the Airbus consortium of Europe. It's workers in Mexico and Poland." With 70 percent of its sales made overseas, Boeing is the nation's largest exporter and increasingly uses foreign labor to drive down the cost of production and increase profits. But protectionism only protects the bosses' profits, scapegoating foreign workers for the destruction of jobs at home and whipping up anti-foreigner racism. The union tops are especially targeting workers in Japan, where the entire fuselage and other major components of the new 777 are made.

There is no doubt that the strikers are determined to beat back the arrogant aerospace giant's union-busting attack. But doing so requires unleashing the IAM's considerable power, which alongside other unions can shut down production at Boeing and choke off its profits. The strikers need a fighting alliance of Boeing workers in the U.S., Japan and everywhere else that jet parts are being produced—international workers solidarity, not the bleating of chauvinist union tops. The IAM bureaucrats are running this strike like a script from Clinton's Japan-bashing White House, and that's the same protectionist class collaboration the UAW tops have pushed while giving up hundreds of thousands of auto workers' jobs since the 1970s. Last year alone, Boeing dropped the ax on some 12,000 workers.

The last Boeing strike in 1989 was ground down after 48 days by the IAM tops, who let supervisors finish the planes and ship them out. Now once again they are content to let scabs go through the picket lines while appealing to the NLRB, the capitalist government's anti-labor board. To win this strike it's necessary to mobilize the massive power of Boeing's workers to shut down the flow of profits. Bring out the more than 20,000 members of the Seattle Professional Engineering Employees Association, whose leaders tell their members to cross the picket lines. Their contract expires in December, but engineers better understand that their fate will be sealed with the outcome of this strike. Teamsters should refuse to touch anything to do with Boeing, incoming or outgoing. Boeing has billions tied up in high-tech production facilities and 777 jumbo jets in production; put them in union hands by *occupying the plants*, backed up by mass picket lines.

Workers must sweep out the current gang of union bureaucrats who are dyed-in-the-wool defenders of the profit system. Today, every worker in the country says the union-busting assaults began with the defeat of the PATCO air traffic controllers in 1981, but Machinists then-president William Winpisinger ushered in this avalanche of defeats by refusing to call out the IAM airline mechanics locals who had the power to *shut down the airports* and defeat the anti-labor offensive. A leading light of the Democratic (Party) Socialists of America (DSA), Wimpisinger once said, "We've stuck by the Democratic Party through thick and thin, whether the candidate was a dog, a dead horse, or a winner."

Today, IAM chief Kourpias continues to tie the fate of the union to the Democrats. As with the rest of the sellouts running the AFL-CIO, this has spelled defeat. As we wrote at the end of the strike in 1989 (*Workers Vanguard* No. 491, 8 December 1989): "From PATCO to Eastern to Boeing, it's the workers who pay the price for the class collaboration of these labor lieutenants of capital. Break with the Democrats! We need a workers party to fight for a workers government!" ■

Lynch Law...

(continued from page 5)

Capitalist America is Philly writ large for black people. There can't be any real civilian "review" of the police because they are the armed fist of state repression: they have the guns, and the courts, and the jails. Hiring minority cops, appointing "independent" commissions to investigate, establishing powerless review boards to review, electing liberal Democrats and black mayors won't change this fundamental fact.

Today's pious media hand wringing seeks to pin blame on a few "rotten apples" for the most hideous abuses. But while liberals tout civilian review boards as a means to rein in "rogue cops," as Marxists we know that the Mark Fuhrmans are no aberration in a society founded on exploitation and impoverishment of the working masses by the ruling class. Liberal calls to reform the police are dangerous illusions meant to keep the lid on their victims' righteous anger.

To avenge the deaths of Anthony Rosario, Hilton Vega, Joseph Gould, William Hankston—and so many hundreds of others—and win justice for all the victims of police terror will take a workers revolution to dismantle capitalism's machinery of repression. Then we can set about building a classless society eliminating all forms of social oppression and establishing genuine equality, and racist police terror will be consigned to the history books. ■

Join the Campaign to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

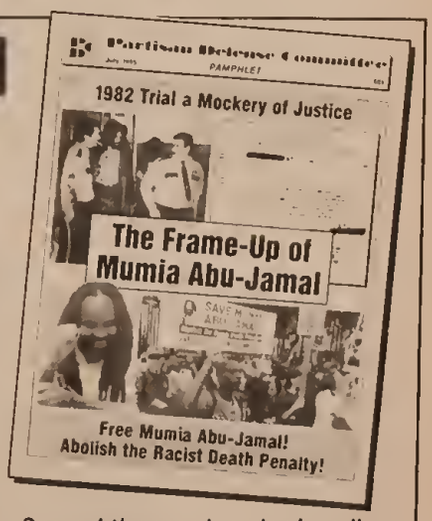
As expected, the "prosecutor in robes," Judge Albert Sabo, ruled on September 15 against death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal's petition challenging his 1982 conviction and death sentence. Sabo's decision flagrantly disregarded the massive evidence presented of a police and prosecution frame-up. Mumia, a former Black Panther, courageous journalist and supporter of the Philadelphia MOVE group, is now closer to a legal lynching. A notice of appeal to the Pennsylvania State Supreme Court was filed on October 10. As the legal battle goes forward, we must redouble our efforts to fight for Jamal's freedom. As Mumia himself said after winning a stay of execution on August 7, the stay was an attempt by the state "to blunt the edge off of a growing and militant anti-death penalty movement... Let us utilize this precious time to build a stronger and broader movement, to not 'stay' one execution, but to halt them all!"

1 **Organize protest!** Pass motions demanding Jamal's freedom in your unions, campus, community and church organizations. Get your union or organization to make a contribution and join rallies and protests for Jamal. Publicize Jamal's case in your union or organization's newsletter. Get on the Partisan Defense Committee phone tree to organize in your area.

2 **Spread the word!** The current issue of the PDC's *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* is devoted to the struggle to save Mumia Abu-Jamal. And the PDC pamphlet, *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, exposes in detail the prosecution's case of lies, the coercion of witnesses and the FBI's COINTELPRO terror campaign against Mumia and the Black Panther Party. Order bundles of the special campaign issue of *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* and *The Frame-Up of Mumia Abu-Jamal*, 25 copies of either publication for $10. For only $1, buy the PDC's button "Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty!" Get your local bookstore to stock Jamal's powerful *Live from Death Row*. Contact the PDC for speakers, to arrange showings of the PDC's video, *From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal*. The video can be purchased for $30 from the PDC at the address below. Contributions of $5 or more to the PDC include a year's subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*.

3 **Send protests to:** Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120. Ridge changes his phone and fax number daily to try and stay ahead of the growing movement for Jamal! As we go to press, the numbers are: phone (717) 787-2500; fax (717) 783-3369.

4 **Funds are urgently needed!** To get a new trial and overturn the death sentence could cost over a million dollars. **Make a contribution today** to the Bill of Rights Foundation (earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense") and mail it to: Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001.



Spread the word: order bundles of the PDC pamphlet!

5 **Write to Jamal to express your solidarity:** Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090.

For more information: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99 Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013 • (212) 406-4252

WORKERS VANGUARD

Fight L.A. Hospital Cuts— Deadly Attacks on Immigrants, Poor

LOS ANGELES—"Bad things are going to happen. I think people will begin to die." This was the grim diagnosis of Dr. Brian Johnston, Director of Emergency Services and Chief of Staff at White Memorial Medical Center in East L.A., as he commented on the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors' proposal to close six comprehensive health centers, 28 of 39 neighborhood clinics, slash 75 percent of outpatient services at county hospitals and lay off, demote or transfer more than 5,200 health care workers in the nation's second largest public health system.

The killer cuts were originally slated to take effect October 1. At the last minute, hoping for a political payoff in the '96 elections, President Clinton rechanneled $354 million in federal funds to the beleaguered L.A. County public health system. The closure of most facilities was temporarily suspended, but even with the federal funds, the "restructuring" continues. The Board of Supervisors has taken deadly aim at the highly organized and integrated workforce, ordering 2,800 layoffs to begin October 15. In addition, it is implementing a union-busting drive to privatize clinics that remain open, while reducing by one-quarter outpatient services at county hospitals and decreeing a 5 percent pay cut for all county workers.

These cuts will have catastrophic effects on the well-being of millions of largely black and Latino poor and working people for whom county facilities provide their only access to even minimal health care. The public clinic system handled more than two million patient visits last year, providing lifesaving medications, chemotherapy, monitoring of high-risk pregnancies, biopsies, immunizations, AIDS testing, dialysis and a host of other services. The racist rulers of this decaying capitalist system have made it clear that they increasingly see the ghettoized poor as a surplus population which they have no intention of employing, educating, housing, feeding or providing health care for.

AP

Hospital workers protest mass layoffs and deadly cuts in Los Angeles' public health system.

Their message: "Drop dead."

Servicing a huge immigrant population, the county health care system has been tops on the racist rulers' hit list since California's Proposition 187 was passed last year. This immigrant-bashing measure seeks to deny "non-emergency care" to undocumented workers and their families while requiring that health care workers notify immigration authorities of "suspected illegals." The passage of Prop. 187 triggered a 20 percent drop in patient visits to clinics serving this population and resulted in a number of senseless deaths.

The cutback crisis in Los Angeles takes place as Democrats and Republicans nationally take the knife to medical benefits, arguing over just how many billions to cut from health care. (The House Republican proposal would slash over *$450 billion* from Medicare and Medicaid over seven years!) And from New York to L.A., local officials are mounting a drive to simply eliminate public health facilities through privatization, creating a for-profit system in order to eliminate care for millions of the uninsured (2.6 million in L.A. County alone) and bust the unions of the highly organized public sector.

In the Los Angeles area, more than 200 private concerns have bid to operate the clinics. Fearing a proliferation of "medical mills" dispensing inferior health care, one prominent expert said of those bidding for contracts, "We have had some providers that, very frankly, I wouldn't allow to touch a patient" (*Los Angeles Times*, 27 September). Yet rather than opposing this union-busting privatization outright, the leadership of Service Employees International (SEIU) Local 660 is calling for a "public-private partnership" in a "restructured" health system.

For the last several months, L.A. County workers have rallied in angry protests outside meetings of the Board of Supervisors. During the summer, sickouts by 900 workers closed many offices of the Department of Social Services. In September, spontaneous sickouts by nurses at County-USC Medical Center, a primary target for downsizing or possible closure, repeatedly shut down the trauma unit and emergency room. Yet faced with the loss of thousands of jobs, the response of the Local 660 tops has been to beg for funds from Washington and Sacramento. To no one's surprise, the state came up with the funds to bail out affluent Orange County, which for years sunk its funds into stock market speculation to avoid taxing the

continued on page 11

Machinists: Don't Buy Protectionist Poison!

Victory to the Boeing Strike!

OCTOBER 16—Over 32,000 Boeing workers in the Seattle area, Portland, Oregon and Wichita, Kansas walked off the job at midnight, October 6, after voting down an insulting company "offer" demanding hefty givebacks on health insurance and the right to contract out union work. Members of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM) voted three-to-one to strike after the union's negotiating committee recommended turning down the contract. On October 3, hundreds of angry sheet metal workers, riveters, crane operators, toolmakers, electricians and others marched through Boeing's giant Everett, Washington jumbo jet plant at lunch time chanting "Strike! Strike! Strike!"

Boeing, the world's largest producer of commercial aircraft for over three decades, hopes to jack up its profit rate by gutting the strength of the IAM during a lax period of production. Boeing CEO Frank Shrontz boasted to the *Wall Street Journal* (5 October) of "pre-positioning of inventory and building ahead" to prepare for a strike. Outlining the employers' strategy, *Aviation Week* (9 October) observed: "Management personnel could finish in-process aircraft to meet urgent delivery deadlines. Other airline customers might welcome a few weeks' delay in the delivery of the costly equipment." In fact, one week into the strike Boeing delivered the first of thirty 767 freighters to United Parcel Service in Seattle.

Despite a temporary decrease in aircraft orders, enormous profits continue to roll into Boeing: $856 million in 1994 and over $1.2 billion the year before. It is mainly through "outsourcing" that Shrontz & Co. have already reduced

continued on page 11

AP

Striking Boeing workers rally on October 11 in Seattle. Occupy the plants! Down with protectionist poison!

WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 632

3 November 1995

AFL-CIO Convention: Recycling the Sellouts

WV Photo

Labor Traitors vs. Class Struggle

The top officialdom of the AFL-CIO met last week to pick a new president in the first contested presidential election in the labor federation in a century. But amid the atmosphere of a power fight, the "house of labor" they preside over is burning. The state of the unions is far worse than a crisis—it's a disaster. Workers, minorities and the poor are suffering an all-sided assault on their rights and living conditions. And the responsibility lies squarely on the shoulders of the American labor bureaucracy whose hand-picked delegates assembled under the chandeliers of the New York Sheraton.

The last two decades have seen the elimination of millions of union jobs and a huge collapse of real wages and working conditions—hitting black and immigrant workers hardest. Unions now represent 15.5 percent of the workforce (compared to 35 percent in the mid-1950s), and less than 11 percent of workers in private industry. This massive destruction of labor gains and gutting of the unions is the legacy of a labor bureaucracy which was imposed in the anti-Communist purge of the late 1940s and entrenched during the decades of the anti-Soviet Cold War. As their actions have shown, this parasitic layer doesn't defend the interests of the workers but those of the capitalist class it loyally serves.

At the Sheraton, following some frenetic last-minute horse-trading in the plush suites, a majority voted for John Sweeney, whose slate proclaimed itself a "New Voice for American Workers." His opponent, Tom Donahue, lost mainly because he was so hopelessly compromised as the second-in-command under Lane Kirkland that he couldn't even provide the illusion of change. A shake-up has been in the works since last February's AFL-CIO retreat in Bal Harbour—where strikers from labor's central Illinois "war zone" crashed the bureaucrats' party. Bemoaning their lack of clout in Washington and their declining dues base, a section of the federation's top brass got together there to plot a palace revolt. They were able to ease Kirkland into retirement in August, and now the "New Voice" bunch has taken over, with United Mine Workers (UMW) chief Richard Trumka as secretary-treasurer and AFSCME official Linda Chavez-Thompson elected to a newly created post of executive vice president.

Sweeney has promised "change," warning that the union movement was sliding into "irrelevance." But no less than his rival Donahue, he too is part of the AFL-CIO "old guard." In fact, the final vote was determined by a deal in which Donahue supporters kept almost half the seats on an expanded executive council. The styles are different: Donahue supporters on the third floor of the Sheraton were recognizable by their expensive suits, while Sweeney's troops in the basement sported red T-shirts. They have tactical differences, reflecting their bases of support: Sweeney likes to sit down on bridges, as his SEIU "Justice for Janitors" campaign has done in Washington, while Donahue—much of whose support comes from the building trades, as well as die-hard anti-Communists in the teachers and Communications Workers—talks of building bridges. But their fundamental program is the same: they act as political police of the capitalist class within the labor movement.

Harris/AP

AFL-CIO bureaucracy, including newly elected president John Sweeney (top), has a long history of sabotaging strikes. Detroit newspaper workers put up militant picket lines battling cops and strikebreakers, but union misleaders want to throw in the towel.

For Labor/Black Power!
For a Workers Party That Fights for All the Oppressed!

This is shown very concretely by the role played in recent strikes by the would-be "reformers" who promise to "rebuild labor." On September 2, as thousands of Detroit newspaper strikers and other unionists manned mass pickets at the Sterling Heights printing plant, Trumka, speaking as head of the AFL-CIO's "Strategic Approaches Committee," was droning on about "corporate campaigns" at a UAW-sponsored rally a mile away. Flags of Sweeney's "New Voice" slate were everywhere, with signs calling to cancel subscriptions to the struck *Free Press* and *Detroit News*—when what was needed was to *stop production and delivery of the scab paper*. Their backs to the wall, the strikers fought militant battles with cops and Vance Security scabherders, managing to stop delivery trucks for hours at a time. But officials of the Metropolitan Newspaper Unions Council headed by local Teamster leader Al Derey had earlier made a deal to let the scab trucks through, and eventually managed to wear down the strikers' resistance.

The union tops act as labor cops for the bosses politically as well, tying the workers to the capitalist Democratic Party. At the convention, Democratic president Clinton received a standing ovation from the entire bunch. And in his acceptance speech as AFL-CIO president, Sweeney called for an "American autumn" in 1996, to "re-elect a President and elect a Democratic Congress committed to the people who work hard and play by the rules"! The AFL-CIO bureaucrats have always *played by the bosses' rules*, leading to the present ruinous state of the unions.

Labor Lieutenants of Capital, Yesterday and Today

Sweeney's message to working people was "America needs a raise." This is the

continued on page 10

Feds, Finks and Fake Militants—Recipe for Defeat

Labor: Stop Playing by the Bosses' Rules!

See Page 12

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Journalist on Death Row Testifies in Pittsburgh

Mumia Abu-Jamal Fights Prison Harassment

Jennifer Beach

AP

FREE MUMIA ABU-JAMAL! Jamal testified in court for the first time since his 1982 frame-up conviction.

Death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal testified in his civil rights case against the Pennsylvania prison system in Pittsburgh in October, speaking in court on his own behalf for the first time since his frame-up conviction in 1982. Surrounded by seven to eight prison guards, his legs shackled at all times, Jamal's strong, calm demeanor and powerful testimony defeated all attempts by his prison captors to dehumanize him.

A black journalist and radio commentator, Jamal was sentenced to death for allegedly killing a police officer in Philadelphia in 1981. This summer, he won an indefinite stay of execution as thousands demonstrated internationally and his lawyers sought to win a new trial to prove his innocence. "Hanging judge" Albert Sabo turned down Mumia's appeal in September, and Jamal's attorneys have now filed a "notice of appeal" to the Pennsylvania state supreme court.

Jamal's lawsuit contends that the prison system has waged a furious campaign to punish and isolate him because he is fighting his death sentence, and because his powerful prison writings, centrally his book *Live from Death Row*, expose their racist system of repression. On behalf of Jamal, Pittsburgh attorneys Jere Krakoff and Tim O'Brien challenged as unconstitutional the prison administration's obstruction of Jamal's access to the courts and the media, basing the case on the First, Sixth and Fourteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution.

"What the hearing brought out," said Rachel Wolkenstein, Partisan Defense Committee staff counsel and one of Jamal's attorneys, "is that heavy political pressure was put on the governor's office by the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police and politicians like State Representative Michael McGeehan. Then the governor's legal office—the very same office from which Mumia's death warrant was issued—oversaw the prison authorities' punishment of Mumia and their interception of his correspondence and cutting him off from the broader public hearing that is a vital part of his defense."

A key operative in this campaign against Jamal, David Horwitz, Assistant Counsel for the Department of Corrections, supervised by the governor's General Counsel, admitted that he had authorized opening and copying Mumia's mail, including from his attorneys Leonard Weinglass and Rachel Wolkenstein, in August 1994. "At least two of these letters were forwarded to the governor's legal office, and who knows what other state officials up to and including the D.A. received copies," Wolkenstein said. "What they wanted to do was to lock up Mumia's ideas and kill the writer. Where Mumia is concerned, COINTELPRO never ended."

In February 1995, as news of Mumia's book came out, confidential attorney correspondence from Wolkenstein, including notes of a key legal strategy meeting among attorneys, was confiscated. Prison officials also denied Len Weinglass' paralegals access to Mumia, and banned the media from interviewing him, under the thin guise of lack of prison personnel and that Mumia was "the subject of an internal investigation."

Another "mail watch," including reading and copying Jamal's legal mail, was conducted in the period immediately following the June 1 issuance of the death warrant by Governor Tom Ridge and the filing of Mumia's petition for a new trial. Just days later, on June 9, Mumia was convicted of "misconduct" for being a journalist and for *Live from Death Row*, because, they said, it violated a prison policy forbidding "engaging in a profession." The punishment was 30 days of disciplinary confinement, eliminating all phone calls to his family and allowing only one family visit—at a time when Mumia had only two months to live!

On October 13, Jamal took the stand in U.S. Magistrate Kenneth Benson's Pittsburgh courtroom. Regarding his "misconduct" for *Live from Death Row*, Jamal testified in his strong, resonant voice, "I pled not guilty, not based on the fact that I wrote it, because it's hard to deny that. The basis of the plea was, the thrust of the misconduct [claim] was a violation of the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. To try to infract me from exercising what is said to be a constitutional right, was itself unconstitutional."

Regarding this "write-up for writing," Jamal noted he has written many works in prison. "To be perfectly honest," Mumia testified, "I began writing in the County of Philadelphia jail, while

continued on page 6

Every Class Struggle Must Become a Political Struggle

TROTSKY

LENIN

Over the past two decades the American labor movement has been gutted and workers' wages slashed. Now throughout the industrialized capitalist countries there is a general onslaught against social welfare programs, particularly targeting oppressed minorities. As unionists, blacks, Hispanics and many others face a battle for survival, it is necessary to understand that this fight cannot be limited to trade-union struggles against specific employers. As Lenin wrote almost a century ago, at the time of the birth of the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party, the day-to-day economic struggles of the workers movement must be linked through a revolutionary socialist party to the struggle against the capitalist system and the state which upholds it.

We are all agreed that our task is that of the organisation of the proletarian class struggle. But what is this class struggle? When the workers of a single factory or of a single branch of industry engage in struggle against their employer or employers, is this class struggle? No, this is only a weak embryo of it. The struggle of the workers becomes a class struggle only when all the foremost representatives of the entire working class of the whole country are conscious of themselves as a single working class and launch a struggle that is directed, not against individual employers, but against the *entire class* of capitalists and against the government that supports that class. Only when the individual worker realises that he is a member of the entire working class, only when he recognises the fact that his petty day-to-day struggle against individual employers and individual government officials is a struggle against the entire bourgeoisie and the entire government, does his struggle become a class struggle. "Every class struggle is a political struggle"—these famous words of Marx are not to be understood to mean that any struggle of workers against employers must *always be* a political struggle. They must be understood to mean that the struggle of the workers against the capitalists inevitably *becomes* a political struggle *insofar as* it becomes a *class* struggle. It is the task of the Social-Democrats, by organising the workers, by conducting propaganda and agitation among them, to *turn* their spontaneous struggle against their oppressors into the struggle of the whole class, into the struggle of a definite political *party* for definite political and socialist ideals. This is something that cannot be achieved by local activity alone....

Social-Democracy is not confined to simple service to the working-class movement; it represents "*the combination of socialism and the working-class movement*" (to use Karl Kautsky's definition which repeats the basic ideas of the *Communist Manifesto*); the task of Social-Democracy is to bring definite socialist ideals to the spontaneous working-class movement, to connect this movement with socialist convictions that should attain the level of contemporary science, to connect it with the regular political struggle for democracy as a means of achieving socialism—in a word, to fuse this spontaneous movement into one indestructible whole with the activity of the *revolutionary party*.

—V.I. Lenin, "Our Immediate Task" (second half of 1899)

WORKERS VANGUARD 474

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The closing date for news in this issue is October 31

No. 632 **3 November 1995**

Spartacist Events

BOSTON

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Saturdays, 2 p.m. Next classes, November 4: *The Revolution Betrayed and the Syphilis of Stalinism*; November 11: *Black Liberation through Socialist Revolution! Abolish the Racist Death Penalty—Free Mumia Abu-Jamal!*; Boston University, CLA (College of Liberal Arts) Room 418, 725 Commonwealth Ave.
For more information: (617) 666-9453

NEW YORK CITY

Spartacist League Forum

Wednesday, November 8, 7:00 p.m.: *Farrakhan's Million Man March—A Reactionary Dead End. No to Sexism, Nationalism! For Revolutionary Integrationism! Black Liberation through Socialist Revolution!* Borough of Manhattan Community College, Student Development Center, 199 Chambers St

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Alternate Fridays, 7 p.m. Next classes, November 3, *Women's Liberation through Socialist Revolution*; November 17, *Black and Red: Black Liberation through Socialist Revolution*; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St.)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

CHAMPAIGN/URBANA

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Alternate Thursdays, 7 p.m. Next class, November 16: *Stalinism and Counterrevolution*; University of Illinois-Champaign/Urbana, Illini Union, Room 217
For more information: (312) 663-0715

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Events

TORONTO

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m. Next class, November 13: *The State: Lessons of the Paris Commune of 1871*, International Student Centre, 33 St. George Street (north of College)
For more information: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. Next class, November 9: *The State: Lessons of the Paris Commune of 1871*, Britannia Community Centre, Room L4, 1661 Napier (off Commercial Drive)
For more information: (604) 687-0353

Snubbed by Giuliani, Fêted by Rockefeller

Fidel Castro in Harlem

It was the 50th anniversary of the United Nations, and world dignitaries galore trooped through. The media dutifully chronicled the forgettable moments of countless presidents' greetings. Most noteworthy was how the entire week was dominated by the appearance of Cuban leader Fidel Castro, for decades the bête noire of the American bourgeoisie.

Despite attempts to quarantine Castro, to the consternation of the State Department, his five-minute speech to the UN was the most applauded of all, particularly his criticism of "hegemonism" and a "new colonialism within the very United Nations." Everyone from Third World leaders to NATO "allies" (and imperialist rivals) saw it as a way to tweak the arrogant Americans.

That night, the Harlem establishment rolled out the red carpet to welcome the man Clinton, Giuliani and Gingrich love to hate. The New York mayor went on a tear, exuding racist imperialist arrogance, proclaiming any leader he didn't like *persona non grata* at all social functions associated with the UN anniversary. A black-tie dinner for Clinton at the World Financial Center was declared off-limits to Castro. At a concert at Lincoln Center, Giuliani dispatched a flunky to tap Yasir Arafat on the shoulder and tell him he'd be bounced if he didn't leave the premises!

Wall Street and the White House were none too happy with Giuliani's outrageous stunt, but the attempt to blackball Fidel Castro really backfired in Harlem. His visit recalled his first time there in 1960, when, after having been precipitously dumped out of a Midtown hotel, the young Cuban leaders decamped to the Hotel Theresa, where Harlem residents lined the streets in support. Castro was visited there by Malcolm X, and a parade of world leaders headed up to Harlem to see him, including Soviet leader Khrushchev, Ghana's Nkrumah and Egypt's Nasser.

This time, some 1,500 jammed into the Abyssinian Baptist Church to hear Castro, while 500 more were unable to get in. In addition to the invited guests, several hundred youthful black and Hispanic activists filled the upper tier of the church, punctuating Castro's speech with chants of "Viva Cuba revolucionaria!" and "Cuba sí! Bloqueo no!" The church, famous as the pulpit of Adam Clayton Powell Jr., has hosted world figures from Haile Selassie to Nelson Mandela. The current pastor, Rev. Calvin Butts, introduced Castro. Later, a statement was read to the meeting from death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, after which the crowd erupted in chants of "Free Mumia Now!" Another statement highlighting Jamal's case was read from Assata Shakur, a former Black Panther now in exile in Cuba.

Castro, who knows how to play to a crowd, went on at length about how he changed out of the business suit he wore at the UN and into his combat fatigues, just like he wore in his last visit to Harlem. Ridiculing Giuliani for his snub, Castro revealed that he had been invited to dinner that night by "a wealthy family and a group of businessmen." The Cuban leader trod lightly around conditions in Cuba today ("We have difficulty, but we're always in trouble"), while adding, "Here in Harlem you have difficulties too." On the international scene, he got in a dig at former Soviet leader Gorbachev, noting: "Khrushchev was a peasant, a very shrewd peasant. He didn't dismantle his own country." The biggest applause came when Castro recounted how Cubans shed their blood fighting against the apartheid invaders in Angola. He presented himself as unbowed and unrepentant, saying, "We will never change because we are right." But, significantly, he made not a single mention of socialism, communism or Marxism.

WV Photos

October 22: 1,500 turn out to greet Fidel Castro at Abyssinian Baptist Church.

The most interesting aspect of the event was the crowd that turned out to cheer and hear Castro, which could have stepped out of the pages of *Who's Who in Black America*. The *Amsterdam News* devoted its front page to a photo spread headlined "Harlem Welcomed Fidel!" Among the invitees were Angela Davis, State Senator David Paterson, Queen Mother Moore, Nation of Islam spokesman Conrad Muhammad accompanying Mrs. Elijah Muhammad, Elombe Brath, Leonard Jeffries, Amiri Baraka and Gil Noble. Harlem Congressman Charles Rangel sat on the stage with Castro and heartily embraced him twice. Bronx Congressman Jose Serrano and Brooklyn Congresswoman Nydia Velazquez were seated among the luminaries. Velazquez not only waved but rushed down from the balcony to embrace Castro.

In contrast to the popular outpouring of Harlem's black masses during Castro's 1960 visit, this time it was the black petty-bourgeois elite telling Giuliani, Clinton and Gingrich to go to hell. The fact that black and Hispanic Democrats embrace Castro so effusively is indicative of the mood among their constituents—they're clearly not worried about being red-baited—but also reflects a shift in opinion in the ruling class. From the UN to the Abyssinian Baptist Church, Castro's visit highlighted the fact that big sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie agree with him that the American embargo is "obsolete."

Thus, Luis Ortega, longtime Cuban exile writer, criticized the "semi-terrorist groups" of *gusanos* in Miami's Little Havana for having "turned Cuba into a martyr island and Castro into an international hero" (*El Diario/La Prensa*, 25 October). And certified reactionary William Buckley called for repealing the embargo: "We would need to swallow our pride, but that is healthy. We did not succeed in bringing Castro down, and it is not dignified to salve our bad consciences by continuing policies appropriate only during the Cold War" (*New York Post*, 25 October).

In fact, in his five days in New York, Castro was wined and dined by leading capitalists and media moguls, something that his socialist cheerleaders like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Communist Party (CP) and Workers World Party (WWP) barely hinted at in their stories. Castro had a lengthy interview broadcast live on CNN and was interviewed by the editorial boards of the *New York Times*, *Time* and the *Wall Street Journal*. He met with the Council on Foreign Relations, and had a UN lunch with David Rockefeller. *Daily News* publisher and real estate czar Mortimer Zuckerman threw a luncheon attended by the broadcasting elite of America.

While his speech in Harlem was mostly "I'm with you" gestures of solidarity, he was very concrete with the opinion-makers and power brokers of U.S. imperialism. The *Wall Street Journal* (25 October) wrote: "His message to Wall Street: Cuba plans to deepen economic reforms that the government has recently instituted. Mr. Castro was effusive in his praise of the U.S. business community as more efficient and reliable than diplomats and politicians."

Following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union, which for years had supported it with trade and aid, as well as guaranteeing its military defense against the Yankee imperialist colossus, Castro's Cuba has been on its own. Like Stalinists everywhere, the ideology of the Cuban bureaucratic regime was the nationalist dogma of building "socialism in one country." In the giant USSR, occupying one-sixth of the world and later supplemented by the other countries of the Soviet bloc, it took some decades for the bankruptcy of this doctrine to play itself out, as the degenerated workers state collapsed under the pressure of imperialism. But a deformed workers state on a Caribbean island only 90 miles from the most powerful imperialist country in the world cannot last for long in isolation.

So the Castro regime has undertaken a series of pro-capitalist reforms which threaten to spark counterrevolution from within. Last summer, Cuba passed a new foreign investment law opening the possibility of 100 percent foreign-owned companies. To date, apart from tourist ventures by European chains, there hasn't been much imperialist investment in Cuba. And the *Financial Times* (27 October) complains that Cuba's economic "reforms" fall far short of those introduced in, for instance, Vietnam and China. But with the legalization of the dollar as a means of payment, appeals for foreign investment and now sizable mass layoffs (500,000 in the last year), the regime's policies are pushing Cuba toward the restoration of capitalism, and with it the evils that are the product of the profit system, such as mass unemployment.

The various Stalinists and Stalinoids (CP, WWP, SWP, etc.) chant "Viva Fidel," yet Castro and the bureaucracy are today among the most dangerous elements undermining the remaining gains of the Cuban Revolution and preparing the way for its downfall. The Spartacist

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Free Sarah Balabagan!

*In our last issue (*WV *No. 631, 20 October), we reported on the international struggle to stop the execution of 16-year-old Filipina maid Sarah Balabagan. Despite the revoking of the death sentence, on October 30 she was sentenced to a year in jail and a murderous* 100 *lashes! We print below a statement from the Partisan Defense Committee demanding Sarah Balabagan's immediate freedom.*

29 October 1995

United Arab Emirates Embassy
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sirs:

We demand the immediate release of Sarah Balabagan. Although the death sentence hanging over the head of this courageous 16-year-old Filipina woman was lifted, she is outrageously still being persecuted. While working as a maid in the United Arab Emirates, Balabagan was assaulted and raped at knife point by her employer. He was killed as she struggled in self-defense. Now she finds herself locked in prison fighting for her life and freedom.

Like millions of women around the world, Balabagan was driven by poverty into working abroad, facing a life of degradation and brutality. Here in the U.S. Asian women, smuggled into the country to evade the racist immigration laws, are forced to work seven days a week in virtual slave conditions. We call for full citizenship rights for *all* immigrant workers and their families.

Two weeks ago Balabagan's death sentence was revoked in exchange for blood money from her family. On October 30 she is scheduled to return to court, where her fate will be decided. Balabagan is not out of danger so long as she remains in prison in the United Arab Emirates. We demand immediate freedom for Sarah Balahagan, and that she be granted safe passage immediately out of the country.

Very truly yours,
Paul Cooperstein
for the PDC

Rex/Time

Faircloth/Philadelphia Daily News

Bourgeois press and politicians lauded massive turnout for Farrakhan's message of "atonement," blaming the oppressed for the poverty, degradation and violence meted out by the capitalist oppressors.

Farrakhan: Broker for Racist Reaction

Why Did Rulers Applaud Million Man March?

Imagine how the government and media would respond to a mass militant protest against Klan and cop terror, or against the lynch-law crusade to execute black political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Even the acquittal by an integrated jury of black football superstar O.J. Simpson in the face of a blatant police and prosecution frame-up provoked an obscene outcry of racist vituperation. Yet the same bourgeois political establishment which contemptuously scorns or ruthlessly represses any and every protest against black oppression greeted the massive turnout for the October 16 Million Man March with effusive praise. That alone should make it clear to every militant black worker and youth that the self-abasing display of "atonement" organized by separatist demagogue Louis Farrakhan had nothing whatever to do with the struggle for black liberation.

For all the tortured attempts to "separate the message from the messenger," the Nation of Islam (NOI) leader has clearly been the main beneficiary of the mammoth gathering of black men in Washington, D.C. two weeks ago. As he announced a voter registration drive aimed at consolidating his influence as a black broker for the racist rulers, Farrakhan proclaimed: "We intend to leverage that power you saw on the Mall yesterday." Farrakhan's move was welcomed by the chairmen of both the Republican and Democratic parties. This anti-immigrant, anti-woman and anti-gay bigot who preaches a reactionary utopia of "black capitalism" and "self-help" to the downtrodden and dispossessed ghetto masses is a "black leader" made to order for Clinton/Gingrich's America.

Notwithstanding their hypocritical denunciations of Farrakhan's vile anti-Semitism and anti-white demagogy, the "message" of the Million Man March was endorsed by racist capitalist politicians of all stripes. President Clinton saluted its emphasis on "personal responsibility." Republican presidential hopeful Bob Dole praised its "talk about self-reliance" and "getting kids off drugs." Newt Gingrich pointed to the turnout for Farrakhan as evidence "that these men think there is something profoundly wrong with the welfare state." Even fascistic Republican Pat Buchanan chimed in: "Americans can and should unite behind the stated goals of the Million Man March—of men taking responsibility for their own actions and their wives, their families and their communities." And the *Wall Street Journal* (18 October) summed it up in a headline, "One Magnificent Day."

Joining the racist Republican right and the main mouthpiece for American finance capital in hosannas for the march were a broad spectrum of reformist leftists. Despite its earlier profession of opposition, the Socialist Workers Party could not resist the allure of a "mass movement" and showed up to peddle its literature, conspicuously minus the issue of the *Militant* which criticized Farrakhan and the march. The Communist Party's *People's Weekly World* (21 October) ran a huge front-page display blaring "African Americans March" and extolling the "feeling of togetherness and pride...in the mainly working-class crowd" as a "response to the rising racist offensive." The Progressive Labor Party's *Challenge* (25 October), after earlier denouncing Farrakhan's march as a "fascist mass mobilization," changed its tune when it saw the size of the turnout, discovering that "the overwhelming motivation of the vast majority was an intense hatred for racism in this society."

Sam Marcy's *Workers World* (26 October) backloaded what complaints it had of the NOI—which notably did *not* include its reactionary separatism—while enthusing that the "great majority" of the participants came out for "Black unity, Black solidarity, Black pride and a growing desire for economic and political empowerment." Taking the cake for craven fawning was the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), whose Carl Dix hailed the march as "an excellent idea" and cheered: "A lotta people see this Million Man March as a way to change the way things are going down and to jump start a serious movement against the oppression of Black people, even if they ain't down with everything that the march organizers are putting out" (*Revolutionary Worker*, 8 October).

The Million Man March was a *reactionary* mobilization of the oppressed, something rarely seen in the United States but not uncommon internationally. Another example would be the Hindu-chauvinist and virulently anti-Muslim BJP in India, which is supported by millions of low-caste peasants. But support for a reactionary "mass movement" is nothing new for the fake left. Most of them flocked to Khomeini's 1979 "Islamic Revolution," when obscurantist mullahs and middle-class merchants succeeded in roping in the Iranian masses behind their calls for "Death or the veil" and "God is great." In contrast, just as we opposed Khomeini (no less than the bloody shah he replaced), we bluntly wrote of the Million Man March last issue: "Despite the outrage and despair over the hellish conditions of racist America felt by the hundreds of thousands at the Mall in Washington, this march was *directly counterposed* to any struggle for black emancipation."

Behind Farrakhan's nationalist rhetoric is a program of separate-and-unequal accommodation to the racist status quo. A *New York Times* (17 October) piece by Don Terry, describing Farrakhan as "a Booker T. Washington-style conservative and a Marcus Garvey black nationalist," noted: "He is often portrayed as a militant, but much of what he says sounds ghost-written by a Republican, with its talk of self-help and bootstraps." Farrakhan's social agenda dovetails with the reactionary white racist bourgeois consensus which blames the oppressed

UPI

Marcus Garvey, founder of 1920s "Back to Africa" movement.

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for their oppression and paints blacks as "violent" and "lazy." This was epitomized by the demeaning pledge the "Minister" imposed on the assembled men.

As for black women, they were told to stay home, pray and take care of the kids. This was a key "message" of the march for the NOI, who denounce abortion as murder and insist that women belong in the home and behind "their" men, not as equals in the fight against oppression. In this, Farrakhan strongly echoes the program of the fundamentalist right wing of the Republican Party, presenting a black nationalist version of the white Christian "Promise Keepers." This sinister reactionary movement has drawn over 700,000 men this year alone to "family values" rallies across the country, where they are enjoined to take back "their God-given 'spiritual leadership' in the home" (San Jose *Mercury*, 30 September).

Far from voicing the aspirations of the ghetto masses, Farrakhan offers himself up as a cop for the racist rulers to impose "morality" and "law and order" in the ghettos, appealing to the "talented tenth" to assert their rightful place as exploiters of the black poor. The Million Man March was, in fact, a mainly *middle-class* crowd: a Howard University survey conducted on the Mall showed 41 percent of participants having an annual income upwards of $50,000—nearly *three times* the 1992 median income for black men. Significantly, although a number of unions endorsed this exclusionist rally, reports circulated that black union leaders were not welcome on the speakers' platform.

It is due to the abysmal treachery of the labor and black misleaders, who go all out to prove their loyalty to Clinton's Democrats and the Wall Street financiers, that this right-wing huckster could gain even a momentary mass hearing for his bizarre excursions into the mysteries of the number 19. But while Farrakhan has become the pre-eminent black leader in America today, the black population has not embraced his reactionary political program and his mass support is shallow.

A community worker in Chicago expressed the sentiment that drew many to the march: "Finally, somebody is doing something. The situation in black America is so bad now that it almost doesn't matter what that something is as long as it's some kind of action." Farrakhan has seized on the despair felt by black people, in the face of an unremitting racist offensive and in the absence of any response by the misleaders of the integrated labor movement, to anoint himself as chief overseer for the grinding oppression of the black masses. He has been aided and abetted in this by Jesse Jackson, the Congressional Black Caucus and a host of other black politicians who sponsored or spoke at the event. Echoing Farrakhan—and Gingrich, Democratic Baltimore mayor Kurt Schmoke told the crowd, "Today we ask nothing of the government, today we ask everything of ourselves." And, though her organization refused to endorse, NAACP head Myrlie Evers Williams hailed the march as a "spiritual awakening" and urged, "Let's give him a chance."

A chance to do what? What Louis Farrakhan is doing is fanning the flames of racial polarization while counseling the black masses to retreat into the ghetto rather than fight. At a September 30 forum in Chicago, Spartacist League Central Committee member Don Alexander indicted Farrakhan and other black misleaders for their complicity in the racist rulers' war on black America:

> "What about their silence about the racist MOVE massacre in 1985? Jesse Jackson's response when the black neighborhood was burned down was, we need more black contractors, i.e., black capitalism. How about the labor/black mobilizations, from Washington, D.C. in 1982 to Philadelphia in 1988 to Berkeley last year when David Irving the Nazi was going to speak? What was their

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Million Man March: Trap for Blacks and Labor

We reprint below a letter from comrade Don C. of the Bay Area Spartacist League on the aftermath of the Million Man March called by Nation of Islam (NOI) leader Louis Farrakhan

23 October 1995

Comrades,

On October 16, the day of the Million Man March (MMM), the Bay Area black fraction held a fraction meeting. This was coincidental, but appropriate activity for this day. We discussed the current state of our party work and how to advance it. Our business is life and death for the future of U.S. workers and black people. We are not bureaucrats (or wanna-be bureaucrats) with a secret agenda or heavenly sanctioned knowledge. Our job is to educate and lead our class in a struggle for power based on their own class interest. Comrade Trotsky spoke of cadre learning to swim against the stream. We must swim with determination against a flood.

Lee/Star Tribune

"Promise Keepers," a reactionary Christian movement, has been packing stadiums around the country with mass male-only rallies pledging to uphold "family values."

The official exclusion of women from the MMM, despite their reluctant acceptance in token numbers, was a neon sign announcing its reactionary nature. For communists it should be basic that any social movement that excludes and regulates the oppressed sex to a secondary status is insupportable. Our opportunist reformist opponents can sweep the woman question under the rug. We cannot! All "family values" talk, "protecting and serving our women and children" talk, is rubbish. We should say so. It romanticizes the real oppression of women and children. I found this quote from Lenin in *Women and Revolution*:

> "Down with the liars who speak about freedom and equality *for all*, while there is an oppressed sex, oppressing classes, private ownership of capital and shares and people with bursting bins who use their surplus grain to enslave the hungry! Freedom and equality for the oppressed sex! Freedom and equality for the workers and labouring peasants! Struggle against the oppressors, struggle against the capitalists, struggle against the kulak profiteers!"

Our reformist opponents do not believe in a forthright struggle against the lieutenants of capital in the labor movement or the black ghetto. Therefore they are willing to be silent on any question that might prove to be heated. They would sweep (and have swept) the black question under the rug in the face of hostile Meanyite bureaucrats while they do the same with the class question in the face of hostile black nationalists. They are only consistent at manufacturing "victories" out of defeats. Surely they will find a "victory" of sorts in the MMM. One SWP co-worker of mine is already talking about "revolutionary youth" in the MMM. This is like the little boy who happily dug into a hill of manure because "with all this manure there's got to be a pony in there somewhere."

Above all it buys into the capitalist media's lie about contending programs under the umbrella of the MMM. This one SWPer displayed a profound conviction in "the progress of blacks since the '60s." The manufacturers of "victories" are buying their own goods here because nobody else is. The same *Women and Revolution* article had this Lenin quote advising women cadre: "Don't twitter like a bunch of chatterboxes, but speak out loudly and clearly like fighters should. Show that you can fight" [from Clara Zetkin's "My Recollections of Lenin"]. In the face of sexist exclusion and race-baiting nationalism our party must arm itself with Lenin and Trotsky as it takes its place in the trenches. Any other course is cowardice. We must prove to the oppressed and the workers that we are fighters worthy of their confidence.

The MMM was an event of historic significance that marks a turning point for blacks and labor. The exact features of what is unfolding is still unclear. But the message is clear and it is bad news for blacks, labor, women, immigrants and communists. The ascent of the NOI with its Fruit of Islam (FOI) thugs spells danger for us all. The *WV* article spoke of a white racist reaction to the MMM. The MMM will embolden the fascists as the right wing endeavors to make the fascists respectable once again. After all they have already adopted their programmatic rallying cries—reverse discrimination, states' rights, etc.

One likely response could be another attempt for a Klan Washington march, this time with NOI approval and intensified cop protection. We would be obligated to respond to this provocation with a labor/black mobilization facing a whole new set of uncertainties. Only one thing is certain: blacks occupy a similar position to the East European Jews—they are the scapegoats for the capitalist class. Blacks constitute 13 percent of the American population that capitalist genocide could easily reduce by 10 percent. Those who play with the fire of race war are aiding and abetting genocide.

Last year at the Bay Area's Juneteenth celebration I sold the *WV* issue with the article "Farrakhan Is Bad News for Black People" at the Richmond and Berkeley events. At Richmond, a working-class affair, we met a little hostility and a lot of interest in the article. At Berkeley, a more petty-bourgeois affair, we encountered a large NOI presence but significant interest in the article. However, we had to stay out of range of the NOI bean pie/newspaper salesmen in order to work the crowd. The disciplined NOI, with the wind in its sails and an influx of fresh recruits, will be menacing in appearance at least. We certainly have to be aware that the NOI/FOI greatly outnumber us. But the watchwords are: be resolute and smart.

The MMM is certainly an appeasement to the racist rulers. This is rapidly becoming apparent with each day. The *Contra Costa Times*, a conservative suburban paper, ran a front-page article praising the MMM and the "Promise Keepers" as a new men's movement of bonding and leadership. The Congress of National

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Join the Labor Black Leagues!

The Labor Black Leagues stand for mobilizing minorities and working people in militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America. The LBLs are fraternally allied to the Spartacist League, and are part of the revolutionary movement of the workers and oppressed against the bosses and for socialism.

There is a crisis of leadership today. Black misleaders and the union bureaucracy are wedded to either pro-capitalist racist Democratic Party liberalism or do-nothing dead-end black separatism. The Labor Black Leagues are multiracial organizations of militant workers and youth fighting for revolutionary integrationism: for black freedom through socialist revolution.

For more information write:

CHICAGO
Box 6938
Chicago, IL
60680

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Box 3238,
Church St. Station
New York, NY 10008

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Oakland, CA
94604

WV Photo

Protest against racist discrimination at Denny's restaurants, Bay Area, July 1993.

Mumia...

(continued from page 2)

awaiting trial. Some of those essays were put together as a book, sold and distributed under the title *Survival is Not a Crime*." Around 1987, he began writing for radical and community publications: "As someone who had never been to prison, I found a new world. It was a form of self-expression, but also a revelation of what it really is, as opposed to how it's reported in the daily press.... What I saw, what I heard, what I smelled, what I perceived around me. They were stories of despair, the hopelessness of some people on death row, stories of suicide, of people losing their way, getting entangled and not getting out."

Jamal said he sought "to talk about and expose conditions on death row, and hopefully to affect and change that reality. I wrote not just for myself, but for everyone on death row, thousands now. As you can see, it's gotten me disciplinary action, write-ups." Although he knew there might be retaliation, Jamal said, he taped a series of commentaries for National Public Radio in 1994—a series NPR canceled under pressure from the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police.

Those tapes meant all "the difference between life and death," Mumia told the court; they were "a window into my soul as a living man." He did them, "Essentially to save my life. As someone on death row, I know we are not perceived as persons, but as nameless, faceless beings, unknown except as a headline in yesterday's newspaper. By airing on NPR, millions of people would have been in an intimate communication with me—it's a two-way communication, and it humanizes me in a way the daily press could not and would not."

Another reason Jamal published *Live from Death Row*, he said, was "To make money. And to use the money to pay, hire and employ lawyers for my appeal, investigators and other support staff." This forthright explanation put to shame the pathetic efforts of the state's eager-beaver "investigator" David Horwitz, who bragged how he chased computer printouts to sniff out supposed subterfuge in Jamal's "stamp money accounts" and to challenge Mumia Abu-Jamal's support groups, such as Equal Justice and the Partisan Defense Committee.

In fact, prison officials, including then-superintendent Love at Huntingdon, were well aware of Jamal's writing, including his 1990 *Yale Law Journal* article and columns for the local Huntingdon college paper *The Juniatan*, which was mailed to the prison. A "surprise" witness, criminologist and professor Ted Alleman, testified that while he was a teacher in the prison, he had openly assisted a Huntingdon prisoner publish a 1985 book, *Caesar's Gladiator Pit*. Not only was no punishment ever inflicted on the author, who proudly kept a copy by his prison bed for years—but the prison even assisted in publicizing the book!

Regarding the deadly chilling effect of having his vital legal mail seized, Mumia said he has zero confidence in his ability to exchange confidential legal mail with his attorneys: "The security or confidentiality of my legal mail is, in a word, nonexistent.... I have no faith, no trust, no sense of security—all of my mail, slit open outgoing, slit open incoming. I believe that mail I sent to you [counsel Jere Krakoff] was interfered with because I sent you a letter and you didn't get it."

Testimony has now concluded, and the hearing magistrate will make his recommendation to a U.S. District Court judge on whether to order an injunction against the prison system to cease its vindictive and unconstitutional actions against Jamal.

Meanwhile the battle continues outside the courts. Justice for Mumia will begin only when he walks out of prison a free man! Join the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal!

Platforma Spartakusowców

Warsaw, October 2: Polish Spartacists initiated united-front protest against Philadelphia D.A. Lynne Abraham, would-be executioner of Mumia Abu-Jamal and apostle of racist death penalty.

Join the Campaign!

Contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99 Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, (212) 406-4252. Tax-deductible contributions for Jamal's legal defense should be made payable to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked "Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense," and sent to the Committee to Save Mumia Abu-Jamal, 163 Amsterdam Ave., No. 115, New York, NY 10023-5001. Send protests to: Governor Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Bldg., Room 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120. Write to Jamal to express your solidarity: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, SCI Greene, 1040 E. Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370-8090. ■

Castro...

(continued from page 3)

tendency, from our inception as the Revolutionary Tendency of the SWP in the early 1960s, has called to defend Cuba against imperialist attack and for a proletarian political revolution to oust the bureaucracy and establish organs of workers democracy.

In our article "Cuba, Castro and Che: The Mystique of the Guerrilla Road" (in the *Young Spartacus* pages of *WV* No. 630, 6 October), we warned:

> "In this country, real solidarity with the Cuban Revolution is a fundamental duty for all opponents of U.S. imperialism. Yet rad-lib muddleheads lend themselves to the service of capitalist counterrevolution by lashing up with liberal Democrats and 'progressive capitalists' (like Ted Turner and Lee Iacocca?) who oppose the U.S. economic embargo as counterproductive (and costly to their profits), preferring to undermine the revolution through greater capitalist economic penetration. In contrast, we Spartacists link our opposition to the blockade with defense of the revolution and its gains, based on collectivized property and a planned economy. The fundamental truth is that Cuba alone cannot stand as a workers state. The future of the Cuban Revolution stands in the balance of class struggle outside the Caribbean island, and this fact underlines the urgent necessity for revolutionary struggle here in the U.S., in Latin America, and elsewhere." ■

March...

(continued from page 5)

> response to these successful labor/black mobilizations that swept the Klan and the skinheads and the Nazis off the streets and prevented them from carrying out their program of racist murder?
> "How about their virtual silence over the question of anti-immigrant racism—Proposition 187—not mobilizing the black masses along with the working class and Latinos and others to challenge this, which of course set the stage for the attack on affirmative action? Now many of these same leaders, like Kweisi Mfume of the Congressional Black Caucus, are rallying around former head of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Colin Powell, who was one of the chief architects of mass murder in Iraq.
> "This march is about politically disarming the working class and the black masses, it's about strengthening illusions in this deeply racist, sick capitalist society and its violent rulers."

What's needed is a racially integrated working-class struggle against the right-wing assault on labor, minorities and immigrants. The labor-centered mobilizations for Mumia Abu-Jamal in New York and the Bay Area in August gave a taste of that kind of labor/black power. Hundreds of workers, black and white, marched together behind their union banners to fight for this death row political prisoner who faces execution because of his outspoken advocacy of the oppressed. Those protests, counterposed to everything Louis Farrakhan stands for, point the way forward to a class-struggle fight against black oppression led by a multiracial revolutionary workers party. *For black liberation through socialist revolution!* ■

Trap...

(continued from page 5)

Black Churches, addressing Clinton and the Congress, says: "Nobody objects to a reasonable and rational reform." Colin Powell, the butcher of Iraq, didn't grace the stage of the MMM because he chose not to. Farrakhan's overture to Powell was quite public, though low key.

In effect, a wide spectrum of the black misleaders have conceded to a return to the social relations prevalent in the "good old days" of Jim Crow. They only want, at best, a softer landing—commissions to study the matter and "reasonable reforms." And this is only to guarantee their own positions as overseers and middlemen for the racist rulers. In the "good old days," racial harmony was based on blacks "staying in their place." The black misleaders wish to negotiate their place. For the black masses, the "good old days" aren't old at all, they still live them today. We must point out continuously that the defeated civil rights movement achieved only token gains, i.e., temporary relief for the black masses with the greatest benefactor being the black middle class.

The civil rights movement with its "Farce on Washington" did hold out the carrot of material progress and relief from suffocating Jim Crow laws. The MMM holds out a stick. Atonement and sacrifice for the masses. Illusory economic advancement and political influence for the middle-class professionals. Farrakhan's inner circle has done well milking the NOI ranks and others. This same inner circle will be the only benefactors from Farrakhan's cockroach capitalist schemes. "Uplifting the race" requires economic resources presently in the tight fist of the capitalists, who will deny welfare mothers their meager crumbs. This wealth must be seized and only the revolutionary workers party can and will do it. The MMM euphoria will be short-lived as capitalist reality reveals itself. The more important issue will be the social anger that will follow. That is why it is so important to be loud and clear about where we stand now.

I remember well the '60s/early '70s practice of nationalist racial exclusion on the U.S. left. I learned that such practices are the last refuge of demagogues and a brake on militant struggle. In the recent mini-wave of youth activism I was struck by the wide acceptance (even among black youth) of integrated action and discussion, even if they couldn't grasp class struggle. We should be on guard to protect this acceptance and be prepared to protest strongly any and all attempts at nationalist racial exclusion.

Under Jim Crow it was illegal for blacks and whites to hold meetings without segregating the meeting itself. Industrial unionism necessarily challenged these repressive laws. The civil rights revolt put the nail in their coffins. The necessity of integrated social struggle is understood by the youth that are in motion. The integrated protests around Prop. 187, affirmative action and the L.A. upheaval reveal this. For the labor movement, the only organized social movement that cuts across the race line, racial exclusionism is suicidal.

I believe we need a Labor Black League (LBL) recruitment pamphlet or supplement similar to the present youth project, "Join the SYC." I have always thought that Farrakhan would be a litmus test for LBL recruits. I believe this even more strongly now. ■

Vote No on S.F. Prop L!

SAN FRANCISCO—A draconian new youth curfew has been put on the ballot for the upcoming November 7 election by SF mayor Frank Jordan. Under Proposition L, youth under 18 will be rounded up from public places after 11 p.m. weekdays (midnight weekends). If parents don't show up on time to retrieve them, their kids will be taken away and handed over to the Child Protective Services. Kids picked up three times in a year will become enmeshed in the cruel machinery of state repression, either through the "protective" services or the Juvenile Probation Department.

Jordan has made a crusade out of persecuting "Food Not Bombs" to stop them from feeding the growing thousands of hungry people in San Francisco's streets. This former SF police chief has launched a new edition of his vicious Matrix program to drive the homeless out of city parks. And he is waging a racist, union-busting campaign against the heavily black Muni transit drivers. But it's not just Jordan; the city already has a youth curfew voted by the "liberal" board of supervisors, and all of the main mayoral candidates, including black Democrat Willie Brown, are competing to show who's "tougher on crime."

If passed, Prop. L will give broad new scope to police harassment of black and Hispanic youth—turning them over to the tender mercies of the SFPD racist cops who have brutally killed two black men in the last four months. Youth have a right to be treated as human beings, not criminals! Vote "no" on Prop. L! Down with *all* youth curfews!

Young Spartacus

Brutal Police Assault in Hidalgo

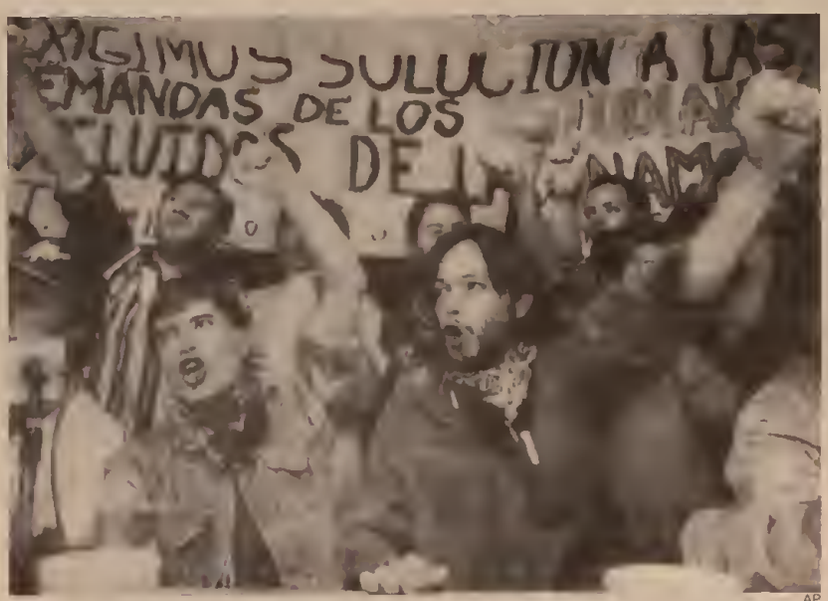
Mexican Students Fight "Elitization" of Education

The following leaflet was distributed by our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México (GEM) and Juventud Espartaquista in response to the repression of student protesters in the Mexican state of Hidalgo. On October 17, a student march from the teachers' training college in El Mexe, Hidalgo, was attacked by the Judicial police (*judiciales*) and *granadero* riot police, as well as other police forces.

The bus belonging to the school was fired on by the cops, while students were in it, "until its windshield, tires and side windows were destroyed," *La Jornada* (28 October) reported.

"Then, more than 120 students, most of them wounded, were detained and held incommunicado, causing desperation for their families, who did not know if they were alive, dead or wounded. Others were tortured physically by burning their eyelids and stripping them in the cells of the Judicial Police so as to beat them and threaten them with rape. Others were beaten on the muscles, kidneys and soft tissue. After a period of 18 to 30 hours most of them were set free after they were made to sign a document stating that they were in good physical condition and promising that they would not continue the struggle for the right to education."

The Hidalgo governor's threats to "annihilate" protesters recall the 1968 Tlatelolco Massacre of hundreds of student demonstrators in Mexico City.



AP

Thousands of students excluded from public university classes protest in Mexico City at National Autonomous University.

While "union" leaders from the ruling party (key to the system of regimenting mass organizations known as "corporatism") sealed off the 1968 student movement from most of the working class, it nonetheless managed to win significant gains in public education. As a result, access to the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) was opened up considerably; it now has about 300,000 students. The use of new rules and procedures to exclude about 150,000 applicants from UNAM this summer has led to protest demonstrations over the past several months, which the regime has answered with threats and repression.

Emergency protests called by the Partisan Defense Committee in New York City at the Consulate General of Mexico on October 23 demanded "Down with Police State Torture and Terror Against Mexican Students in Hidalgo." The Los Angeles Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club also organized a speakout at the University of California at Los Angeles on October 24. The protests were covered in New York's *El Daily News* and *La Opinion* in L.A. As we go to press, reports from Mexico indicate that arrested students have been released, although the status of charges against them remains unclear, as does the fate of those reported "disappeared."

Young Spartacus

Emergency demonstration at Mexican consulate in New York City, October 23, to defend Hidalgo students.

Stop Repression in Hidalgo!
Mobilize the Power of the Working Class!
Mass United Actions Urgently Needed to Defend El Mexe Students

The grave situation of state repression in Hidalgo demands urgent action by the labor and student movements. Today (October 21), newspapers report that 300 riot police are blocking access to the Luis Villarreal Normal School in El Mexe, where 300 students have taken refuge, while the police "detain any youth who 'looks like a student,' and stop local residents 'in order to search them.'" This is the sequel to an attack by the cops on an October 17 student march, which was broken up with tear gas, gunshots and clubbings, leading to the arrest of more than 110 students, many of whom were wounded. There are reports of the "disappearance" of 16 students and the use of torture against those detained; 12 are being held on serious charges.

The head of the Hidalgo education system announced the expulsion of participants in the protest. Meanwhile, it was reported that Hidalgo's governor Murillo Karam "threatened that if they did not desist from their struggle, they would be 'annihilated'" (*El Dia*, 21 October). Thus this governor, who rules Hidalgo like his personal fiefdom, threatens to imitate the massacre carried out by [then president] Díaz Ordaz at Tlatelolco in 1968. This takes place in the context of threats and repression against applicants denied admission to the National University here in Mexico City.

Hidalgo Normal School students—many of them from Indian and peasant families—are fighting against cutbacks restricting education to the elite few. They are demanding a 100 percent increase in student enrollment, more scholarships, better lodging and food. The vital interests of the working class and of students from poor families throughout Mexico are at stake in this fight against repression and against the "elitization" of education. (This drive to restrict education is directly related to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), as we noted in our October 2 leaflet on the struggle of students barred from enrolling at UNAM.) The bloody repression in Hidalgo is an attack on all those who dare to oppose the government's offensive against the working people, the right to education and democratic rights. Active, mass solidarity with the besieged students of El Mexe is clearly necessary, in particular the mobilization of support from the working class.

There must be united mass mobilizations now to demand immediate and unconditional freedom for those arrested at El Mexe, the dropping of all charges against them and fulfillment of their just demands. *Education for all! From Mexico City to Hidalgo, Guerrero and Chiapas: Down with bourgeois repression!* These demonstrations should be called by mass student and workers organizations (in particular the University Students Council, the movement of rejected UNAM applicants, and independent trade-union organizations like the Mexico City bus drivers, the dissident teachers movement, the UNAM and Metropolitan University workers unions and others). This fight goes hand in hand with the struggle of the students excluded from UNAM and with the university workers' battle against starvation wages —especially since the UNAM workers

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Welcome Spartacus Youth Club in Eugene

During the fall subscription drive, new readers checked out the politics of the Spartacus Youth Clubs and Spartacist League, reading and signing up for our Marxist literature. In Eugene, Oregon, a group of activists in a *Workers Vanguard* study circle sold subscriptions at the University of Oregon campus, taking part in our nationwide drive. During the subscription drive's Northern Tour, the study circle mobilized more than 40 students to attend a forum and discussion centering on Mumia Abu-Jamal's case and the fight against state repression. They capped off their work by applying to form their own Spartacus Youth Club in Eugene. At a recent West Coast educational gathering, the Eugene comrades' acceptance into membership was followed by the singing of the *Internationale*. We welcome these new members, whose coming to communist consciousness speaks very much to what the youth clubs are about.

In his application letter, comrade Lawrence, a young student and unionist, wrote that when he first met a Spartacist salesman, "I went away with only the paper, and the Spartacist pamphlets. When I read it, I discovered that the paper contained a plan to overcome the bosses." His interest in *WV* became more significant when he was able to attend a Spartacist video showing of *From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal*. Lawrence noted that, "In the discussion which came after the video, I began to understand how race oppression and worker exploitation were two faces of the same beast: capitalism." The group's evolution from a study circle debating Marxist views to a youth club intervening in the class struggle came out of their decision to stand for the principle that *picket lines mean don't cross*—in opposition to their own radical-liberal milieu.

Comrade Travis, who was active around the fight against National Guard recruitment on campuses and the struggle against fascist terror, had studied social theory with "Marxist" instructors. But picket-line battles taught him more than classroom lessons when he supported the OPEU (Oregon Public Employees) strike last spring. As he wrote in his application for membership:

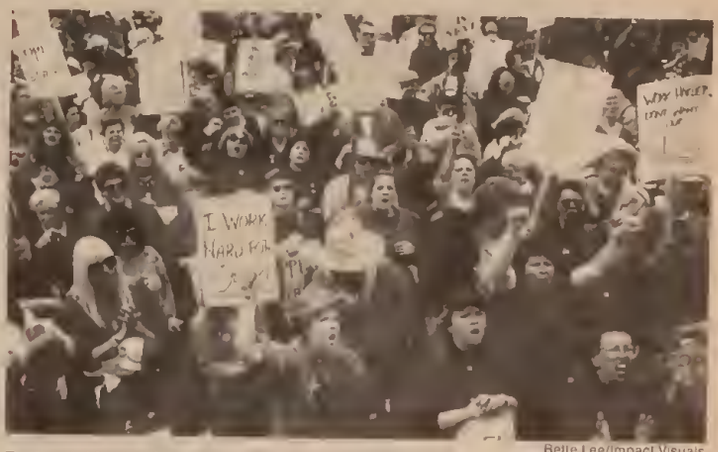
> "By the time they went on strike, I was much clearer on the fundamentals of Marxism. I tried to rally student support for the strikers by passing out petitions in my classes requesting the instructor not to hold class and make students cross the line. All in all, my *Marxist* professors turned out to be merely preachers as they all crossed the line.
>
> "As I stood on the line in support of the workers, a bond formed between me and a few other students. We held true to the Marxist line as best we could. After the strike, we forged a Marxist study group. I know now that standing alone without a program is not the answer. I fully agree with the Trotskyist program as I understand it today."

What the study circle learned on the lines of the OPEU strike brought to life a point Karl Marx stated in his *Theses on Feuerbach*: "Philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point however, is to change it." The OPEU struggle led them to a conclusion drawn in comrade Paco's application letter: "World revolution can only be successful if it is led by a class-struggle based workers party."

Comrade Paco, who was heavily influenced by his work with women workers in the Mexican *maquiladora* (free trade) zone, particularly stressed the need for a Bolshevik workers party which "is the only means to champion the needs of all the oppressed—Blacks, Latinos, Asians, women, gays/lesbians." He wrote of the intersection of the fight for black liberation and the conditions of immigrant workers in his application for membership:

> "The SL's fight for revolutionary integrationism is the only way the race question can be answered. As a Mexican-American, Prop. 187 can only be understood and eliminated by exposing the racist nature of the state. Also, the link between the anti-immigrant hysteria and the superexploited *maquiladora* workers in Mexico can only be understood and fought against by an international revolutionary workers party. This internationalist perspective also demands the fight for women's liberation, since 85-90 percent of the *maquiladora* workers are women."

We welcome these new comrades and the founding of the Eugene Spartacus Youth Club as a school of revolutionary education and action for young communists. Join us! ■



Belle Lee/Impact Visuals

Rally of 10,000 Oregon Public Employees (OPEU). Defense of OPEU picket lines last spring was key to winning young militants in Eugene to the struggle for a revolutionary party.

Anti-Abortion Posse in Nebraska

The home of a teenager is attacked by a mob led by her boyfriend's parents. Surrounding her home, that night another mob—this time as a swarm of more than 10 cop cars—kidnaps the young woman and charges her parents with criminal neglect. Why? Because with the permission of her parents she sought an abortion. Welcome to Blair, Nebraska, where the all-sided attacks on women—under the banner of "family values" and welfare "reform"—have come home.

A year ago, the 15-year-old in Blair, after discovering she was pregnant by her boyfriend, made an abortion appointment. The boyfriend's father and stepmother, John and Cathy Tull, decided to stop the abortion by force. The Tulls and some of the boy's friends pounded on the family's door demanding to see the girl. Her father, Carl Scott, never had a chance to answer his assaulters before they kicked in the door and dragged his daughter away, yelling "baby killers!" Later that night, the local cops, with the Tulls in tow, arrived after the Scotts had requested help. A deputy sheriff, who had met earlier with the Tulls, came by the Scotts' home on his own and forced anti-abortion literature into the young woman's hands.

Local authorities seized the girl in the middle of the night, dumping her at the home of strangers who were to be her foster family for an undetermined amount of time. The morning after the cops' siege at her home the county attorney interrogated the young woman, frightening her into submission and later filing a petition claiming that she was in a situation "dangerous to her life or limb or injurious to her health," a lie used to keep her away from her family, ultimately leading to her compliance.

In the meantime, a witchhunt atmosphere was sweeping through Blair. The Scotts awoke to find flyers plastered around town proclaiming them "murderers" and "baby killers." The next day, a Washington County Juvenile Court judge held a hearing at which the county attorney filed an amended petition calling the girl's situation "injurious to her health and morals" (!) and saying she was neglected by her parents. The judge released her to her parents only on the grounds that she not go through with the abortion!

The "right" to abortion, particularly for the poor and women in rural areas, is increasingly a cruel hoax. In Blair, the "right to life" bigots (who nationwide overlap with the race-terrorist KKK and pro-death penalty rightists) were backed not only by the cops, but also the courts. Local officials, together with the reactionary mobs, conspired to force this woman to have a baby. All of this happened in the context of a frenzy of anti-abortion terror: the murders of Shannon Lowney and Lee Ann Nichols, two clinic workers, last winter in Boston; the murder of David Gunn in 1993 in Pensacola, Florida; and the gunning down of Dr. John Britton and his bodyguard James Barrett, also in Pensacola in 1994.

Meanwhile, the bourgeois-feminist National Organization for Women (NOW) and Planned Parenthood along with the reformist Socialist Workers Party called for FBI and federal marshals to "protect" the clinics; the same government that sent agents that murdered 86 men, women and children near Waco, Texas in 1993 under the orders of NOW's hero, Janet Reno. As we wrote in "Anti-Abortion Bloodbath in Boston":

> "When the liberal civil rights movement appealed for federal intervention, U.S troops and marshals were brought into Little Rock (1956) and Birmingham (1963) *to clamp a lid on organized black self-defense*, while FBI agents rode along with the KKK. The whole apparatus of the capitalist state exists to enforce the oppression and exploitation of minorities and workers. They are no defenders of women's rights.... *For Mass Mobilizations to Defend the Clinics—No Reliance on Cops and Troops!*"
>
> —*WV* No. 614, 13 January

Increasingly, the country has been under a climate of anti-abortion hysteria. The Democrats portray themselves as the "pro-choice" alternative, while the Republicans try to wipe out abortion rights altogether. But the Clinton White House has pushed legislation making it more difficult to have access to safe, legal abortion—particularly if you're on welfare—and by signing "squeal laws" has made it next to impossible for young women to get an abortion without parental consent. In the Blair teen's case, the state's excuse that 23 weeks is "too late" and that her parents were somehow negligent by helping her to get an abortion was used to intervene and sequester her.

The government has no business interfering in people's private lives! The passing of the 1994 "Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act," which states that it is a federal crime to use or threaten force against a woman seeking an abortion, obviously didn't help the Blair teenager. She was driven out of her high school by reactionary mobs and subsequently her family fled to Iowa to escape the witchhunt atmosphere of their hometown. This has only come to light because her parents filed a complaint in federal court in Lincoln, Nebraska.

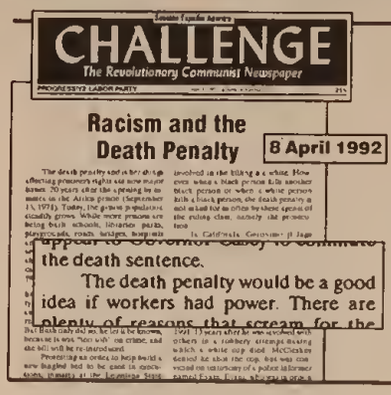
Women will not be liberated short of a socialist revolution and the expropriation of the capitalist class and destruction of its oppressive institutions. Women's liberation is possible only with the revolutionary transformation of society and the emancipation of women from domestic slavery in the institution of the family. *Free Abortion on Demand! For Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!*

For Free Abortion on Demand!

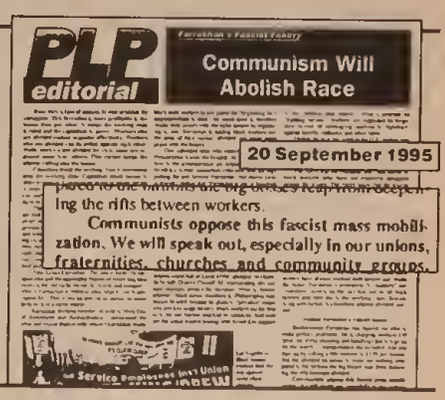
PL's Liberalism and Anti-Gay Bigotry Exposed

Howard Conference Debates Million Man March

On the weekend of October 5-7, several hundred people attended a conference on race and inequity at Howard University. The main organizers, the Progressive Labor Party (PL), loudly posture as the "real red" communists. But at this confab, they expected to feed the attenders a regimen of deadly dull academic crustaceans, hackstabbing Democratic Party windbags, and to top it off with PL's own unique brand of crude reformist politics. Instead, there was a raging three-way political debate which polarized the conference between supporters of PL, supporters of Farrakhan's Million Man March, and supporters of the Spartacist League (SL) and Spartacus Youth Club (SYC), who posed the necessity for integrated class struggle to defend all of the oppressed.


CHALLENGE
The Revolutionary Communist Newspaper
PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY
Racism and the Death Penalty
8 April 1992
the death sentence.
The death penalty would be a good idea if workers had power. There are plenty of reasons that scream for the

How Progressive Labor Party "fights for communism": pushing workers' death penalty and bizarre notion of mass movement of black "fascism" in racist America.


PLP editorial
Communism Will Abolish Race
20 September 1995
ing the rifts between workers.
Communists oppose this fascist mass mobilization. We will speak out, especially in our unions, fraternities, churches and community groups.

The opening session was supposed to address cutbacks in social programs. The conference organizers sure got an expert as their keynote speaker: Washington, D.C. mayor Marion Barry. His role is to lord it over the impoverished masses of the nation's capital like the black overseer of a vast plantation. Barry's credentials to speak on cutbacks are his own vicious policies—from slashing social programs, laying off workers, eliminating health care for the poor, to doing anything else the rulers on Capitol Hill and in the White House ask. "Hizzoner," however, was short on discussing his crimes against the people of D.C., and instead praised the Million Man March.

The march was forcefully denounced by a woman conference participant who correctly noted that the march was divisive and anti-woman. She was heartily applauded. To its credit, PL also took a hard line—at least initially—against the march, but grotesquely, because they consider Farrakhan a fascist! They denounced the march as a "fascist mass mobilization" (*Challenge*, 20 September), not recognizing that black oppression remains, as it has always been in this country, the cornerstone of reaction. Using racist and chauvinist demagogy, a fascist movement aims to mobilize the petty bourgeoisie and more backward workers against the labor movement, ethnic minorities and the left. There never has been and never will be a mass black fascist movement in this country. To read PL's claim of discovering this movement in white racist America is to wonder what planet they live on.

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Club forthrightly opposed Farrakhan's reactionary mobilization. Against sexism and nationalism, we counterposed a program of revolutionary integrationism—to build a multiracial, class-struggle workers party to fight on behalf of *all* the oppressed and overthrow this racist, capitalist system and establish an egalitarian socialist society. Farrakhan, the man who wanted Malcolm X dead, is a sinister demagogue whose role is to misdirect the justified outrage of the black population into reactionary displays of "atonement" and into support of his black capitalist schemes. Farrakhan echoes the white racist ruling class which also blames black people for their own oppression, promotes segregation, and urges the "underclass" to lift themselves up by their own bootstraps—when they don't even have boots! (See related articles, pages 4 and 5.)

Normally, PL spouts a crude class-struggle political line typified by puerile chants like, "Kick the bosses in the ass, power to the working class!" However, this is often combined with reformist appeals, from "left-center coalitions" in the unions to InCAR (International Committee Against Racism) liberalism. Occasionally, they show a little imagination—as for example their protest against a disgusting government-sponsored conference to discuss a racist, "genetic" link to crime, where a PL/InCAR sign called for "Jobs, Not Prozac."

But at this Howard conference, PL kissed a lot of hourgeois butt while censoring leftist views. At a plenary session featuring Clinton appointee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, Mary Frances Berry, SL speakers were cut off when they raised the need to break with the Democratic Party, the fight to defend Mumia Abu-Jamal and our program of how to fight for an egalitarian socialist society. The PL chairman was more solicitous of several bow-tied supporters of the Million Man March, who spouted pro-Farrakhan rhetoric to their hearts' content, and were then denounced by PLers from the floor.

After the session, the youth at the conference were eager to talk and read Spartacist literature. Veteran PLers tried time and again to pull people away, but that strategy backfired as many were pissed off at this attempt at political censorship. Many youth had come to the conference because they were sympathizers of PL, but they didn't know anything about PL's political history, or the fight for workers revolution beyond a couple of slogans, and were eager to learn.

Young PL supporters were particularly upset at PL's refusal to defend Mumia Abu-Jamal, the award-winning journalist and black political prisoner on death row in Pennsylvania. PL's criminal sectarianism leads them to wrongly denounce Jamal as a reactionary black nationalist unworthy of support and thus to abstain from this important international campaign to free a class-war prisoner who has fought on the side of the oppressed.

The Mumia campaign has become a worldwide struggle precisely because his case focuses all that is wrong with this racist capitalist system and galvanizes many people and organizations which share an opposition to the death penalty and racist legal lynching. The Spartacus Youth Clubs, working closely with the Partisan Defense Committee, have always insisted on the strategy of united-front defense—based on the old IWW slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all," emphasizing the need for different organizations to join together in common action while freely proclaiming their own political views. We have applied this understanding not only in Jamal's case, but also in defense of PL members victimized by the cops for opposing fascist marauders.

Shocking Anti-Gay Hysteria

If young PL supporters were upset about their party's abandonment of Jamal, they were genuinely shocked that in keeping with its Stalinist puritanism, PL thinks homosexuality is a "sickness,"

Bermann/Sipa

Washington mayor Marion Barry was a keynote guest of PL.

and refuses to allow gays into its ranks! Many people did not believe this, but when they asked senior PLers about this policy, the PLers shamelessly defended this bigotry, and even attacked the Spartacists for our principled defense of the North American Man Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) from state persecution.

During a workshop on student action against budget cuts, Spartacists were able to present our positive program for action. Lisa Martin of the Spartacist League said:

> "To fight the budget cuts, students must ally with the social power of the labor movement. Around the CUNY [City University of New York] cuts last year, we called for New York labor to shut down New York in support of the students. We've also initiated united-front actions with labor to stop the Klan and Nazis and defend Mumia Abu-Jamal [applause]. The Million Man March is antithetical to this struggle. It is divisive and poisonous [howls from march supporters]. PL claims to oppose the Million Man March, but they don't defend all the oppressed. They don't defend Mumia Abu-Jamal, and they don't defend gays. What is needed is a party that is a tribune of people, and PL is not that!"

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Young Spartacus

Partisan Defense Committee initiated August 3 NYC united-front labor/black protest in defense of Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Labor...

(continued from page 1)

old refrain of American business unionism, going back to AFL founder Samuel Gompers' one-word summary of labor's demands: "More." But working people, minorities and the poor in this country need a hell of a lot more than a raise. We need to smash the union-busting assault by the capitalists and their government. We need to defeat the bipartisan assault on social programs, from welfare to health care and education. The multiracial working class, with an increasingly important and militant sector of immigrant workers, must mobilize to stop racist attacks, from cop terror in the ghettos and barrios to California's anti-immigrant Prop. 187 and the "English only" movement nationally.

Sweeney and Trumka help build this poisonous chauvinism and racism by pushing for protectionism. "The problem," says Sweeney, "is American companies that export jobs instead of products. The solution is a union movement that fights for American workers as well as American values." No, the *international* working class needs unions built through class struggle in solidarity action with their working-class brothers and sisters around the world. This was the goal of the first workers international, founded in the 1860s. To defeat old-fashioned American strikebreaking, it is necessary to make common cause with Japanese and Mexican workers against the American and Japanese and Mexican bosses.

The struggle to defend the working class and minorities must be waged against the entire labor bureaucracy, which is committed to upholding capitalism and tied to the Democratic Party. We need to forge an internationalist workers party that links the struggles of

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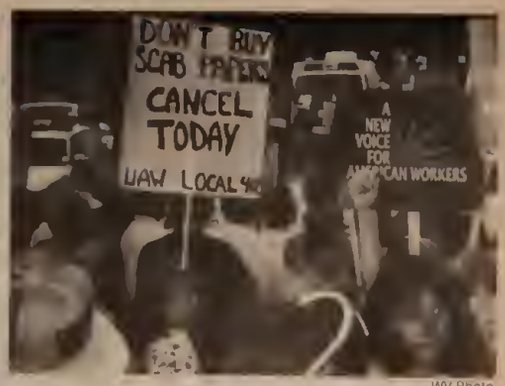


WV Photo

New AFL-CIO leadership—(from left) secretary-treasurer Richard Trumka, executive vice president Linda Chavez-Thompson and president John Sweeney—offers same old pro-Democratic Party policy of class collaboration. Right: Sweeney's "New Voice" pushes impotent consumer boycott strategy at Detroit newspaper strike rally.

workers everywhere against the capitalist bosses. To get rid of the boom-bust system of production for profit that produces unemployment and poverty-level wages, along with racist terror and imperialist war, it is necessary to overthrow the capitalist system through workers revolution. And the starting point is to oust the lieutenants of capital in the labor movement. As founding American Trotskyist James P. Cannon wrote in the 1920s:

> "The fight for a class movement of the American workers is in the first place a fight against the capitalist ideology which dominates them. The labor bureaucrats of the AFL and the unaffiliated unions of the same type are the direct bearers of this ideology in the working class and must be fought as such. The labor bureaucracy is a part of the capitalist rationalization and war machine—its 'labor' wing."
>
> —"Platform of the Communist Opposition" (February 1929)

Throughout Latin America, the AFL-CIO is justly known as the "AFL-CIA" for its subversion of workers organizations and the construction of "free trade unions" under CIA control. Its government-funded "American Institute for Free Labor Development" (AIFLD) helped topple the leftist Allende government in Chile, financed anti-government unions in Sandinista Nicaragua and pro-government unions in death squad El Salvador. Financed by CIA conduits like the National Endowment for Democracy, the AFL-CIO played a major role for the U.S. bourgeoisie in pumping in millions of dollars in support of the CIA's Polish "union" Solidarność. Trumka himself was a major cog in the AFL-CIO's "cold war clock." In 1989-92, as the fate of the USSR hung in the balance, the UMW and AFL-CIO funneled in money and "advisers" to win combative miners to support U.S.-backed Boris Yeltsin.

Union Organizing and the International Economy

To pump some life back into the near-moribund labor movement, Sweeney has vowed to spend some tens of millions of dollars to sign up new union members in an organizing drive, particularly in the Southern "sun belt." This would be a shift from the past two decades, when unions typically spent a tiny 2-3 percent on organizing work, and much of that on raiding other unions. But just throwing money at the problem won't bring the promised millions of new members into the unions. Any attempt to unionize the "open shop" South, organizing black and white workers into integrated locals, will run smack into the explosive race question. To overcome the racist poison fostered by the ruling class to keep workers divided, it will take a concerted struggle by all workers against black oppression and its enforcers, the cops and courts and their hooded fascist auxiliary in the Ku Klux Klan. In Washington, labor faces a hostile government, from the Democratic White House to the Republican Congress.

And everywhere attempts to organize the unorganized will run up against private armies of strikebreaking thugs like Vance Security, not a few of whom were

Mexico...

(continued from page 7)

union has planned an October 26 work stoppage and a strike at the end of the month. What's needed is a militant, class-struggle perspective and leadership, which could make such a mobilization an important step toward uniting all the struggles in one big fist.

In the state of Hidalgo, where auto workers and miners have a long history of struggle, workers at Dina and Sidena [large bus and steel plants] must mobilize their power, together with other sectors, in defense of the besieged students. This would strengthen and broaden their own fight against layoffs and attacks on their union contracts, and would point the way toward a proletarian counteroffensive throughout the country.

For a number of years now, the government has sought to reverse the so-called "massification" of UNAM, which resulted from the 1968 mobilizations, and to exclude the majority of poor students from higher education throughout Mexico. The repression in Hidalgo is part of the same bourgeois onslaught that has been sinking the working-class population into ever-deeper poverty; that launched its machinery of death against the courageous Zapatista insurgents; that seeks to smash the peasant land seizures occurring all over the southern part of the country; that threw the Mexico City Ruta 100 municipal bus drivers out into the street, imprisoned their union leaders and now persecutes the strikers at Tres Estrellas de Oro bus line. Now they seek to formalize this wave of repression through a draconian "anti-crime law."

Under the aegis of NAFTA, the Mexican bourgeoisie and its senior partners on Wall Street are slashing real wages at the same time as they attack the most basic social services; they want workers to foot the bill for the devaluation and brutal inflation brought on by *their* capitalist system. This offensive means increasingly harsh attacks on all the oppressed, the poor peasantry, Indians, working women and youth, and everyone's democratic rights.

The working class is the only force with the social power and interest to unite the oppressed and exploited in a counteroffensive capable of defeating the bourgeois assault. In 1968 the government succeeded in isolating the students from the bulk of the working class, and repressed them in a hail of bullets. But today, when the regime is shaken by one crisis after another, it is possible and necessary to destroy the corporatist chains that bind the Mexican proletariat. This means *breaking with the bourgeoisie*, both the ruling PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) and the PAN (the rightist National Action Party) as well as Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas' bourgeois nationalist PRD (Party of the Democratic Revolution), that neo-PRI that helps isolate struggles and seeks to subordinate every sign of discontent to the politicians and institutions of the capitalist state. What's lacking is the *revolutionary leadership*; the urgent task is to forge a revolutionary, internationalist workers party to unchain the power of the working class, uniting it with its class brothers and sisters north of the Rio Grande and throughout the world, to eradicate poverty, inequality and bourgeois repression through socialist revolution. As part of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), the Grupo Espartaquista de México and the Juventud Espartaquista are dedicated to this task.

For united mass mobilizations to defend the students of El Mexe! Freedom now for the arrested students—Drop all charges against them! ■

Howard...

(continued from page 9)

A raging debate ensued, centering on the Million Man March and our program for integrated working-class struggle. PL members squirmed in their seats but not a single one of them got up to answer the Spartacist speaker about the need to defend Jamal and gays. At the conclusion of the workshop, people mobbed the Spartacist speakers, wanting to denounce PL, defend PL, protest PL's bureaucratic attempts to shout us down, and talk about gay rights and the Million Man March.

The entire conference had a surreal quality, with PL fawning over their Democratic Party guests one minute, and thundering about the "fight for communism, now!" the next minute, while never seeing the contradiction. Meanwhile a useful political discussion continued among the young people present over what strategy to fight for black liberation—a debate which PL cadre simply chose to ignore. The conference concluded with a plenary session on "consensus issues"—at a conference where there was a consensus on nothing! PL rammed through a resolution for a "day of action" in the spring. A day of action on what? Who knows, but you can bet it *won't* be on the fight to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, defend gay rights, or build a revolutionary workers party that defends all of the oppressed!

Such a program is counterposed to the politics of PL, which routinely vacillates between reformist liberalism and sectarian adventurism—courting black Democrats here, posing as the best streetfighters of the fascists there. Progressive Labor originated as a left split from the Communist Party, USA in the early 1960s, but they've always been marked by eclectic Stalinism, despite subjectively revolutionary elements among their membership.

PL turned to Maoism as an alternative to the blatant reformism of the CP and its Moscow mentors, tailing the anti-Sovietism of the U.S. rulers. For a time, this gave PL the de facto franchise as the only Maoist group recognized by China in the U.S. However, PL got caught in a real contradiction: on the one hand they adhered to Maoism, the Chinese brand of Stalin's schema for class collaboration; on the other they had subjective impulses to be proletarian revolutionists. In the late '60s, PL eventually broke with Maoism, but not Stalinism, and never has moved toward its antithesis, the communist road of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

Progressive Labor is so thoroughly imbued with grotesque Stalinist views that they believe under communism homosexuality (which they consider a disease of capitalism) will be wiped out, with everyone rejoicing in happy monogamous family lives. They trumpet the totally discredited theories of virologist Peter Deusberg which blame AIDS on "deviant behavior" (*Challenge*, 20 November 1991). Thus they echo the Moral Majority bigots in the belief that America must be "morally regenerated" to total conformity—by force.

This line runs parallel to their view that the death penalty "would be a good idea if workers had power" (*Challenge*, 8 April 1992). One wonders who would be the first targets of state-sponsored execution under PL's "communism." Gay couples? The "socialist society" these people want to see isn't the kind anybody would want to live in and is the polar opposite of what communists fight for: the liberation of humanity in all spheres of life. However, this outlook is right up the alley of mainstream black Democrats, who in large part have bought into the bourgeoisie's "family values" crusade to morally straitjacket the population. No wonder then that PL caters to these black misleaders when they come to Howard, the nation's most prestigious black university.

In contrast, the Spartacus Youth Clubs seek to break the illusions young people have in the Democratic Party, the twin party of capital. As an action school for young revolutionaries, we win revolutionary fighters to the side of the oppressed *in action*, for instance, in campaigning for the freedom of Mumia Abu-Jamal. We fight for a revolutionary party which champions all the oppressed—blacks, gays, women, Latinos and Asians. Join us! ■

active as mercenaries in U.S. imperialism's contra war in Central America (in which the "AFL-CIA" acted as the "labor" auxiliaries). *Business Week* bragged last year that "over the past dozen years, in fact, U.S. industry has conducted one of the most successful antiunion wars ever, illegally firing thousands of workers for exercising their right to organize." Union-busting has turned into a *billion dollar* industry. The result: unionized workers are now a *smaller* portion of the workforce than they were at the end of the 1920s—and less than when the Wagner Act was enacted in 1935.

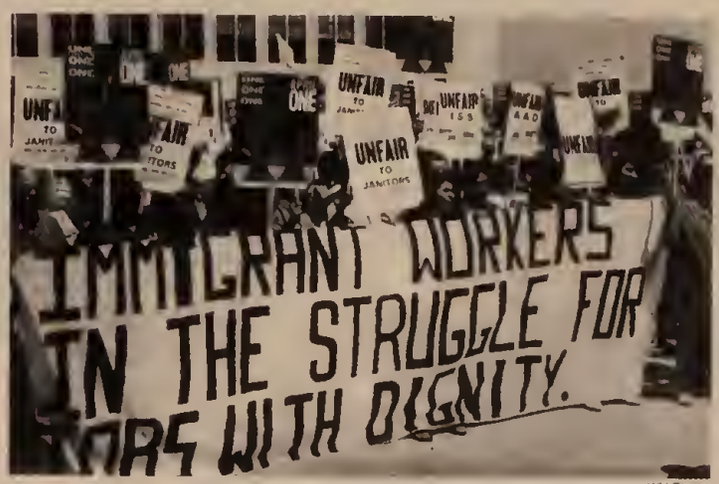
Today Sweeney & Co. talk of replicating the mass union organizing of the late 1930s, but the explosive growth of the Congress of Industrial Unions was the result of convulsive social struggles far beyond anything the "new-old guard" at the AFL-CIO has in mind. It is a fundamental myth perpetrated by the labor bureaucracy, from CIO founder John L. Lewis on down, and one accepted by much of the left, that Franklin D. Roosevelt gave labor the "right to organize." But Section 7A of FDR's 1933 National Recovery Act and the subsequent Wagner Act were designed to derail militant labor struggle and confine it in the straitjacket of capitalist legality. The CIO was born out of the three 1934 citywide general strikes (Minneapolis, San Francisco and Toledo), all led by "reds," and the powerful industrial unions were built through militant class-struggle tactics like the sit-down strike, which *all* wings of the labor bureaucracy abhor today.

The response of the AFL-CIO tops to the battering received by labor has been a bureaucratic reshuffling. There has recently been a series of union mergers, with more in the offing. The International Ladies' Garment Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers joined to form UNITE. Latest to announce a merger were the UAW, the Machinists and the United Steelworkers, who just took in the Rubber Workers earlier this year. This will form a union of almost two million workers—but the UAW, IAM and USWA used to have a million members *each*. The *New York Times* confidently predicts: "Nor will substitution of a mega-sized union do anything to stop the 20-year slide in real wages.... The international market increasingly arbitrates compensation." In fact, the catastrophic decline in the American labor movement over the past 20 years is directly related to significant structural changes in the U.S. economy, especially its manufacturing sector.

The sharp losses experienced by corporate America in the 1974-75 world slump exposed the declining competitiveness of U.S. industry compared to its Japanese and West European rivals. American capital then sought to jack up the rate of exploitation by shifting manufacturing operations to low-wage countries in East Asia and Latin America and to the "open shop" South and Southwest within the U.S. These geographical moves were then used to pressure the AFL-CIO bureaucrats into conceding giveback contracts and two-tier wage systems, scrapping union safety and work rules, etc. The growing integration of Mexico—where manufacturing wages are even lower than in Taiwan and South Korea—into the American industrial economy culminated in the North American Free Trade Agreement in 1994. In the first year of NAFTA, the real hourly wages of the 77 million production workers in the U.S. declined another 3 percent.

While shifting production abroad, corporate America has engaged in relentless layoffs at home. Unions can no longer as in the past make gains in periods of economic upturn by taking advantage of employers' increased demand for labor. Today, periods of economic upturn are marked by rising corporate income and profits combined with stagnant or even falling wages. Corporate downsizing and government cutbacks have forced millions of workers to survive by taking marginal, part-time, temporary or home-based jobs, the kind of jobs that weren't unionized even in the 1940s and '50s.

As long as capitalism exists, the capitalists will move capital—and jobs—to where the profits are greatest. This means that a fighting labor movement must extend beyond heavy industry and government to include the burgeoning sweatshop and minimum-wage service jobs. Moreover, the increasing integration of the North American market under NAFTA, while intensifying the superexploitation of Mexican workers, has also opened increased possibilities for sharp class struggle against the North American bourgeoisie. In auto, for example, a strike at the GM plant in Ramos Arizpe, Mexico reverberates in the Midwest and Canada. The capitalists' "just in time" production without stockpiling inventory makes them extremely vulnerable to strike action. But the protectionism and anti-immigrant racism of the labor bureaucracy stands as a *roadblock* to this kind of united class struggle.



WV Photo

SEIU "Justice for Janitors" organizing drive in downtown Los Angeles mobilizes heavily immigrant minority workers against racist bosses.

While the California AFL-CIO came out against anti-immigrant Prop. 187 last year, it was the labor federation that campaigned so hard for the employer sanctions provision of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act, in order, in their racist language, to "stem the tide of illegal immigrants" (*AFL-CIO News*, 22 August 1994). The labor tops have echoed the call of liberal Democrats like Senators Feinstein and Boxer for more Border Patrol agents and for militarizing the border. Much is being made of the rapid growth of the SEIU in recent years, especially among immigrant workers. A lot of this rise has come from mergers. And where immigrant workers have waged bitter fights to win unions they have been bureaucratically hamstrung by the SEIU tops. The well-known SEIU Local 399 in Los Angeles, a showcase of the "Justice for Janitors" campaign, has been placed in trusteeship by Sweeney after immigrant activists defeated the incumbent bureaucracy in a union election.

There have been some significant shifts in the composition of the union movement of late that are indirectly reflected in the infighting among the bureaucrats over the AFL-CIO's top slot. *Time* magazine (30 October) highlighted "The Battle to Revive the Unions" and noted "a new militancy is taking hold in the workplace." The *Wall Street Journal* (1 September), which follows labor with particular interest from the other side of the class line, headlined "Some Unions Step Up Organizing Campaigns and Get New Members." The article began: "The U.S. labor movement has been doing something surprising lately: winning a few." It noted that in the last two years, union membership actually went up by 3 percent to 16.7 million. The new recruits are mainly immigrant Hispanic and black workers in service industries and low-wage sweatshops. This will eventually reflect itself in the labor bureaucracy. But the promotion of women, black and Hispanic officials in the name of diversity will not in itself turn the unions into "fighting machines" for the working class. The key is program.

For a Class-Struggle Workers Party!

In Leon Trotsky's final work, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay," left unfinished when a Stalinist assassin struck him down in August 1940, he noted that when the American CIO was created, "the new 'leftist' trade union organization was no sooner founded than it fell into the steel embrace of the imperialist state.... In the United States the Department of Labor with its leftist bureaucracy has as its task the subordination of the trade union movement to the democratic state, and it must be said that this task has up to now been solved with some success." The rising CIO bureaucracy tied the working class to its class enemy through the agency of the Democratic Party. Through support to their "own" bourgeoisie in the Second World War, and especially through the postwar red purge, the bureaucracy set out on the course which has brought the labor movement to its knees today.

In the essay quoted above, Trotsky pointed to the key task of revolutionaries in the labor movement in the imperialist era:

> "The trade unions in the present epoch cannot simply be the organs of democracy as they were in the epoch of free capitalism and they cannot any longer remain politically neutral, that is, limit themselves to serving the daily needs of the working class.... They can no longer be reformist, because the objective conditions leave no room for any serious and lasting reforms. The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

The past two decades, during which the American trade-union leadership presided over the wholesale elimination of jobs and destruction of labor gains, putting the survival of the unions in peril, have fully confirmed Trotsky's analysis. This could only happen because the labor bureaucracy, a privileged petty-bourgeois layer sitting atop the unions, defends the interests not of the workers but of their exploiters. As socialist Eugene V. Debs said of Samuel Gompers, "The role of the AFL leadership is to chloroform the working class while the capitalist class goes through its pockets."

A genuine fight to revive the union movement must be based on complete independence of the unions from the capitalist state and the capitalist parties, raising a revolutionary class-struggle program. This centers on the fight to build a workers party, one which defends the black, Hispanic and Asian working and poor people of this country, and fights to join in action with workers internationally. This is in sharp contrast to the kind of "labor party" that is bandied about by various social-democratic leftists and dissident bureaucrats. As we have pointed out (see "Why 'Labor Party Advocates' Doesn't Advocate a Labor Party," *WV* No. 622, 5 May), the purpose of such outfits is to act as *a pressure group on the Democrats*. This was exactly what *Labor Notes* (October 1995) advocates in calling for supporting Sweeney as a lesser evil:

> "It would make a lot more sense for unions to rattle a few sabres rather than kiss and make up with the Democratic Party and be taken for granted all over again.... Why not lend support to the founding convention of Labor Party Advocates to throw a real scare into phony friends of labor next year?"

Or as LPA founder and longtime Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers top official Tony Mazzocchi, made clear from the get-go: "Organizing Labor Party Advocates is not going to retard the rebirth of the Democrats. On the contrary, it will encourage it."

Bourgeois politics/elections have never offered anything more than the illusion of change—today the illusion is gone. A taste of the kind of struggle that is needed to revive the unions and forge a class-struggle workers party was seen in the labor-centered demonstrations last August initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee in the campaign to save political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, on death row in Pennsylvania. These demonstrations won the support and active participation of a number of unions, including Mail Handlers, AFSCME, SSEU, 1199 Hospital Workers, Teamsters and others in New York, and in the Bay Area the ILWU longshore and warehouse workers, SEIU, Typographical Workers, Postal Workers and Teachers unions.

Together with the picket-line battles against cops and scabs in the Detroit newspaper strike, such actions indicate that there is movement at the base of labor which the Sweeneys and Trumkas are working overtime to tame and contain. The fight to mobilize the unions in the struggle to abolish the racist death penalty is critical as we seek to build a workers party that acts as a "tribune of the people," in Lenin's classic phrase. With a generation of minority youth condemned to "life" in the ghetto and the prison, or death by "legal lynching" and cop execution, with welfare mothers facing a genocidal budget ax, a fighting labor movement can be built only by championing the cause of all the oppressed.

To mobilize labor in struggle for its class interests must include the fight for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, to fight unemployment and the bosses' union-busting drive for "two-tier" contracts; for union defense guards against the scabherders, for mass picketing and plant occupations to win strikes instead of bowing to the bosses' laws; for labor/black mobilization to stop the KKK and other racist terrorists who are an immediate obstacle to any serious attempt to organize the South; for full citizenship rights for all immigrants, legal or "illegal," to unite the working class regardless of its origins; for labor action against imperialist marauding, from the Persian Gulf and Haiti to Bosnia; for a political mobilization of the working class to build a workers party that fights for a workers government to expropriate the capitalists and establish a planned economy.

As Trotsky noted more than half a century ago, such a program of transitional demands, challenging the capitalist system itself, "is not only the program for the activity of the party but in its fundamental features it is the program for activity of the trade unions." For the working class to mobilize in struggle against the all-sided economic and social and racist attacks launched against it by the capitalist rulers of this country requires a leadership. In the first instance, this means that there must be a *political* fight within the labor movement itself to sweep away all wings of the pro-capitalist labor traitors. As Trotsky wrote: "In the epoch of imperialist decay the trade unions can be really independent only to the extent that they are conscious of being, in action, the organs of proletarian revolution." ■

Feds, Finks and Fake Militants—Recipe for Defeat

Labor: Stop Playing by the Bosses' Rules!

PART ONE OF TWO

When newly elected AFL-CIO president John Sweeney promised to bring back the "militancy" of bygone years, he wasn't exactly preaching class war. Sweeney wants to revive the civil disobedience tactics of the 1960s civil rights movement, not the powerful strike struggles of the 1930s—some mass rallies in place of mass picket lines, pacifist sit-ins instead of sit-down strikes, consumer boycotts rather than secondary boycotts by transport workers declaring struck products "hot-cargo." Sweeney and his running mate Richard Trumka of the United Mine Workers (UMW) may make a grandstand play of getting themselves arrested for sit-ins on bridges, but certainly not for leading masses of unionists in defiance of anti-picketing injunctions and no-strike laws. Not only have they always refused to do this, they have smashed "wildcat" actions by workers going up against the bosses' laws.

Last month an activist in the Detroit newspaper strike pointedly asked: why do strike leaders think it's OK to illegally sit in the roadway and get arrested but not to illegally build mass pickets and stop the scabs? Throughout the bitter struggle in Detroit union leaders have derailed the strikers' impulse to wage hard class struggle into defeatist protest actions aimed at winning over liberal public opinion. And now, with hundreds of scabs holding the strikers' jobs, Sweeney and Trumka have announced an impotent nationwide "corporate campaign" aimed at the struck newspapers' biggest advertisers. In a dire struggle crying out for sympathy strikes, Sweeney mounts a PR bid for "public" sympathy.

The Detroit strike is following a blueprint pushed for years by reformist and liberal pundits who preach that the "old-fashioned methods" of labor struggle don't work anymore. It has in fact become a liberal maxim that strikes are dead. Instead, in league with the Democratic Party, they want the AFL-CIO to "turn workers' rights into a civil rights issue" to be resolved through Congressional action. This is the message promoted by labor lawyer Thomas Geoghegan, who two decades ago shared an office in the UMW International with Rich Trumka. In his revealing book, *Which Side Are You On? Trying to Be for Labor When It's Flat On Its Back* (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1991), Geoghegan paints a vivid picture of the AFL-CIO under former chieftain Lane Kirkland—"a dumb, stupid mastodon of a thing," so out of touch it doesn't even "know where to put the pickets." The self-fulfilling "no strike" perspective has produced hundreds of yuppie labor lawyers, like Geoghegan, whose job is to advise union bureaucrats on the bosses' anti-strike laws.

What is bankrupt is not the "traditional" strike but the union bureaucracy that constantly misleads and sabotages it. Encouraged by the labor tops' curtailment of class struggle, America's capitalist rulers in the Republican *and* Democratic parties pursue an all-sided campaign of racism, regimentation and austerity directed primarily at the heavily minority, urban working class. The defeats suffered by labor fuel the growth of the Ku Klux Klan and other race-terrorist defenders of a decaying profit system, who pose a deadly threat to blacks and labor. The routine police violence exposed by the Fuhrman tapes, the gun-control frenzy that triggered the Waco massacre, the imperialist attacks on the Bosnian Serbs—these are signatures of the rapacious American capitalism that the AFL-CIO bureaucracy has loyally served.

The AFL-CIO's sellouts have spawned a proliferation of labor "advisers" pushing no-strike nostrums, like mosquitos multiplying around a stagnant pool. Their proposals for "the new unionism"—corporate campaigns, in-plant strategy, civil disobedience, labor law reform, etc.—all accept the framework of capitalist legality. The lesson they draw from the almost unbroken string of union defeats over the past two decades is to put forward a strategy of retreat. Moreover, what passes for a socialist left in this country has almost uniformly *embraced* such diversions, and the bureaucrats on the make who push them.

For years, union leaders have sought to blame the decline of labor on the Reagan and now Gingrich Republicans. Since the AFL-CIO brought out the union troops to get "right to work" Clinton elected in 1992—only to get kicked in the teeth over NAFTA, NLRB decisions, health care and "striker replacement" legislation—many have soured on the Democrats. But even when they bandy about talk of a "labor party," this is only a pressure tactic on the parties of capital. The umbilical cord tying the American labor bureaucracy to the Democrats has produced defeat after defeat for the unions, while simultaneously ghetto and barrio youth are condemned to starve and thrown into prison by the millions.

The gutting of the American labor movement over the last 20 years—barely 15 percent of the workforce is now unionized—has gone hand in hand with the rise of racist reaction. The AFL-CIO bureaucracy—refusing to organize the "open shop" South, protecting the racist job-trusting building trades, attacking the Panthers and other "black power" radicals in the 1960s—contributed greatly to the political climate leading to Clinton/Gingrich's America. What the working class needs is not rehashed pressure tactics, but *a revolutionary class-struggle leadership with a program to mobilize the working class, both economically and politically, to fight in its own interests against the ruling class and its government.* This means above all complete independence from the capitalist parties. Labor's historic ties to the Democratic Party are the main strategic obstacle to class struggle in this country. The revival of a labor movement in this country, especially through organizing the South and Southwest and the sweatshops exploiting "illegal" immigrant workers, requires uniting black, Hispanic, Asian and white workers in the struggle against racial oppression and anti-immigrant chauvinism.

Ideologues of "New Unionism"

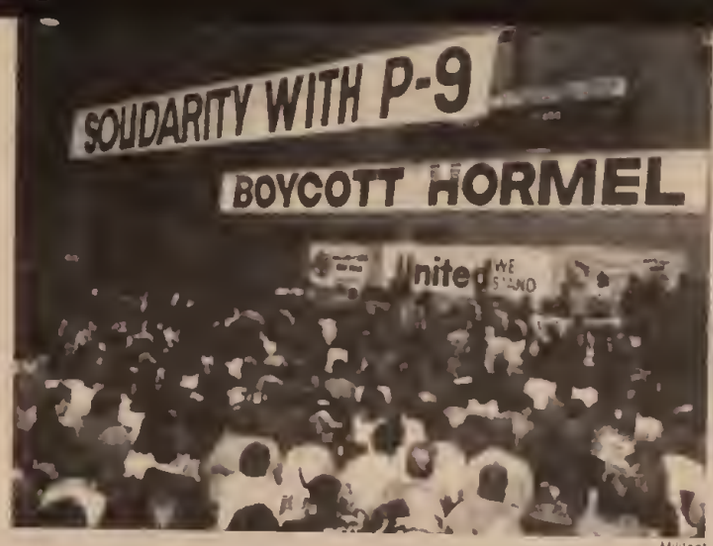
For 20 years Geoghegan has aided various "progressive" union figures, from Arnold Miller, installed by the Labor Department to run the United Mine Workers (UMW) in 1972, to Ed Sadlowski, the Chicago-based "insurgent" candidate of the 1977 United Steel Workers (USWA) presidential election, to the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), who in 1991 helped the Justice Department place Ron Carey—and themselves—in the leadership of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT). But Geoghegan, who describes himself as a "New Deal Democrat," ultimately believes labor's fate depends upon favorable labor law reform in Congress. Barring that unlikelihood, he pronounces, "The strike is dead.... This is post-strike America." He moans, "I think we are at the end of the union era."

Geoghegan argues that post-World War II labor legislation—like the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts—eliminated the right of labor to organize, in contrast to the 1930s when "the workers could run wild" and millions were recruited into mass industrial unions. The absurd notion that class struggle was easier in the 1930s is an all-purpose alibi for today's labor fakers, who pledge to fight by any means necessary...as long as the bosses' politicians in Congress approve! In reality, union organizing in the 1930s was often a matter of life or death. During the CIO's attempt to organize Republic Steel in Chicago in 1937, police opened fire on fleeing unionists, killing ten and wounding 40 others. When the workers won, it was only through confronting and defeating the cops, National Guard and private company goons—for example, the famous "Battle of Deputies Run" in the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strike, led by Trotskyists.

Today, all union bureaucrats—including the most "progressive" among them—reject and oppose such class-struggle tactics. With their no-fight panaceas, these "progressives" are the main characters of Kim Moody's book, *An Injury to All. The Decline of American Unionism* (Verso, 1988). Moody, a longtime social democrat, is an editor of *Labor Notes*, a Detroit-based think tank and news magazine for "reform"-minded union bureaucrats. He calls for the replacement of narrow business unionism with "a social unionism that would seek to deal with capital at the level of industry and finance, in the political arena, and even internationally." Moody's vision of a West European-style social democratic movement on U.S. soil is not only unappealing—at a time when working people throughout Europe are suffering massive job losses and pay cuts—but downright ominous: from Berlin to London, social democrats and Labourites today are fueling the chauvinist frenzy against immigrant workers.

Moody's program of non-struggle is revealed by his choice of heroes: Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) bureaucrat Tony Mazzocchi, founder of Labor Party Advocates (LPA), who "argued that the traditional strike weapon was ineffective" in the oil industry; New Directions, the tame, pro-Democratic Party "opposition" in the United Auto Workers (UAW), which promotes "in-plant" pressure tactics in place of strikes; and Ray Rogers, whose corporate-campaign strategy mobilizes the "financial power" of unions to "pressure" intransigent bosses.

A few years ago Rogers and New Directions head Jerry Tucker began advising Local 7837 of the United Paperworkers (UPIU) in Decatur, Illinois, in its battle with the corn-processing Staley Manufacturing Co. Until last January Rogers ran the local's corporate campaign, a futile attempt to scandalize a company whose only concern is profits. Tucker advised on the



Militant

Meat packers clash with cops during 1985 strike against Hormel (top). "Corporate campaign" diffused militant union struggle, as Local P-9 roving pickets were abandoned in favor of consumer boycott.

local's "in-plant strategy"—he did, that is, until the company locked out Local 7837 in June 1993. And they remain locked out two and a half years later! Defeats are nothing new to this bunch; Rogers helped organize one of labor's biggest setbacks of the 1980s.

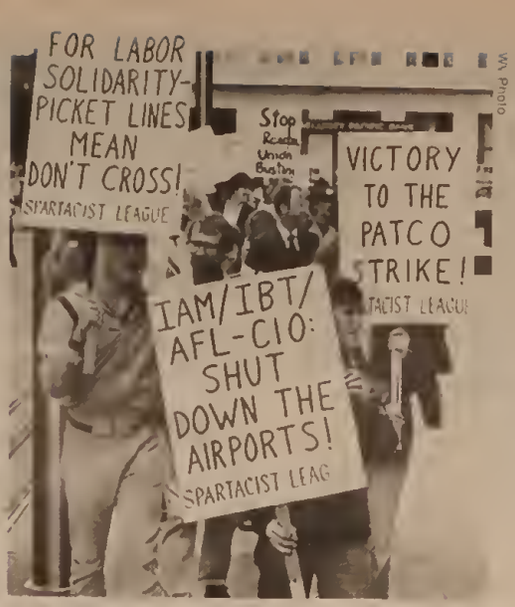
Kim Moody's *An Injury to All* was written in the wake of the 1985-86 Hormel strike in Austin, Minnesota, in which Rogers played a leading role as adviser to Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW). P-9's roving pickets electrified much of the U.S. labor movement by shutting down key Hormel plants. However the strike was lost after Hormel reopened its flagship Austin plant with scab labor. Rogers' corporate-campaign strategy—which relied on public relations, consumer boycotts, stockholder pressure and legal maneuvers—*diverted* P-9 from militant action to halt the scabbing. It was this *mis*leadership that opened the way for Hormel, abetted by the treacherous UFCW International, to break the strike, disband P-9 and fire hundreds of workers. Yet Moody calls P-9's fight "a model of what unionism can be."

Another enthusiast for the losing strategy imposed on the P-9 strikers is Peter Rachleff, a Minnesota history professor who conducts "inside strategy" seminars for New Directions. Rachleff, who participated in support work during the P-9 strike, has written his own account and analysis of that struggle, *Hard-Pressed in the Heartland: The Hormel Strike and the Future of the Labor Movement* (South End Press, 1993). Rachleff brushes aside the devastating defeat inflicted on the strikers and exults that they "were able to win their dignity and self-respect. They developed empowering organizing skills, built a movement culture, and developed a critical awareness of the social forces arrayed against America's working people." Rachleff's account actually devotes more space to Local P-9's "Boycott Hormel" *concerts* than to the roving pickets that nearly set the company on its ear! He sourly concludes, "More than any other traditional labor tactic, the strike was a casualty of the changed climate of the 1980s." Rachleff's message: Local P-9 might have won...if it hadn't gone on strike!

U.S. Government: Tool of the Bosses

If many workers buy this no-strike defeatism, it's only because all the AFL-CIO dinosaurs (including the "progressives") have let so many promising working-class struggles go down the drain, from PATCO to Phelps Dodge, from Hormel to Caterpillar. They've been losing, and losing big, for nearly two decades now. But what do the "new unionists" offer as an alternative to hard class struggle? All their newfangled tactics invariably boil down to the old reformist aim of pressuring the government to give labor a boost.

Professor Rachleff feebly complains that employers get an unfair advantage from the "slow justice" meted out by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) as well as "lax government enforcement" of labor laws! He whines: "The federal government clearly chose sides in favor of management" against P-9. But the government didn't have to "choose sides," because it is itself the *command center of capitalist rule*. The courts, the police, the NLRB, Congress—these are agencies of a capitalist state machine whose purpose is to nurture and protect the system of profit and private ownership. Many Teamsters who went on strike last year mistakenly thinking of cops as "union brothers" got a bloody lesson in the role of the state when the police repeatedly attacked picket lines to beat and arrest the most militant strikers. And Jesse Acuna, a Latino trucker from L.A. who was nearly mowed down by a scab during the three-week freight strike, is still in jail serving five years for the "crime" of defending his picket line.



Spartacist League in SF solidarity demonstration after Reagan fired striking PATCO air controllers. Refusal of labor tops to shut down the airports doomed strike to defeat.

You don't need a Marxist worldview, just a pair of eyes, to see that the NLRB functions "like a bloodless bureaucratic death squad," to use Geoghegan's description. This observation is repeatedly confirmed in *Confessions of a Union Buster* (Crown Publishers, 1993) by Martin Jay Levitt, who spent nearly two decades helping companies drive out organized labor:

> "It so happens that the NLR Act, the bible of collective bargaining [that established the NLRB], can be a union buster's best friend. In its complexity the nation's fundamental labor law presents endless possibilities for delays, roadblocks, and maneuvers that can undermine a union's efforts and frustrate would-be members."

Now a speaker at AFL-CIO functions, Levitt in his former career racked up a record of 200 successful anti-labor drives against only five "losses." He describes union-busting as a growth industry employing 7,000 attorneys and consultants and pulling down well over $1 billion a year. And this army of mercenaries is aided every step of the way by the capitalist state, from a "plodding legal system" that obstructs union organizing to laws like Landrum-Griffin, which pry open labor's internal functioning to government inspection—"union busters couldn't have asked for a bigger break," says Levitt—to federal mediation, a copout favored by union bureaucrats, which Levitt frankly terms "bullshit."

Labor Reformists: Tools of the State

The capitalist state has erected a whole structure of labor laws designed to hamstring the unions and prevent militant class struggle. *Those who rely on the government as a substitute for mobilizing the proletariat in struggle inevitably wind up as agents of the state against labor.* This was the case of the UMW's Arnold Miller, Geoghegan's first employer in the labor movement.

Geoghegan came out of law school just as Miller was coming to power in the United Mine Workers. Miller's election in 1972 was engineered by the U.S. Labor Department, which sought to replace the utterly corrupt and discredited regime of Tony Boyle with a leadership better equipped to control and discipline an increasingly bitter and restive workforce. Almost uniquely in the left, the Spartacist League gave no support to Miller, who, far from being answerable to the UMW membership, would "keep faith only with the Labor Department/liberal Democrat cabal which installed him at the head of the UMW" ("Labor Department Wins Mine Workers' Election," WV No. 17, March 1973). Geoghegan took a job on the legal staff at UMW headquarters in Washington.

Though Geoghegan was to leave the UMW before the notorious sellout of the hard-fought coal strike of 1977-78, his account of the intervening years provides a rich illustration of the union's international struggling to clamp a legalistic lid on rank-and-file miners who instinctively turned to class-struggle methods. For instance, in 1975 the Miller leadership asked U.S. Customs to block the importation of South African coal—a protectionist appeal cloaked in anti-racist garb. But when a coal-laden ship from South Africa actually landed in Mobile, coal miners throughout Alabama went on strike and shut down the entire port of Mobile! "I have never seen so many injunctions all at once," complains Geoghegan. "It took three or four years to dispose of all the litigation." The International was outraged; Sam Littlefield, the UMW district president who called this action, was "off his rocker," according to Geoghegan. A few months later Littlefield was murdered in his Washington, D.C. hotel room, amid rumors of "assassination."

Wildcat strikes broke out in the coal fields during 1975 and 1976 over the right to strike:

> "It would start at a single mine, and then go like a forest fire from state to state. Soon it would be a national strike...
> "The entire Union was like a roaming mob. ..and back in Washington, we had nothing to do with it. *Nothing*.
> "The second one (1976) was a strike against the federal courts. The picket signs even said, 'Strike Against the Federal Courts'."
> —*Which Side Are You On?*

Charleston Daily Mail

August 1975: Over 100,000 coal miners wildcatted in defense of their right to strike, signed away by "reform" union leader Arnold Miller.

Geoghegan explains that the courts were issuing injunctions against these strikes because they violated the no-strike clause in the UMW contract, but he omits that it was Miller who gave up the right to strike over grievances in the 1974 contract. These wildcats were waged against the government *and* its agents in the Miller administration, which worked hand in glove with the courts to end them.

Miller's success in curtailing the UMW's fighting power put the union on a downward course, and it still hasn't hit bottom. "Trumka became president in 1981," writes Geoghegan, "And today the UMW is probably the stablest, most adult, most democratic union in all of labor." The reality is that today UMW members produce less than 30 percent of the coal mined in the U.S. Trumka's latest contract sanctions non-union mines, guts on-the-job safety and leaves miners facing federal frame-up charges from the ten-month "selective strike" of 1993 twisting in the wind. With Clinton's Justice Department bearing down on miners, and the UMW International refusing to use the union's power in his defense, West Virginia miner Jerry Dale Lowe still faces eleven years in prison. The mine bosses certainly have little to complain about.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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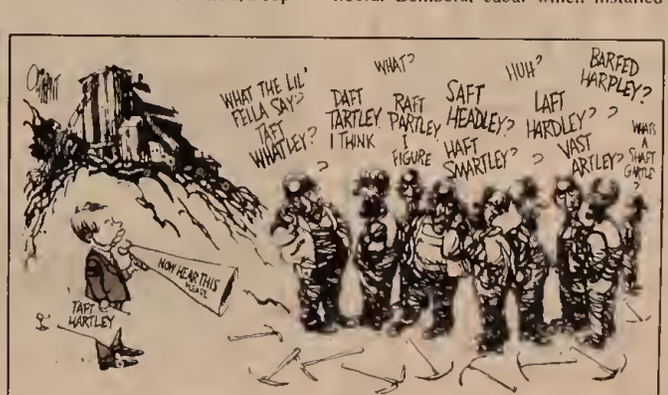


Pat Oliphant

Arnold Miller, whose election as UMW president in 1972 was engineered by the U.S. Labor Department, repeatedly tried to sell out 1977-78 coal strike as miners defied Democrat Carter's "back to work" Taft-Hartley injunctions.

Prisons...

(continued from page 16)

explosion in the women's prison population is the war on drugs."

This war has been pushed no less fervently by Clinton's Democrats than by Gingrich's Republicans. It was the Democrat-controlled Congress in 1986 that passed the draconian anti-drug law which put the teeth in Reagan's "Just Say No" crusade. And when the government commission recommended equalizing the crack and cocaine sentences last April, Attorney General Janet Reno loudly denounced the decision. The burgeoning and blackening of the prison population has become the barometer of political success for the two parties of racist reaction. Here is Clinton's campaign theme for the '96 elections, as outlined by political adviser James Carville:

> "I came here to make a better America. And, by the way we measure a better America, it is better. There are more people working than on the day I took office. There are more people in prison cells than on the day I took office."

More people in prison cells—this is the "promise" of capitalism in Clinton/Gingrich's America! And while there may be more minimum-wage McJobs flipping burgers, in fact the massive increase in police-state repression in the inner cities has gone hand in hand with rampant unemployment—often disguised by simply eliminating such "discouraged workers" from the workforce. In a recent article in the journal *Social Justice* (Summer 1995), criminologist William J. Chambliss wrote:

> "The loss of jobs and increasing impoverishment of the lower classes increase the threat of riots, rebellions, and demands for a redistribution of wealth through education and job retraining. During these periods, social control through criminal law always increases in an effort to defuse, control, and preempt riots and rebellions. An army of police officers that systematically harasses, arrests, and imprisons the most vital elements of the community (the young men and women) is a time-honored tradition designed to control 'the dangerous classes.'"

In the same period as the prison population went up by a million, the number of manufacturing jobs went down by a million. And while real wages for all workers have plummeted 20 percent in the past two decades, among black men who have not graduated from high school the plunge in annual earnings between 1973 and 1989 is an astounding *50 percent*. Indeed, the Sentencing Project report reveals that the chief victims of the "war on drugs" are not lumpenized ghetto youth but working-class blacks, whose rate of incarceration increased *sixfold* in the 12 years from 1979. Some of these young black workers were forced to turn to drug dealing to supplement median incomes of $800 a month.

Echoing the racist yuppie in the White House are a host of black misleaders, from Louis Farrakhan to Jesse Jackson. While cynically bemoaning the number of young black men in prison, the sponsors of Farrakhan's Million Man March ardently boost the racist "war on drugs" which has put them there. In virtually identical language, Farrakhan and Jackson railed against the "proliferation of drugs and guns" in building the march, while Farrakhan's cosponsor and former NAACP head Benjamin Chavis declared, "The measure of success of the march will be...if black-on-black crime will go down, if drug addiction and alcohol abuse will go down."

Jackson & Co. enlisted as lieutenants in the "war on drugs" from the outset. Grotesquely dismissing Klan lynchings in the South, Jackson railed in 1986 that "ropes never killed as many of our young people as the pushers of drugs," while Joseph Lowery's SCLC obscenely called to "Resist the new lynch mob...Killer Krack Koke." In New York City, they were joined by FBI fink Al Sharpton and nationalist demagogue Sonny Carson, who organized anti-drug vigilante gangs as auxiliaries to the racist cops. And a lot of the left followed in their wake, typified by the Stalinist puritans of the Progressive Labor Party, who stomped around Brooklyn trying to shut down crack houses like junior G-men while vituperating that "the U.S. has become the land of drugs" (*Challenge*, 23 July 1986).

The indictment leveled against the Reagan administration and the narcs by liberal academic Michael Tonry in his book, *Malign Neglect—Race, Crime, and Punishment in America* (Oxford University Press, 1995), applies no less to the Democrats and the black bourgeois misleaders:

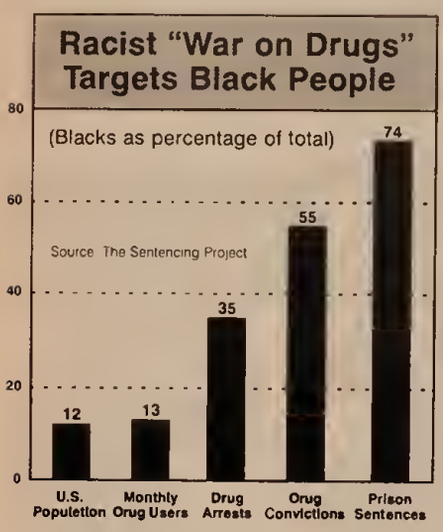
> "The war's planners knew exactly what they were doing....
>
> "Urban black Americans have borne the brunt of the War on Drugs. They have been arrested, prosecuted, convicted, and imprisoned at increasing rates since the early 1980s, and grossly out of proportion to their numbers in the general population or among drug users. By every standard, the war has been harder on blacks than on whites; that this was predictable makes it no less regrettable."

Among other things, Tonry points out that the massive escalation in the "war on drugs" has been facilitated by the recruitment of blacks and Hispanics to big city police departments. Yet the call for more black cops and "community control" has been an insistent demand by black politicians and fake leftists. Meanwhile, Jesse Jackson and his fellow Democrats spearhead the drive for ever more stringent gun control, aimed at reinforcing the capitalist state's monopoly on armed force. Look at what happened to former NYC transit worker James Frazier: after surviving a near-murder by the cops, Frazier was convicted earlier this year on felony gun possession charges.

Horrified by the devastating impact of the "war on drugs," some liberals argue for lower sentences, more drug treatment facilities and shifting resources from repression to jobs and education. But the cops and courts are imprisoning more and more blacks and Hispanics precisely because this capitalist system has no other future to offer them. The slashing of funds for education, the abolition of welfare, the malign neglect of the ghettos and barrios in the face of epidemics of AIDS and TB, are all part of a genocidal policy whose ultimate end-product is the elimination of a whole layer of the black population for whom the capitalist rulers no longer have any jobs. As we noted nine years ago:

> "Black parents are anguished at the sight of their teenage children's lives wasting away. But the cause is not the particular form that escapism takes in this period, but the vicious cycle of joblessness, drugs and crime, promising a future of despair for a generation of ghetto youth. What kind of life is it where the 'alternatives' are welfare, jail, or the army?"
>
> —"Drug Witchhunt," *WV* No. 410 (29 August 1986)

While much of the reformist left climbed aboard the anti-drug bandwagon, the Spartacist League raised the call, "Labor: Smash Drug Witchhunt! Stop the Ghetto Roundups!" (*WV* No. 414, 24 October 1986). We called on the unions to resist mandatory drug testing, which has become a pervasive method to scapegoat particularly transportation workers for the bosses' failure to maintain safety. As we pointed out at the time, *decriminalization* would take much of the profit and violence out of the drug trade, which is intimately tied to the state apparatus, from the cop on the beat and narc squads right up to the CIA and its various tinpot dictators and Mafia collaborators around the globe. While hundreds of thousands of black youth are thrown into prison, the big-time criminals are the people running this country. It will take a workers revolution led by a multiracial vanguard party to put them out of business and lay the basis for a planned socialist economy which can provide jobs, education and a decent future for all. ■



Preister/Washington Times

AP photos

Gingrich, Clinton and Reno push American capitalism's solution to mass unemployment—racist cop terror in the ghettos and barrios under the guise of "war on drugs."

AP

Talladega, Alabama federal prison, October 20, the day after revolt against Congressional decision upholding racist sentencing disparities for crack versus powder cocaine.

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Quebec...

(continued from page 16)

and the ethnic vote." Promising to win "next time," Quebec's bourgeois-nationalist leaders will now seize on their narrow loss to scapegoat minorities and increase pressures aimed at pushing out anyone who is not white and francophone (French-speaking).

All this underlines the necessity for Marxists to advocate the independence of Quebec as the means to cut through the national divide which sets worker against worker along national lines and poisons the prospects for anti-capitalist class struggle (see "Independence for Quebec!" *WV* No. 629, 22 September). We print below a leaflet issued on October 25 by the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste, Canadian section of the International Communist League.

* * *

On October 30, the population of Quebec will vote for or against sovereignty. In the present circumstances, this is a clear referendum on independence. The oppression of the Québécois, who form a separate nation with their own distinct language and culture, is a cornerstone of capitalist rule in Canada. From the British Conquest of 1759, to the crushing of the Patriote rebellion in 1837, to the War Measures Act of 1970 and repeated threats to "use the sword" against any move to independence, the Anglo-chauvinist rulers have kept Quebec forcibly confined in a "united," and necessarily oppressive, federal state.

The government in Ottawa has made clear it is not about to agree to any amicable new "partnership" with Quebec. Liberal prime minister Chrétien, who sat in the Trudeau cabinet when Ottawa sent the army to occupy Montréal in 1970, threatens to refuse to recognize a majority Yes vote as a mandate for independence. And the New Democratic Party (NDP) provincial premiers Romanow and Harcourt (and ex-premier Rae in Ontario) have joined the Liberals, Tories (Conservatives) and Preston Manning's viciously anti-Quebec Reform Party in a grotesque chauvinist front against Quebec's national rights.

The prospects for anti-capitalist class struggle in Canada today are deeply poisoned by nationalist bigotry. Spawned by the oppression of the Québécois under the heel of the unitary Canadian state, and fueled by the bourgeois nationalists of the Parti Québécois (PQ) and Bloc Québécois (BQ) who seek to be exploiters of their "own" working class, these animosities have bitterly divided the working class of English Canada and Quebec. As revolutionary internationalists who seek to clear the road for common struggle by the workers of both nations against their common capitalist enemy, the Trotskyist League/Ligue Trotskyste calls for an independent Quebec. Thus we believe that class-conscious workers in Quebec should vote Yes in the coming referendum.

Since the triumph of the "Quiet Revolution" in the 1960s and '70s, the development of Quebec society has been sharply away from assimilation into English-dominated Canada and toward separation. The late 1980s/early '90s saw a vicious chauvinist uproar in English Canada against the Meech Lake Accord's simple affirmation that Quebec is a "distinct society." This was followed by another surge in separatist sentiment in Quebec, leading to a massive vote for Bouchard's *indépendantiste* BQ in the 1993 federal election. In the same election, workers in whole regions of English Canada backed the anti-Quebec bigots of Manning's Reform Party.

National chauvinism has divided the workers, undermining class struggle in the face of ever more sweeping attacks on wages, jobs and social programs from both Ottawa and the provincial governments. The union movement is increasingly riven: today not only all three Quebec labor federations but even the Quebec wings of countrywide unions like the Auto and Postal Workers support independence. We advocate independence for Quebec as the means to *break down* national and chauvinist antagonisms. Only through separation into two independent states can it be made clear to the workers of both nations that their real enemy is not "the French" or "*les Anglais*," but their "own" capitalist rulers.

Blouin/Agence Stock

June 1993 union demonstration in Montréal against pay cuts.

Defend Quebec's Rights, Defend Native Rights!

While Chrétien and his lieutenants brandish the sword of "Canadian unity," nationalist leaders Bouchard and Parizeau want independence in order to more fully exploit the workers of Quebec, and lord it over Native peoples and other minorities. Bouchard's grotesque comment about the need for more children "of the white races" in Quebec speaks volumes about the racist mindset of these bourgeois nationalists, mirroring the anti-immigrant and anti-Native hysteria fanned by the rulers in English Canada.

Aboriginal people in particular are in the racist rulers' crosshairs. The PQ's draft sovereignty bill pledges to uphold Quebec's "territorial integrity." These are code words for denial of the rights of the Cree, Inuit and other Native peoples who make up the overwhelming population of northern Quebec and have made clear that they do not want to be part of an independent Quebec. The capitalists in both Quebec and English Canada are determined to hold onto this resource-rich region, whose rivers feed the hydro-electric power stations that are the mainstay of the modern Quebec economy.

The labor movement must defend Native rights against today's all-sided racist offensive. In particular, that means upholding the right of the aboriginal populations of the north to regional autonomy and to decide their own fate, whether that be in Quebec or a rump Canada. But we emphasize that, in either case, the capitalist ruling class will continue to oppress and brutalize the Native peoples. We fight for an egalitarian socialist society which can alone redress the centuries-long oppression of the aboriginal populations.

Quebec and the Left

A correct stance toward the national question in the Canadian state today is decisive for those who would fight for working-class unity and a socialist future. But in both English Canada and Quebec, most of the left is in thrall to either Quebec nationalism or—far worse—to Anglo chauvinism.

The NDP, right-wing social democrats who seek to manage capitalism on behalf of Bay Street, are by no means alone in appealing to prop up the oppressive federal state. The Communist Party, for example, has stayed true to form in calling for a No vote, issuing yet another "urgent appeal for a united Canada" which calls for a "new, equal and democratic union."

Then there are the International Socialists (I.S.), who in 1992 called to vote in favor of (then prime minister) Mulroney's Charlottetown referendum, which aimed to reinforce the chauvinist status quo of a "united" capitalist Canada. On 20 September, *Socialist Worker* came out for a Yes vote in Quebec's sovereignty referendum, albeit with spurious arguments which attempted to dodge the question of independence. Then the I.S. did a 180 degree about-face. In the next issue (4 October) they wrote:

> "We have to let them [Quebec workers] know that they are welcome in Canada. We need them in our struggles.
>
> "We must demand that our government negotiate with Quebec in good faith. We must demand that [federal finance minister] Martin and Chrétien abandon all threats and agree to a new economic and political association."

The fact that self-proclaimed socialists could portray the Anglo-chauvinist capitalist rulers in Ottawa as "our" government says just about all there is to say about where the I.S. is coming from. Their plea for Chrétien to "negotiate" a new "economic and political association" is simply a call to refurbish the existing, necessarily oppressive capitalist state.

A small Maoist group in Montréal, Action Socialiste (A.S.), raises the call to "Don't Vote Yes!"—which, they explain, means you should vote No, abstain, boycott, or whatever else you want. A.S. claims that this is the way to "rebel against the capitalists" of Quebec. But beyond the fact that most Québécois capitalists currently oppose independence, A.S. willfully *ignores* the reality of national oppression in Quebec—and that this oppression has produced deepgoing national divisions which sharply undercut prospects for proletarian struggle in both nations. Behind their left rhetoric stands *de facto* support to the oppressive federal status quo.

Even worse, a leaflet issued by the tiny Bolshevik Tendency in Toronto calls for a No vote while nowhere mentioning—much less opposing—the national oppression of Quebec. Three years ago, the BT refused to vote No to Mulroney's Charlottetown gambit. Their statement calling for abstention failed even to defend Quebec's *right* to independence. Now they are quick to say No to Quebec separation, claiming, in the face of all reality, that English Canadian and Québécois workers show a "considerable desire for unity."

The BT flatly denies that there has been an upsurge of chauvinism in English Canada over recent years, or that the national divide has served to stifle working-class struggle throughout the Canadian state. Instead they conjure up a fantasy world where Québécois workers retain the militancy of the 1960s and early '70s—militancy which was in fact spawned in large part by opposition to national oppression—and continue to spark joint class struggle across Canada. The BT's position isn't so much self-delusional as an expression of their *disdain* for any kind of struggle against special oppression. In the real world, their call for a No vote puts them in a united front with the chauvinist Canadian ruling class.

Despite ritual genuflection to the right of self-determination and appeals to the Quebec working class to "unite and fight," from the Communist Party on down these organizations end up capitulating to the Anglo-chauvinist status quo. As we wrote in the latest issue of *Spartacist Canada* (No. 105, September/October 1995), "Only by standing forthrightly against the nationalism of an oppressor nation can the proletarian vanguard claim the moral authority to call on workers of the oppressed nation to fight their 'own' nationalist leaders, who seek to solidify their place among the exploiters and oppressors."

Toward Socialist Revolution

Our advocacy of Quebec independence has nothing in common with that of the various "left" apologists for nationalism. While calling for a Yes vote, organizations like the Communist League and the Gauche Socialiste group (Quebec supporters of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat) provide a left cover for the bourgeois nationalists of the PQ and BQ.

Rejecting the elementary proposition that there should be equal language rights for all, including francophones (French speakers) in English Canada and anglophones in Quebec, these groups support restrictive and undemocratic legislation like the PQ's French-unilingualist Bill 101. Far from fighting for a revolutionary working-class alternative to the nationalists, three years ago Gauche Socialiste even tried to form a joint youth group with the PQ. Meanwhile their co-thinkers in English Canada, Socialist Challenge, support the NDP, who are ferocious *enemies* of Quebec's national rights!

The task of Marxist revolutionaries is not to ignore or minimize the realities of national and racial oppression—the stock-in-trade of the social democrats and most fake-lefts—but to put forward a revolutionary program and perspective which can overcome them. Through advocating independence for Quebec, we seek to get the national question "off the agenda": to lay a basis for redirecting the workers' consciousness and struggle against their "own" capitalists, whether in Ottawa and Toronto's Bay Street financial district or Quebec City and Montréal's Rue St-Jacques. Our fight is for a *revolutionary workers party* which can rally the multiracial, binational working class against all forms of capitalist exploitation and oppression, in the struggle for international socialist revolution. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Gingrich, Clinton, Farrakhan Push Sinister "War on Drugs"

Prison Revolt Against Racist Congress Drug Vote

On October 20, prisoners at five federal penitentiaries erupted in outrage against a Congressional vote to uphold the 100-to-1 sentencing disparity for crack versus powdered cocaine. Some 14,000 inmates, almost all black and Hispanic, languish behind bars in federal prisons solely because of the mandatory five-year minimum sentence for crack possession. After quelling the revolt by inmates in Alabama, Illinois, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania and Tennessee, the government responded with a punitive lockdown of the entire federal prison system. Prisoners have been restricted to their cells, given cold meals in paper bags and barred from seeing visitors, making phone calls or speaking to the press. The only exemptions to this vindictive measure are the "minimum security" facilities reserved for those convicted of yuppie "white collar" crimes like embezzlement and insider trading.

Immediately, the feds started looking for a "conspiracy." Faced with the spectre of another Attica—the 1971 prison uprising in upstate New York, drowned in blood by Governor Rockefeller—they had good reason to be worried. Yet the elements who provoked these nationwide prison riots are in the corridors of power in Washington. "I know they were watching it on C-Span," said Juanita Hodges, head of a prisoner advocacy organization in Atlanta. "All during the Congressional debate, I was receiving telephone calls from brothers in prison who were watching developments. The violence was because of Congress's vote" (*New York Times*, 24 October). Conditions in the prisons are being made increasingly harsh, from the reintroduction of chain gangs to the elimination of grants for college study. But while prisoners are not allowed to study or leaf through *Playboy*, they can watch themselves getting screwed by Congress!

This dramatic political protest action is a measure of the desperation felt by the ghetto population in the face of a genocidal drive by the racist capitalist rulers. As huge numbers of black youth are swept off the streets and herded into prison hellholes, the ghetto revolts of the '60s are being reenacted in the jails and penitentiaries. Four months ago, death row inmates at Huntsville, Texas staged a hunger strike and protest against the massive speedup in the rate of legal lynching. Now the federal prison system has exploded in seething anger over the astronomical—and growing—rate of incarceration for black and Hispanic youth as a result of the "war on drugs."

Ed Kashi

Since 1980, racist "war on drugs" has tripled U.S. prison population, with blacks and Hispanics accounting for three out of four new inmates.

The overwhelming four-to-one House of Representatives vote, the first time a recommendation by the government's own Sentencing Commission was ever rejected, underlined the flagrantly racist character of the "war on drugs." It takes 500 grams of powdered cocaine to secure the same five-year minimum sentence as 5 grams of crack. As a prisoner support group acerbically noted on the Internet last month following a vote in the House Judiciary Committee, "What do you think the drug of choice for those politicians and their families is?" Laura Murphy, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, commented, "How can you go to an inner-city family and tell them their son is given 20 years, while someone in the suburbs who's using powdered cocaine in greater quantities can get off with 90 days' probation" (*New York Times*, 28 October).

Since 1980, the prison population in this country has *tripled*, topping 1.5 million, with blacks and Hispanics accounting for three out of every four new inmates. On any given day, over 800,000 young black men—one out of every three—find themselves ensnared in the criminal "justice" system—either in prison or on probation or parole. Between 1986 and 1991, the number of black women sent to state prisons on drug offenses climbed more than *eightfold*. And 75 percent of minority women in prison are mothers. In a report issued last month by the Sentencing Project, Marc Mauer and Tracy Huling concluded: "The key factor behind this

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Quebec's Referendum: Acid Test for the Left

Break the Grip of National Chauvinism—Independence for Quebec!

On October 30, the population of Quebec voted narrowly against secession from Canada in a referendum organized by the separatist Parti Québécois (PQ) government. The No side eked out its victory by a razor-thin 50.6 to 49.4 percent in an extremely heavy turnout. About 60 percent of French-speaking Québécois cast Yes ballots for "sovereignty," while the English-speaking and immigrant minorities, both concentrated in Montréal, overwhelmingly voted No.

When polls showed support for the separatist forces surging in the final week of the campaign, the capitalist money markets spoke out loudly in favor of "Canadian unity." The Canadian dollar went into free fall, and the Toronto Stock Exchange had its biggest one-day drop in six years. Airline companies and the government-owned Via Rail slashed fares by up to 90 percent to bring thousands of people from English Canada to a flag-waving "unity" rally in Montréal on October 27.

In the run-up to the referendum, federal prime minister Jean Chrétien warned that the government would not recognize the legitimacy of a narrow Yes majority. But now, with the No side having won by the slimmest of margins, Ottawa insists that the result is definitive and that Quebec's place in Canada is effectively resolved.

In fact, the referendum has resolved nothing. The outcome has only deepened and exacerbated the poisonous national division in Canadian society. There will be a further chauvinist backlash against Quebec from English Canada, especially in the West. Meanwhile, Quebec itself is deeply and bitterly polarized. In Montréal, crowds of No and Yes supporters threw stones and traded punches as they chanted "Canada, Canada" or "Québec, Québec." Immediately after the vote, PQ premier Jacques Parizeau launched a vicious attack on immigrants, telling his followers they had been beaten "by money

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WORKERS VANGUARD 50¢

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Rabin Assassination Shakes Racist Zionist Rulers

Capitalist politicians from around the world flocked to Jerusalem last week to pay tribute to Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, gunned down by an ultra-rightist Zionist infuriated by Israel's "peace" pact with the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). But Yitzhak Rabin was no "man of peace." He was the architect of the "iron fist" policy of "force, might, beatings" aimed at suppressing the heroic Palestinian *Intifada* (uprising) which began in 1987. Rabin was a militarist who devoted his life to the brutal expulsion and repression of the Palestinian Arab masses, spawning and encouraging the very forces who struck him down. In the West Bank town of Hebron, whose population continues to be subjected to army terror and murderous attacks by fascistic settlers, an elderly Palestinian remarked: "He was killed by his own kind. He planted the settlers here, and they are the ones who have done this."

Rabin's assassination cast a spotlight on the growing fascist movement in Israel. The confessed killer, Yigal Amir, was a member of Eyal—an offshoot from the fascist Kach movement founded by Brooklyn-born rabbi Meir Kahane—and a student at Bar-Ilan University, a hotbed of right-wing activity. The six others arrested thus far for complicity in the murder were up to their necks in anti-Palestinian terror. Leading right-wing rabbis provided "spiritual guidance" for the assassination, issuing a religious edict justifying Rabin's death as a "traitor" to the Jewish people. Among the Zionist settlers in the Occupied Territories there was open rejoicing—one West Bank settlement displayed a sign proclaiming, "We Are All Yigal Amir."

More mainstream Zionist spokesmen in Israel and the U.S. bemoaned "violence by Jew against Jew." Naturally, they failed to note that only a week before he was killed, Rabin personally ordered the Mossad execution of Islamic Jihad leader Fathi Shiqaqi in Malta. (Nor did the *New York Times* scream for gun control in Israel, as it constantly does in the U.S., since they *want* arms in the hands of the Zionists to keep the disarmed Palestinians "in their place.") And there was hardly a mention of the cold-blooded fascist atrocity 20 months ago, when Kach supporter and army reservist Baruch Goldstein fired into a Muslim prayer service at a mosque in Hebron, killing at least 29 men, women and children. Underscoring its racist view that Arab life is cheap, the Israeli establishment dismissed Goldstein as a "lone crazy." But now that these "crazies" have taken the life of an Israeli leader, the Zionist rulers have changed their tune. As Israeli journalist Ze'ev Chafets noted, Rabin's assassin is "not a deranged outsider. He is a boy next door" (*New York Times*, 7 November).

Indeed, Amir is representative of a significant layer of Israeli society. While the right-wing Likud parliamentary opposition led by Binyamin Netanyahu denounced the assassination, it has echoed many of the same themes as the fascist right and Kach banners have been prominent at Likud rallies against the PLO accord. Much of the Orthodox rabbinical hierarchy, right up to the top echelons, has likewise railed against even the most token concessions to the Palestinians, calling on soldiers to defy government orders to evacuate even a single settler from the Occupied Territories. As a soldier, Amir was in the notoriously anti-Arab Golani Brigade, whose units police the Israeli-occupied "security zone" in southern Lebanon and terrorize Arab Hebron.

Rabin and more liberal Israeli commentators denounced the clerical-fascist movement, which today threatens civil war against its own government, as a foreign import. Racist American Jewish emigrés are certainly prominent in the settler movement, drawn by the bloodthirsty messianic appeal to "redeem the Holy Land" by killing Arabs. But outright fascism has been a significant current in Zionism going back to elements of the pro-Mussolini "Revisionists" of the 1920s and '30s, whose alumni include former Israeli prime ministers Menachem Begin and Yitzhak Shamir. In the epoch of imperialist decay, fascism represents the ultimate logic of nationalist chauvinism.

Since the founding of the Zionist state in 1948, there has been a growing polarization between secularism and Orthodox fundamentalism. Today, the fascists, based on the die-hard religious settlers, are trying to seize on the fears of a middle class whose living standards were based on ruthless exploitation of Palestinian labor. But Palestinians are not the only ones on the fascists' "enemies lists." Settler children are taught that "Jewish leftists" are "human devils." And when Professor Moshe Zimmerman, prestigious head of German Studies at Hebrew University and an expert on the Holocaust, compared settler youth to the Hitler Youth in Nazi Germany, there was an enraged outcry demanding his firing for "the honor of the Jewish people."

Rabin's "Labor," a thoroughly bourgeois party, has historically been the mainstay of Zionism and the architect of expansionist terror against the Arab people. Indeed, it was these secular "socialists" who founded the semi-theocratic Israeli state and laid the ideological foundations for clerical fascism. Lacking any material basis for nationhood among the dispersed Jewish people of Europe, Zionism's founding fathers appropriated the messianic, tribalist rhetoric of the Old Testament as a historical and ideological anchor for their ersatz nationalism. In his book *The Non-Jewish Jew*, Marxist historian Isaac Deutscher remarked on the "Jewish tragedy that the world has driven the Jew to seek safety in a nation-state in the middle of this century when the nation-state is falling into decay."

Rabin's military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza in 1967 provided both a material and ideological catalyst for the rise of a mass-based fascist movement. The expansion of Israel beyond the 1947 "Green Line" provoked a revival of "redeem the land" rhetoric aimed at creating a "Greater Israel." Adopting the biblical proscription against the sale or rental of Jewish property to non-Jews, the Zionist regime decreed that only Jews could settle "state land," which now includes the bulk of territory not only in Israel but in the West

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Israeli troops attack Palestinian protesters in West Bank. Fascistic settlers act as auxiliary to Zionist state terror in Occupied Territories.

Millions of Workers Strike, Army/Cops Wage "Anti-Terrorist" War on Immigrants

France in Turmoil

SEE PAGE 6

Framed Up and Jailed for 11 Years

Illinois Death Row Prisoner Wins Freedom

Zielenbach/Chicago Tribune

Rolando Cruz embracing his aunt after release from prison.

After three trials and ten years on death row, Rolando Cruz survived attempted murder by the state of Illinois.

Cruz was convicted twice, in 1985 and 1990, for the 1983 rape and murder of ten-year-old Jeanine Nicarico in Naperville, Illinois. Both times, the state Supreme Court ordered retrials on procedural grounds. At each trial, the prosecution's case was built around police testimony that Cruz told them he had a "vision" of the crime, which included details presumably only a participant would know. The cops involved never wrote a report of Cruz's "vision" statement, and no physical evidence linked Cruz to the murder. Furthermore, before his third trial, two witnesses against Cruz had recanted their testimony, saying it had been coerced by cops. Cruz was acquitted on November 3, when a cop admitted on the witness stand that the "vision" story was a lie.

That prosecutors were out for blood in this case is an understatement. After two overturned verdicts, they pursued the death penalty against a man they knew was innocent. Only months after Cruz's conviction, Brian Dugan, who was convicted of raping and murdering two other people, offered to confess to the Nicarico murder in exchange for immunity from the death penalty. Even after DNA tests excluded Cruz from the girl's rape and pointed directly to Dugan, prosecutors were loath to give up a death penalty conviction, particularly when it meant admitting to a frame-up. Prosecutors still haven't given up on Alejandro Hernandez, who was convicted of the Nicarico murder along with Cruz in 1985 and is awaiting his third trial.

Meanwhile, prosecutors in Will County, Illinois are still gunning for Manuel Salazar, whose 1985 death penalty conviction was overturned by the Illinois Supreme Court last year. Salazar faces a new trial in the 1984 shooting of a Joliet cop. In that incident, the cop had pulled over the car in which Salazar was riding specifically because black and Hispanic youths were in the car together. The cops started brutally beating him. In a struggle over a cop's gun, it went off, killing the policeman. With a shoot-to-kill order out for him, Salazar fled to Mexico, where he was kidnapped and illegally brought back to Illinois for trial.

The deadly frame-up which ensnared Rolando Cruz is no aberration, but standard operating procedure for the racist cops and courts in capitalist America. Darby Tillis spent nine years in an Illinois prison, over four of them on death row, until he was finally able to win his freedom. Speaking at a Partisan Defense Committee rally in Chicago on March 4, Tillis said, "I am one of almost 450 persons in this country who was convicted of a capital crime and later found to be innocent." In January, another Illinois prisoner, James Newsome, was freed after serving 15 years of a life sentence for a murder that he did not commit, and for which prosecutors had evidence implicating someone else.

These are the exceptions. Thousands more, mainly black men, await the executioner on death rows across the country. The struggle for freedom for Mumia Abu-Jamal, a political prisoner who was sentenced to die for being an eloquent fighter against racism and oppression, has come to symbolize the battle against the racist death penalty today. Rolando Cruz's case echoes Jamal's in that the prosecution was anchored on a concocted "confession" and coerced witnesses.

While liberals clamor for a "fair trial" for Mumia, the frame-up, rigged "trial" and peremptorily denied appeals of this innocent man demonstrate that there cannot be a fair trial for Jamal in the capitalist courts. We demand freedom for Mumia now! The whole system of capitalist "justice" is an instrument for the repression of the working class and minorities. The power of the working class, taking up the cause of all the oppressed, must be galvanized in a socialist fight to sweep away the whole system of racist capitalist exploitation.

Free Mumia Abu-Jamal! Free Manuel Salazar! Abolish the racist death penalty! ■

France: Popular Front vs. Proletarian Revolution

TROTSKY

LENIN

Demobilized by more than a decade of popular-front class collaboration under the government of former Socialist president François Mitterrand, the French proletariat today faces savage attacks on its living standards and racist terror by cops and fascists against its minority and immigrant component. In the late 1930s, the People's Front government led by the Socialist Party of Léon Blum, and backed by Maurice Thorez' Stalinist Communist Party as well as the CGT labor federation led by Léon Jouhaux, paved the way for the reaction of the Vichy regime. In drawing the lessons of the People's Front, Leon Trotsky emphasized the need for a break with parliamentary reformism and class collaboration, counterposing the proletarian struggle for power under the leadership of a revolutionary vanguard party. This is no less true today, as French workers demonstrate their readiness to fight against the right-wing regime's austerity drive.

The discontent of the betrayed masses is immense. Jouhaux, Blum, and Thorez are constrained to do something in order to avoid losing their credit definitively. In response to the spontaneous movement of the workers, Jouhaux proclaims a "general strike," a protest of "folded arms." Legal, peaceful, completely inoffensive protest! For twenty-four hours only, he explains with a deferential smile in the direction of the bourgeoisie. Order will not be disturbed, the workers will conserve a "dignified" calm, not a hair will tumble from the head of the ruling class. He gives a guarantee, he, Jouhaux. "Don't you know me, Messrs. Bankers, Industrialists, and Generals? Have you forgotten that I saved you at the time of the war of 1914-18?" For their part, Blum and Thorez second the general secretary of the CGT: "Only a peaceful protest, a little protest, sympathetic, patriotic!"...

The general strike is, by its very essence, a revolutionary means of struggle. In a general strike the proletariat assembles itself as a class against its class enemy. The use of the general strike is absolutely incompatible with the politics of the People's Front, which signifies alliance with the bourgeoisie, that is to say, the submission of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie. The miserable bureaucrats of the Socialist and Communist parties as well as of the trade unions consider the proletariat a simple auxiliary instrument in their behind-the-scenes combinations with the bourgeoisie....

At bottom, Jouhaux, Blum, and Thorez have done everything possible in order to assure the defeat of the strike. They themselves fear the struggle no less than the bourgeoisie; at the same time they are forced to create an alibi for themselves in the eyes of the proletariat. That is the habitual war stratagem of reformists: to prepare the defeat of action by the masses and then accuse the masses of failure or, just as bad, praise themselves with a nonexistent success....

The deception invoked by the People's Front has been able, certainly, to bring about a temporary demoralization in certain layers; but this is balanced by the increase in rebelliousness and impatience in other layers. At the same time the movements of 1936 as well as 1938 have enriched the entire proletariat with invaluable experience and developed thousands of local workers' leaders independent of the official bureaucracy. It is necessary to understand how to find access to these leaders, to link them with one another, to arm them with a revolutionary program.

—Leon Trotsky, "The Decisive Hour" (December 1938)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

The closing date for news in this issue is November 14

No. 633 **17 November 1995**

Tenth Annual PDC Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

This year marks the Partisan Defense Committee's tenth Holiday Appeal for class-war prisoners. The Holiday Appeal fund drive maintains the monthly stipends to 17 prisoners throughout the year, in addition to providing money for individual holiday gifts for prisoners and their families. This is a message of solidarity from those on the outside to those victimized for standing up to racist capitalist oppression.

Benefits will be held in New York, Chicago and Oakland. Hear updates on the fight to free death row political prisoner **Mumia Abu-Jamal**. Jamal's petition to reverse his conviction and death sentence was rejected in September by Philadelphia hanging judge Albert Sabo. Jamal's struggle has won support from around the world. Join the fight to free Mumia now!

Other stipend recipients include former Black Panther leader **Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt)**, framed under the FBI's COINTELPRO vendetta against the BPP for a murder the government knows he could not have committed—the feds' wiretap logs show he was 400 miles away; United Mine Workers striker **Jerry Dale Lowe**, sentenced to nearly eleven years for defending his union; nine members of the Philadelphia **MOVE** organization; **Jaan Laaman** and **Ray Luc Levasseur** of the Ohio 7; prisoner rights leader **Hugo Pinell**; and former Black Panther Party supporters **Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa (David Rice)** and **Ed Poindexter**.

New York	Chicago	Bay Area
Friday, December 1 **5 to 9:30 p.m.** Wetlands 161 Hudson St. (at Laight) For more information: (212) 406-4252	**Sunday, December 3** **2 to 6 p.m.** United Electrical Hall 37 S. Ashland For more information: (312) 663-0719	**Sunday, December 10** **1 to 4 p.m.** ILWU Local 6 Hall 99 Hegenberger Rd., Oakland For more information: (510) 839-0852

A $10 ticket includes a one-year subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*.

FBI's "Big Brother" Wiretap Scheme

Der Spiegel

If the FBI has its way, it will soon be tapping telephones at a rate *ten times* greater than a year or two ago—and that's by *their* count. As outlined in the *Federal Register* (16 October), the feds intend to classify every telephone line in the country according to whether it is located in "high-crime" areas (i.e., major cities), where they will monitor as many as one in 100 lines, not-so-high-crime cities and suburbs, and rural areas. Trying to hide the scope of their plans, FBI director Louis Freeh sent a "non-denial denial" letter to the *New York Times* (3 November). But the *Times*' account the day before made it clear that in cities like New York, Chicago and Los Angeles, the FBI wants "to intercept tens of thousands of phone calls at once."

The FBI got the green light for its snooping scheme with the passage of the 1994 Digital Telephony Act, which it had been pushing since Clinton took office. In fact, the Democratic White House has steadily increased federal phone surveillance since taking over from the Reagan/Bush Republicans. In Clinton's first year, federal wiretaps rose by one-third —the largest increase in a decade— fueled by a 50 percent rise in court orders against suspected "drug dealers."

Wiretap expansion is just one part of a program to massively increase government intrusion into the lives of the population. Clinton's 1994 "Crime" Act and this year's Omnibus Counterterrorism Bill, passed by the Senate following the criminal right-wing Oklahoma City bombing in April, would together gut a good part of the Bill of Rights while greatly expanding use of the death penalty and making immigrants, legal and illegal, special targets for repression.

Now Congress is due to take up a bill that would set up a "national registry for work" listing citizens and immigrants allowed to work legally, which employers in high-immigration states would have to call up before hiring anyone. (As one Congressman put it, call 1-800-BIG-BROTHER.) This would be a big step toward creating a national identity card—an apartheid-style passbook system—in the U.S. Meanwhile, the Internal Revenue Service has begun building its "Compliance 2000" database, which aims "to store personal information on every American" by using government, business and private organizations' records—driver's licenses, credit ratings, medical records...anything that uses names or Social Security numbers (*New York Post*, 16 February).

The capitalist state always arrogates to itself the "right" to spy on and do all sorts of "dirty tricks" to "the enemy within": communists, trade unionists, black activists, student radicals. With the destruction of the Soviet Union, the heirs of J. Edgar Hoover aren't screaming about "reds under the beds" to justify snooping on us. Instead, the enemy is "terrorism," "crime" (in particular, drugs) and...sex. Not only have the cops started entrapping users of "pornographic" E-mail, but the telephony bill allows them access to cable TV billing records, so that they'll know what pay-per-view movies you're watching in the "privacy" of your own home. The FBI's fellow spooks in the CIA are also redefining their mission in the "post-Soviet" world, reorienting to seizing the trade and business secrets of the U.S.' imperialist competitors.

The CIA's new role was put on display when it was revealed that during trade talks with Japan last spring, U.S. trade representative Mickey Kantor received daily briefings from the CIA's Tokyo station and from National Security Agency (NSA) eavesdropping specialists. These agencies initially set up shop in Japan to spy on the USSR, China and North Korea. But now their main target is Japan itself. Earlier this year, the French government gave Langley a black eye by revealing a sting operation it conducted against CIA agents who for two years had tried to milk an aide to French president Balladur for information on GATT trade talks and other matters. Perhaps in response to such dirty tricks, the Bonn government demanded that Washington cut its CIA station in Germany by half.

Got Bugs in Your Bytes?

When it comes to wiretapping phones in the computer age, however, the feds have a major problem. It's no longer like the old movies, where G-men crouched in manholes and basements with earpieces plugged into (analog) telephone lines. Today, telephone conversations (as well as data communications) are typically switched through digital circuitry which translates voice patterns into the zeros and ones of computer code, compresses them into packets, and routes them over a complex network. To intercept and make sense of these communications requires sophisticated equipment (and technical expertise) linked to the country's computerized switching networks.

Prior to pushing the telephony bill, the FBI had tried to get AT&T and other telephone companies to "voluntarily" give the feds access to their switching equipment, threatening that otherwise it could not guarantee the security of the networks! In 1992, the FBI began "Operation Root Canal," a secret two-year campaign to win the companies' acceptance. When this didn't work, Clinton/Reno's FBI turned to legislation, gaining the support of Congressional "liberals" and "civil libertarians" like former FBI man Don Edwards of California (see Simson Garfinkel, *PGP: Pretty Good Privacy* [1995]).

Telecommunications executives are challenging the FBI's wiretap proposal, in part because installing snooping devices could cause big-time havoc with digital switching circuits and will significantly degrade network performance. Who wants to see flight control centers go blank because of some flaky FBI software packet thrown into the communications grid? Phone companies are also interested in who will bear the costs "when they ask us to redesign our entire systems and not pay us," as a spokesman for the United States Telephone Association put it.

The Clinton administration has promised $500 million to pay for necessary changes to the telephone networks, although Congress must approve the allocation. This will not begin to cover the costs of reworking phone networks to fit the feds' dictates. While the FBI was forced to drop its plan to raise the money by increasing phone rates, it is still the population which will be paying for the government's spying on the public, through taxation.

For AT&T and the "baby Bells" to complain about the state messing with its circuits really takes *chutzpah*. The 1967 movie, *The President's Analyst*, captured the tight relationship between the government and the phone company (although in this comedy it is Ma Bell, not the state, which calls the shots). Many bourgeois opponents of the plan criticize the scale of the announced increase in wiretapping, claiming that the current rate of court-ordered wiretaps is only 850 per year, or one for every 174,000 phone lines.

But this figure vastly underestimates the extent of telephone monitoring. For one thing, the government routinely scans tens of thousands of lines with equipment that searches for certain key words before it records the calls. Then there is the super-secret National Security Agency, which uses satellite "spies in the sky" and electronic listening posts to monitor all overseas phone calls and data transmissions. And that's to say nothing of the cops' routine interception of postal communications.

Today, the government is desperately trying, and often failing, to keep pace with advances in communications technology. One example is the boom in mobile telephones. While anyone with a hand-held scanner can pick up random mobile phone conversations, listening in on a particular target is exponentially more difficult, particularly as more of these calls are transmitted digitally. Also frustrating police is the wide availability of military-grade software encryption

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U.S. Army Intelligence and Security Command

U.S. Army spies conducting radio surveillance to snoop on private conversations, 1968.

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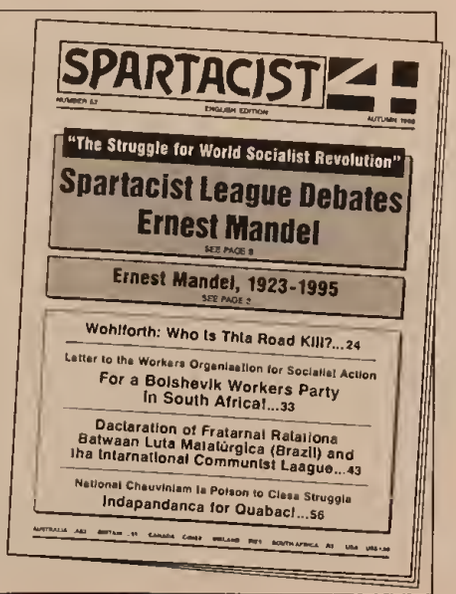

WV Photo

Teamsters in Southern California protest cop attack on picket line during 1994 strike.

Don Petersen/Roanoke Times and World News

In 1989 Pittston miners strike, mass pickets stopped scab coal outside Moss No. 3 plant.

Labor: Stop Playing by the Bosses' Rules!

Feds, Finks and Fake Militants— Recipe for Defeat

PART TWO OF TWO

With the changing of the guard at the AFL-CIO last month, newly elected president John Sweeney promised a "new voice for American workers." The "new blood" to be injected into the sclerotic labor federation's top leadership comes from a layer of "reform" bureaucrats who came up in the 1970s and '80s, a period of devastating defeats for the labor movement.

Epitomizing this layer is Richard Trumka of the United Mine Workers (UMW), now vice president of the AFL-CIO. Entering the UMW bureaucracy on the coattails of Arnold Miller's "Miners for Democracy," installed in office by a Labor Department-ordered election in 1972, Trumka perfected the art of keeping his historically militant membership hogtied by bowing to every rule in the bosses' strikebreaking arsenal. With a lawyer's flair, he worked his way up the greasy pole of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy by mouthing support for "civil disobedience" while calling off mine occupations (as at Pittston's Moss No. 3 plant in 1989) and letting strike militants like Jerry Dale Lowe be jailed. After two decades of such government-orchestrated "democracy," the Mine Workers are a shadow of a once-powerful union.

The same ruin fell upon the Steelworkers (USWA). In the late 1970s, steel workers were being hit by waves of plant shutdowns and layoffs rolling across the industry. The USWA lost around one million members under a leadership that squelched any signs of labor struggle while shoving givebacks down the throats of steel workers lucky enough to be working. Under these conditions, a reform movement arose in the shape of the Steelworkers Fighthack movement led by Chicago USWA bureaucrat Ed Sadlowski. Like Miller and his lawyer Trumka in the UMW, Sadlowski talked of "union democracy," but he had no program to fight the devastation of the union, because he fundamentally accepted the framework of the profit system. In fact, in a notorious *Penthouse* interview that was to cost him the election to the USWA presidency, Sadlowski explicitly *accepted* job losses as a necessary by-product of "modernization."

Some years later, a group of labor reformers took a boat ride along Chicago's Calumet River, viewing the rusting graveyards that had once been major steel plants owned hy the Wisconsin. Republic and U.S. Steel corporations. Sadlowski's attorney Thomas Geoghegan wrote of the outing:

> "Now, as we sailed past the mills, I thought, 'Thank God we weren't in power; nohody can blame us.'... Thank God we did not have to preside over the dissolution of the Steelworkers Union."
>
> —*Which Side Are You On? Trying to Be for Labor When It's Flat on Its Back* (1991)

In fact, Sadlowski and his legal beagle Geoghegan were hardly innocent of the devastation that rained down on black and Hispanic neighborhoods in South Chicago. After losing the election, Sadlowski took a job as a loyal International staff rep and was subsequently instrumental in getting USWA members at U.S. Steel and the former Republic plant to give up their jobs without a fight.

Today, the "new" AFL-CIO is chockfull of pro-Democratic Party lawyers, hotshot liberal staffers and erstwhile leftists working overtime to whitewash *their* responsibility for the miserable state of the unions. Most of the left flocked to Sadlowski's 1977 campaign just as they jumped on Miller's bandwagon five years earlier. "Now, there were a lot of radicals in South Chicago," Geoghegan reminisces, "and some of them were real pests, the Spartacist League, etc." Spartacist supporters in the USWA distinguished themselves by fighting for a program of class struggle and *not* supporting Sadlowski. They pointed out that his demagogic calls for "democracy" divorced from a program of *labor's unconditional independence from the capitalist state* would inevitably become an excuse for government intervention. Sadlowski's own career took off in 1974, when he brought the Labor Department into the USWA to run an election for district director, which he won.

Geoghegan says he had always considered it "a breach of solidarity" to sue a union. This is the gut-level opinion of many workers, who think the government has no business interfering in the internal affairs of their unions—labor should clean its own house. Marxists understand that any fake democratic "reforms" imposed hy the bosses' state —most often under the guise of fighting "corruption"—only strengthen capitalist control of the labor movement.

But hreach of solidarity or no, Geoghegan charged ahead:

> "Then one day a Teamster with a pension case came into our office. I thought, 'Well, just one little suit, then I'll stop.' But I couldn't stop. I did another, and another... My God, they were so suable."
>
> —*Which Side Are You On?*

This work brought Geoghegan into contact with the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), whom he calls his "heroes." The TDU, which was founded by supporters of the social-democratic reformist International Socialists in the mid-'70s, provided a cover for the government's "anti-corruption" campaign to eviscerate the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT). Their formula for "union democracy" was suing the union in the bosses' courts.

Geoghegan recounts the TDU's convergence with U.S. Attorney Rudolph Giuliani in New York, who "had been suing Teamster locals through the 1980s." In 1988, Giuliani filed a lawsuit to put the entire IBT in trusteeship. But the TDU, basing itself on Arnold Miller's "success" in the UMW, had a slightly different idea: "a rank-and-file election, with the government counting the vote." This was a "better idea" from the standpoint of the capitalist union-busters: A handful of outside trustees would face intractable problems trying to control a vast organization like the 1.6 million-strong Teamsters; better to put the union in the hands of loyal agents recruited from *within* the union. The following year the Justice Department adopted the TDU proposal.

Giuliani was elected New York City mayor two years ago based on a racist campaign of unleashing cop terror against minorities and the poor, and demanding draconian cuts in jobs and social services. His TDU allies took a majority of seats on the Teamster executive board in the 1991 government-run election that installed Ron Carey as IBT president. And last year, once again following in Arnold Miller's footsteps, the Carey/TDU leadership foisted on Teamster members a Master Freight Agreement that *gives up the right to strike over grievances.*

Minnesota Historical Society

Militant Minneapolis strikers, led by Trotskyists, routed scabs and strikebreaking thugs in May 1934 "Battle of Deputies Run." Victorious truckers strike laid the basis for explosive growth of Teamsters and paved the way for rise of CIO industrial unions.

New Deal Coalition... With the Dixiecrats

The key questions facing those fighting to revive labor and transform the unions into organizations of class struggle are: the capitalist state, the role of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, and the black question. And it is precisely those questions that the liherals and reformists are ohliged to avoid. Not surprisingly, these issues are hardly addressed in the books reviewed in this article, which chronicle the string of union defeats in the 1970s and '80s.

Geoghegan wrongly claims that the mass unionization drive which created the Congress of Industrial Organizations

(CIO) in the mid-1930s was key to the ascendancy of the Democratic Party—through the so-called New Deal coalition—in American politics. Yet he complains that today "We can't even get the Democrats to cut us in on the deal."

The working class never was "in on the deal." Roosevelt's paltry New Deal reforms were enacted not as payback for the CIO's electoral support, but to head off an extended period of hard class struggle that brought millions of workers into organized labor. And contrary to Geoghegan, it wasn't any safer to challenge capitalist profits in the mines and factories then than it is today:

> "What followed the signing of the NRA [National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933] was not the recognition of labor's rights but the most ferocious assault on American labor in its history.... Hundreds of workers were killed, thousands wounded, tens of thousands arrested or otherwise victimized from 1933 to 1938."
>
> —Art Preis, *Labor's Giant Step* (1964)

Many of those who today look back with longing to the New Deal portray yesteryear's Rooseveltian coalition as a "popular front" of liberals, labor and blacks. This was indeed the goal of the Communist Party Stalinists who helped organize the CIO in the 1930s. In fact, the Stalinists saw to it that the working-class groundswell that led to the formation of the CIO was channeled into the dead end of the Democratic Party. But the Democrats didn't gain mass black support until the early '60s. In reality the New Deal coalition put organized labor in an unholy alliance not only with its liberal class enemies in the North but also with the Southern Dixiecrats, to whom Roosevelt gave a free hand to wage naked racist terror *against blacks and unions*. Roosevelt's vice president from 1933 to 1940 was John Nance Garner, a hardline white-supremacist from Texas, an "open shop" state where the union movement scarcely existed.

In 1946, the CIO announced a grandiose project to organize the South called "Operation Dixie," sending 400 organizers into the region. Yet conservative union leaders eager to appease the racists relegated black labor activists to the back of the bus. In *The Decline of Organized Labor in the United States* (University of Chicago Press, 1987), Michael Goldfield points out that the task of organizing the South would have run head-on into "Jim Crow" segregation and the special oppression of black workers. Any attempt to confront the racial oppression dividing black and white workers in the heart of the Deep South would have aroused a vicious backlash from the Dixiecrats in the state houses and county seats and their fascist auxiliaries in the Ku Klux Klan, in the process dissolving the New Deal coalition so dear to liberals like Geoghegan. Coming amid the witch-hunt atmosphere of the anti-Soviet Cold War, CIO leaders feared the spectre of black workers joining with communist organizers and scuttled "Operation Dixie" after only two years.

Pro-capitalist union "reformers," strategists of defeat (from left): Richard Trumka, Ed Sadlowski, Ray Rogers, Ron Carey.

WV Photos New Teamster

UAW Tops vs. Black Radicals in Detroit Auto

In the North, meanwhile, black workers, many concentrated in strategic industries like auto and steel, had become an integral component of organized labor—over 1.5 million black union members by the mid-'50s. The demand for labor during World War II and the great wave of black migration it put in motion transformed urban industrial cities like Detroit, where for the first time Chrysler began hiring blacks in significant numbers. But the de facto segregation, police violence and job discrimination these black workers experienced in the North differed only in degree from the Jim Crow regime they had left behind.

The social basis for the New Deal coalition was thus eroded with the large-scale emigration of blacks from the rural South to Northern and also Southern cities during and after World War II. The Jim Crow system of legally enforced racial segregation, based on intimidation of isolated and impoverished rural black sharecroppers, was undermined by urbanization and proletarianization. The mass struggles for black equality in the civil rights movement of the late 1950s-early '60s—first in the South, then in the North—exploded the Democratic Party coalition. In the absence of a workers party and given the racist and conservative character of the labor bureaucracy, American electoral politics in the 1960s became centrally defined by the black question. Beginning in the late '60s, the Republican Party gained ascendancy as the party of the white backlash.

The black radicalization of the late 1960s-early '70s also had a direct impact on the labor movement, especially in the industrial cities of the Midwest, where it encountered hardline racist opposition from the bureaucracy. Coinciding with deep antiwar ferment as well as a string of labor battles by auto workers, postal workers, electrical workers and Teamsters, the rise of black working-class radicalism posed the possibility of mass labor action against racial oppression and imperialist war. By the mid-1960s there were tens of thousands of militant black workers in Detroit, the heart of the strategic auto industry. The brutal conditions they faced—massive speed-up, deadly unsafe working conditions, racist harassment by a virtually all-white management—as well as the National Guard's brutal suppression of the 1967 Detroit ghetto upheaval gave rise to the explosive growth of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers (LRBW). Based on "Revolutionary Union Movements" in the Detroit inner-city plants, particularly at Chrysler, the League quickly attracted militant young black workers.

Today, social democrat Kim Moody and the *Labor Notes* crowd hover around Victor Reuther—who in his earlier days was the UAW's link to the CIA's international "labor" operations—as they aspire to return to the "progressive" regime of his brother Walter, who purged the UAW of reds and militants in the post-World War II witchhunts. In the '60s and '70s it was Reuther, followed by his hand-picked successors Leonard Woodcock and Doug Fraser, who declared war on black militants in the Detroit factories. *Detroit: I Do Mind Dying* (St. Martin's Press, 1975), by Dan Georgakas and Marvin Surkin, captures the horror with which the UAW bureaucracy viewed the support the LRBW quickly won in hellholes like Chrysler's Dodge Main plant. The UAW bureaucracy responded to the volatile wildcat strikes at Chrysler during the summer of 1973. Acting as company cops, Solidarity House mobilized 1,000 goons to keep the plants open for the auto bosses.

In an *Injury to All: The Decline of American Unionism* (1988), Moody disappears the Reuther bureaucracy's malevolence toward the Revolutionary Union Movements and the LRBW, noting only the "perception by Black autoworkers that the UAW did not have their interests at heart" (!) and that the League disappeared as the Reuther regime "artfully sponsored more moderate Black candidates." In fact, Moody's organization then, the arch-reformist International Socialists, backed the "more moderate" opportunists and were deeply buried in the skilled-trades-centered United National Caucus, a loyal house "opposition" which literally had *nothing* to offer black workers in the fight against racist oppression.

It was the hostility of the overwhelmingly white, pro-capitalist UAW bureaucracy, and the abstention and worse of "oppositions" like the UNC and their "socialist" supporters, that reinforced the nationalist program of the LRBW. The League operated on a nationalist program of dual unionism, a program which led to demands for more black foremen and managers, while writing off the white working class as hopelessly racist and abandoning the fight for leadership against the union bureaucracy (see our article, "Soul Power or Workers Power? The Rise and Fall of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers," reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5 Revised, "What Strategy for Black Liberation? Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism").

What was needed was the intervention of a Trotskyist party with a base in the Detroit auto plants and armed with a program of revolutionary integrationism. Fearing the explosive potential of radical black-led struggles in the plants, the auto bosses went after the "problem" using the next major economic crisis, the deep recession of 1974-76, to get rid of a whole layer of young black workers in Detroit auto factories. Soon after, they shut down the plants altogether, with hardly a peep from the UAW tops.

Revolutionary Leadership: Red and Black

The American labor bureaucracy which has hogtied the unions for decades is a product of the government's Cold War against the Soviet Union and the accompanying anti-Communist purge in the unions. Yet the powerful industrial unions were built by leftist militants whose leadership guided many of the 1930s strikes to victory. It was the Trotskyists who led the great Minneapolis Teamster strikes of 1934, which laid the basis for organizing the long-haul drivers throughout the Midwest and beyond. In 1943, while some union leaders passed paper resolutions against a racist pogrom that consumed Detroit and took 24 black lives, the Trotskyists called on the UAW to mobilize its "veteran flying squadrons to defend the Negro people."

Decades later, Spartacist League supporters in auto fought for sit-down strikes to stop the shutdowns and, in 1979, for Chrysler workers to seize and hold the plants when the company pleaded bankruptcy. Such a struggle could have forged the vital links between the factory and the ghetto that are key to the American workers revolution. The UAW tops were instead committed to propping up American capitalism, and rather than fight for their members' jobs, they handed over multibillion-dollar union givebacks to match the feds' Chrysler bailout. This helped to set the stage for the bosses' union-busting crusade that is still raging a decade and a half later.

The big business of union-busting feeds on racism. In *Confessions of a Union Buster* (1993), Martin Jay Levitt describes how he and his associates strove "to awaken within the mostly white supervisor corps a hatred of blacks, fear of violence, contempt for women, mistrust of the poor, and, of course, a loathing for the union that brought together all those despicable elements." The race and class hatred stirred up by the bosses translates not just into lost NLRB elections but into outright *terror attacks*. A cross-burning outside

continued on page 10

Rosenberg/Detroit Free Press

AP

Detroit auto wildcats in 1973 showed militancy of largely black workforce and treachery of UAW tops. Left: Chrysler workers Isaac Shorter and Larry Carter carried out by cheering supporters after sit-in shut down Jefferson Avenue plant. Above: UAW vice president Doug Fraser at Mack Avenue stamping plant after he organized 1,000-strong goon squad to quash plant occupation there.

Millions of Workers Strike, Army/Cops Wage "Anti-Terrorist" War on Immigrants

Nicholas Turpin

AFP

Workers shut down Paris, October 10, in protest against threatened wage freeze. Right: Cops and troops target North Africans for racist identity checks.

France in Turmoil

PARIS—On October 10, France was brought to a standstill by a general strike of public sector workers against the government's plan to freeze their wages next year. Civil servants, teachers, nurses, postal workers, airline crews, railroad and public transportation employees and workers in state-controlled automobile and other industrial plants walked out. It was the most massive display of working-class power in almost a decade. While hundreds of thousands demonstrated in a hundred towns and cities across the country, in Paris an enormous sea of angry workers stretched two and a half miles long.

This show of working-class militancy and power was especially important at a time when Gaullist president Jacques Chirac is seeking to cement a racist consensus, using the terror bombings of last summer as a pretense to launch a campaign of anti-"immigrant" repression unprecedented since the Algerian War of the late 1950s-early '60s. And the test of strength with Chirac has barely begun. When Prime Minister Alain Juppé announced last month his plan to overhaul social welfare measures such as retirement pensions and public health care, the principal trade-union federations immediately responded with a call for a "day of action" on November 14.

From Washington to Bonn, the bourgeoisie is haunted by the fear that Chirac's austerity and dismantling of "welfare state" programs might provoke a working-class explosion like that of May 1968. "Now, the Whirlwind," headlined *Business Week* after Chirac's electoral victory last spring. *Der Spiegel* ominously quoted Chirac, "We are sitting on a social bomb." More recently, the London *Economist* ran a cover photo of the French president, asking, "Is Chirac Waving or Drowning?" and a lead article titled "France Strikes Against Chirac."

In France, references to May 1968 are everywhere. That explosion—the general strike, plant occupations and mass student revolt—brought France to the brink of revolution. A final showdown was only avoided because the Stalinist-reformist Communist Party (PCF), the dominant force in the workers movement, succeeded in keeping the explosion of working-class power from directly challenging the capitalist system. Chirac, who helped negotiate an end to the 1968 political mass strike which brought down de Gaulle, reportedly lives in fear that history might repeat itself. This was echoed by the social-democratic head of the FO trade-union federation, Marc Blondel, who commented after the October 10 strike that "My greatest fear is a possible new May '68" (*Guardian* [London], 11 October).

Already two years ago, conservative then-prime minister Edouard Balladur raised the spectre of May '68 when he capitulated before the Air France strike. As Simone de Beauvoir once wrote, ever since the Paris Commune of 1871 the French bourgeoisie goes to sleep at night haunted by the nightmare of another Commune. At the same time, the bourgeoisie uses the prospect of a new May '68 to frighten the reformist leaders of the working class into doing their job of holding down and derailing class struggle. But today the PCF is only a shadow of its former self, and the bourgeoisie is worried that its labor lieutenants may no longer be able to contain working-class unrest.

For more than two decades the French bourgeoisie counted on François Mitterrand's "Union of the Left" and its successors, created in the aftermath of May '68, to rein in explosions of working-class anger. The Union of the Left was a "popular front" electoral coalition between the PCF, the Socialist Party (PS) and a coterie of bourgeois politicians, which served to openly tie the mass working-class organizations to the class enemy. But the Union of the Left has died a long-overdue death, universally despised and discredited after a 14-year reign of savage anti-working-class austerity, Cold War anti-Communism and racist attacks against immigrants.

Driven by the lash of mounting inter-imperialist rivalries, the French bourgeoisie is determined to "cut costs" by slashing programs such as public health care, retirement pensions and unemployment benefits. France still has one of the most extensive social welfare programs in Europe, and the French rulers look with envy at the "Anglo-Saxon" economies where Reagan/Thatcher carried out frontal attacks on whatever remained of "welfare state" social programs. But without the "safety net" of a new class-collaborationist coalition to derail workers' struggles onto the terrain of parliamentary horse trading, the bourgeoisie knows it is playing with fire.

As a result, despite huge conservative majorities in parliament—80 percent of the seats—and at most levels of local government, Chirac has been a study in vacillation and hesitation. After his electoral promise of a tax cut, he infuriated everyone including the *patronat* (bosses) by immediately raising taxes in order to avoid spending cuts. When free-marketeer Alain Madelin openly admitted last August that the government intended to cut civil service pensions, he was unceremoniously dumped as finance minister. Then, despite threats of major spending cuts for 1996, a draft budget for next year was unveiled which postponed the cuts and instead further raised taxes. No sooner had that budget been revealed than the government again reversed itself and announced plans to slash public health spending by early next year.

Why such disarray in the ruling spheres of French capitalism? Economically, the French bourgeoisie is not doing so badly for itself. Inflation is the lowest in the European Union, exports last year reached a record level, and profits rose at practically every major French company. Yet the ruling class is plagued by the realization that, despite the setbacks the workers suffered under Mitterrand's popular front, French workers have not been frontally defeated on the field of class battle—not in '68 when their leaders derailed the movement, nor in the 27 years since.

Chirac rode into office by cynically exploiting the universal loathing of the French population for the Mitterrand regime. He spouted the same kind of demagogic populism that got Mitterrand

Studio X

Gaullists back in power, and on the hot seat: Prime Minister Alain Juppé, President Jacques Chirac.

elected in 1981 and 1988, promising to slash unemployment, cut taxes and reduce the "social fracture" between the "haves and have-nots." Not surprisingly, much of the French population is displeased to discover that their president made a fool of them. In a poll this fall, two-thirds of the people questioned said they were ready to "participate in a movement of social protest." The recent example of Berlusconi in Italy, removed from office by the bourgeoisie last December after his austerity program touched off the biggest general strike in that country in several decades, is a reminder that simply winning an election on a populist platform does not necessarily give a right-wing demagogue the power to implement his real program in the face of determined working-class opposition.

Chirac's support is remarkably superficial by any standards. His 20 percent first-round electoral result was an all-time low for a successful presidential candidate since direct elections began 30 years ago, and his dramatic plunge in opinion polls since the election is unprecedented in the 37-year history of the Gaullist Fifth Republic. And last week Chirac was forced to reshuffle the government to include Gaullist cronies of former prime minister Edouard Balladur.

The one area in which the new regime has been unwavering is in racist attacks against "immigrants" (in France, this refers to anyone of African or North African origin, including those born in France, many of whom are citizens). Chirac's very first policy announcement was to step up the racist measures which had been introduced by Mitterrand—increased cop occupation of immigrant quarters, wholesale deportation of "illegal immigrants" in charter aircraft, and expansion of the network of immigrant "detention centers" (concentration camps). After a series of terrorist bombings last summer, the Chirac government launched a campaign of racist repression called operation "Vigipirate." (The name was chosen to underline the continuity with a campaign with the same code name carried out by Mitterrand during the Gulf War.) Hundreds of thousands have been stopped by police for identity checks while the army was called out to patrol the streets. By calling out the same racist forces that are usually used in neocolonial wars in Africa, the bourgeoisie made it plain that this is a *war* against immigrants and their families.

This was driven home by the cops' gruesome execution of Khaled Kelkal, the youth of Algerian origin accused of being behind a series of terrorist bombings in France last summer. Kelkal became "Public Enemy No. 1" when police allegedly found his fingerprints last August on an unexploded gas canister placed on the rails of the Paris-Lyon high-speed train. Chirac called him a "savage beast," giving a green light to the killers in uniform. Television cameras, assembled for the occasion, filmed cops gunning down Kelkal at a bus stop. But when they broadcast the footage, they censored the portion of the soundtrack in which one of the gendarmes is heard yelling the order: "Finish him off!" After riddling the wounded youth with another volley, the cops are seen kicking his lifeless body to make sure he is dead. When an army of racist cops descended on the Lyon suburb where Kelkal had lived, the youth revolted, burning cars and clashing with police for several nights.

This sinister affair smells of manipulation and provocation. While the French government claims the bombings were the work of Muslim fundamentalists, Kelkal's friends all insisted to reporters that, while he attended the mosque, he had never been connected with the fundamentalist milieu (and indeed the bombings continued after Kelkal was killed). Furthermore, the government can't seem to get its story straight on who it thinks is responsible. Before focusing on Kelkal, French authorities accused a fundamentalist living in Stockholm—until Swedish police supplied evidence of his innocence. Now Paris is demanding the extradition of a fundamentalist living in London, accusing *him* of responsibility.

AP

Informations Ouvrières

Militant struggles by workers and students have rocked France. Above: Air France strikers blocked runways in Paris, October 1993, backing down government, bosses and cops. Left: Thousands of students demonstrated in the capital, March 1994, against sub-minimum wage for youth.

Using racist campaigns against "immigrants" in order to divide and demoralize the workers and head off opposition to its anti-working-class attacks was a hallmark of the Mitterrand popular front. When North African auto workers led the first major strikes against Mitterrand in the early 1980s, the government tarred them as "fundamentalists" manipulated from abroad. The PCF and the CGT union federation fueled the racist climate with their protectionist slogan "Produce French," blaming workers in other countries for unemployment in France. They didn't protest Mitterrand's racist deportations of "illegal immigrants," nor more recently the Bayrou circular expelling girls who wear the Islamic headscarf from public schools, nor the murders of immigrants during the election campaign by fascist thugs of Le Pen's National Front (FN). And virtually the entire left capitulated before Chirac's racist terror campaign, demonstrating against the renewal of nuclear testing this fall while not raising a single word against Vigipirate!

In contrast, the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), section of the International Communist League, called a united-front demonstration against the wave of racist state terror—carried out not only in France but also in Tahiti where vicious repression was brought down on the Polynesian people, who had revolted against French colonialism—and France's arrogant and provocative renewal of nuclear testing. The LTF demonstration raised the calls: "Down with the anti-immigrant pogroms and Chirac's racist state of siege!" and "Cops and French troops out of the immigrant quarters and out of Tahiti!" It was held in front of the "Grand Rex" movie theater, one of the places where, on 17 October 1961, hundreds of Algerians were massacred as they demonstrated for independence.

There is certainly no lack of desire among wide sectors of the workers and youth to put a stop to the racist terror. During the election campaign last spring, there were ethnically integrated demonstrations against racist murders carried out by the fascists. There were also repeated demonstrations seeking to stop Le Pen from spewing forth his message of racial hatred. A scandalous call last month by the unions for workplace rallies "against terrorism" flopped. As the LTF has repeatedly pointed out, immigrant workers are a strategic component of the French proletariat.

What was lacking in these mobilizations was a leadership fighting on a program uniting in struggle all the oppressed behind the proletariat, the only class with the interest and social power to sweep away the terror of the cops and fascists. The LTF has consistently raised the slogan of "Full citizenship rights for immigrants." It also demanded: "Open the public service sector to non-French citizens!" As the LTF insisted:

> "The workers movement must defend the victims of 'anti-fundamentalist' round-ups against repression by the bourgeois state. It is urgent that massive and combative actions (such as strikes and demonstrations) to stop Vigipirate be mobilized."
>
> —*Le Bolchévik* No. 135, October-November 1995

Le Bolchévik

Ligue Trotskyste calls for worker/immigrant mobilizations in May 1993 Paris protest against government's racist roundups and cop terror.

The Inglorious Legacy of the Popular Front

To see the disenchantment and revulsion which is universally felt today toward Mitterrand's reign, it may be hard for many to imagine that the night the Union of the Left won the 1981 vote, hundreds of thousands of Parisians hoping for "change" from 23 years of right-wing rule joyously packed the Place de la Bastille, singing "*La vie en rose*" (for the symbol of the PS). At the time, the "far left" organizations, which had all jumped on the Mitterrand bandwagon, hailed his victory as a "step forward." But the LTF uniquely called for no vote to this class-collaborationist coalition whose entire reason for being was to bind the working class to the bourgeoisie.

The popular front in power did the bourgeoisie's "dirty work," in the words of Socialist prime minister Laurent Fabius—forcing austerity down the workers' throats while waging racist terror against immigrants. Strikes were undercut, betrayed and smashed with the complicity of the reformist working-class leaders. For example, in the 1991 Renault strike at Cléon, the CGT allowed the cops to take the plant while Prime Minister Edith Cresson ran the strike-breaking operation out of her office in the Hôtel Matignon.

The result of this anti-working-class offensive was a massive shift of income from the working class to the capitalists—which took place despite a fairly high level of class struggle. Here is how *Le Monde* editor Edwy Plenel (in his book, *La part d'ombre* [1992]) described France of the 1980s under Mitterrand: "Never had income from capital increased so fast...while remuneration for labor decreased, since the era of the triumphant financial bourgeoisie at the beginning of the Third Republic"—that is, since the period following the bloody defeat of the Paris Commune in 1871!

The extent of the attacks by the Mitterrand popular front on the working class can be gauged by the considerable weakening of the trade unions over the past two decades. The percent of unionized workers in France has plummeted from 22 percent in 1970 to only *8 percent* today, the lowest in Europe. This partly reflects the fact that under Mitterrand unemployment consistently hovered at a level—12 percent—which was the highest since World War II. In addition, temporary employment was enormously encouraged as a way to drive down wages and eliminate benefits, as well as to undercut the unions. Finally, anti-union repression was allowed on a grand scale: according to the CGT, in the six years from 1985 to 1991, *62,000* union committeemen (*délégués*) were fired—a rate of 30 per day! The weakening of the unions has gone so far that the bourgeoisie is worried it might contribute to social instability. The head of the bosses' association recently told French businessmen, "We have everything to lose if the unions become weaker still."

The popular front under Mitterrand also vastly expanded the racist system

continued on page 8

Paris Match

L'Humanité

France's bloody colonial war in Algeria. Left: François Mitterrand, then "justice" minister, here visiting French troops, oversaw brutal repression of independence fighters. Right: Algerian protesters in Paris terrorized by police, as cops massacred hundreds on 17 October 1961.

France...

(continued from page 7)

of ethnically segregated suburbs (*banlieues*) for immigrant workers and their families. Immigrants and their children in these ghettos are increasingly excluded from the possibility of regular employment and subjected to daily cop terror. In the early 1980s, a protest movement by these youth initially sought to link itself to the struggles of the working class, where immigrant workers were in the forefront of major class battles against Mitterrand. A 1984 march in Paris initiated by youth from Les Minguettes, an immigrant suburb near Lyon, took place in solidarity with the strike of largely immigrant auto workers at the Talbot plant near Paris. However, the burgeoning movement was quickly brought under the sway of the social democrats, operating through SOS-Racisme whose leader, Harlem Désir, became a PS honcho.

The LTF intervened in that protest movement, emphasizing that the necessary struggle against racist oppression—against the police roundups, the deportations, the "quotas" in public housing, etc.—must be linked, through a revolutionary party, to a working-class program of transitional demands leading toward socialist revolution and the overthrow of capitalism. In December 1986, when the cops of Mitterrand and his then-prime minister Chirac assassinated Malik Oussékine, a youth of North African origin, a 24-hour strike called by the trade unions laid the basis for a mass demonstration against racist terror. One week later, rail workers rushed into the breach opened by this mobilization—and their strike spelled the end of that Chirac government.

In recent years and months, there have been repeated struggles by students and young workers. A multiethnic struggle of youth in the spring of 1994 successfully fought the government's proposed sub-minimum wage for youth. Significantly, those mobilizations took place largely outside the control of the PCF and PS but forced the leaders of the main trade-union federations to go along. In spring 1995, student struggles won the withdrawal of a ministerial circular limiting access to junior colleges. And this fall there have been a number of student strikes, of which the most important was in Rouen where students won a substantial increase in budget allocations. With unemployment at an astounding *28 percent* for youth aged 20 to 24, many students are training for jobs they know do not exist.

Despite the attacks by the bourgeois state and betrayals by its own leaders, the French working class retains a high level of combativity. Since the late 1980s, as the Mitterrand popular front was grinding down, it was rocked by a series of (mainly defensive) strikes. In a number of these, "coordination" committees were set up in which members of ostensibly Trotskyist groups like the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), Lutte Ouvrière (LO) and Pierre Lambert's Parti Communiste Internationaliste (PCI) played a leadership role. This happened in the strikes by rail workers (1986-87), postal workers (1988), and nurses (1988-89). Leftists also played key roles in the victorious Air France strike in fall 1993 and in the GEC-Alsthom strike last fall.

Under Mitterrand, hundreds of members or former members of "far left" groups, trading on their support to Mitterrand's popular front, were able to ensconce themselves in the middle and lower levels of the trade-union bureaucracy. LCR leader Alain Krivine declared, following Mitterrand's 1981 election, that "we are one of the three working-class components of the majority—the PCF, the PS and the far left." Many "far left" trade unionists were the most prominent organizers of the Socialists' Cold War campaign of "solidarity with Solidarność," the Polish company union for Wall Street and the Vatican which was a spearhead of counterrevolution in the former Soviet bloc.

In recent years, a number of pseudo-Trotskyists have been thrown out of the social-democratic CFDT labor federation and set up their own unions. One such, the SUD postal/phone union, recently got two out of seven union seats in elections for the management council, an explicitly class-collaborationist body. Thus these ex-"68ers" have become part of the bourgeoisie's first line of defense against a new May '68. But some among them may gag at this ignominious role.

During the presidential campaign last spring there was an unprecedented breaking of the traditional electoral "truce" as workers launched an offensive, which the discredited working-class leaders were barely able to control, to defend jobs and wages. The backbone of this struggle was at the government-owned Renault auto factory in Flins, just outside Paris, where immigrant workers led the strike. The Flins strike was sold out as the union bureaucracies worked hard to keep it isolated. The exemplary class solidarity in the strike wave between French and foreign-born workers represented a powerful disavowal of a regime whose hallmark was racist attacks, deportations and segregation. And this fall, strikes have continued among workers in the public sector, repeatedly paralyzing the postal service, halting train service and disrupting air traffic.

Last week, hundreds of angry miners in the northeastern Lorraine region (where the last major French coal mines are scheduled to close) burned the entrance to a sub-prefecture and sacked a local mayor's office. A lightning one-day strike by newspaper printers left Paris newsstands almost bare. Air France cabin crews, faced with the state-controlled company's union-busting demands that they increase productivity 30 percent by next year or lose their jobs, called a three-day strike. Yet the critical lack of an authoritative revolutionary leadership to lead the working class in the necessary struggle for workers power is cruelly obvious.

Reformists Want a New Popular Front

Years of serving as a component of Mitterrand's popular front meant inexorable decline for the PCF, whose leaders today consider themselves lucky when they get half the votes they got in the heyday of the Union of the Left. But the only policy these worn-out hacks can come up with is...to try to cobble together a new "union of the left."

From the end of World War II to the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the Soviet Union, the PCF had been the hegemonic workers party in France. But with the collapse of the Stalinist regimes in East Europe and the former USSR at the beginning of the 1990s, the PCF lost much of its strength, and indeed its reason for a separate existence, and is now desperately seeking to offer itself as the core of a classic social-democratic party—in competition with the PS. For even if the PS has established itself electorally as the principal party of the left, it remains above all a vote-collecting machine. In contrast, the PCF retains through the CGT a direct influence in the working class which is greater than its electoral weight, which it hopes to use as a bargaining chip with the bourgeoisie.

As a result, Chirac has found an ally in the PCF, whose new leader, Robert Hue, this summer declared a policy of "constructive opposition" toward the Chirac regime, a formula which has provoked considerable unease among the party ranks. Hue called on PCF members to join local state-organized "committees for employment." This "battle for employment" recalls on a smaller scale the PCF's "battle for production," in the name of which the Stalinists participated in de Gaulle's tripartite government following World War II and helped to "reconstruct" capitalist France—disarming the Resistance and smashing workers' struggles along the way.

Today, the PCF finds common ground with the Gaullists on the basis of French chauvinism and racism. During the municipal elections, "Republican Front" agreements between the Gaullist right and the "left" were set up in several cities under the pretext of opposing Le Pen's FN. The PCF daily *L'Humanité* published the cops' composite drawings of supposed "terrorists" (helping to whip up racist hysteria against North Africans). And when the cops executed Khaled Kelkal in cold blood, the PCF did not raise a peep of protest. The PCF screams about "insecurity" (a thinly veiled call for anti-immigrant repression) and calls for more racist cops to occupy the immigrant and working-class quarters.

By fully subscribing to Vigipirate, just as it participated in all the racist policies of the Mitterrand governments, the PCF seeks to prove its "responsibility" to the bourgeoisie. It was by sending a bulldozer against a hostel of Malian workers in December 1980 that the PCF earned several ministerial portfolios in Mitterrand's 1981 government. The support of the PCF and PS for Chirac's racist campaigns is ultimately rooted in their reformism which accepts the capitalist system: racial oppression is inherent in capitalism, which thrives on fostering divisions within the working class and needs an industrial reserve army of unemployed workers as a check on workers' wages.

The crisis and sharp decline of the PCF has whetted the opportunist appetites of the "far left." The LCR is intent on building a "broad assembly to the left of the PS" in order to "rebuild, in the future, a left worthy of this name." This simply echoes PCF leader Hue's calls for an "assembly of the entire left of alternatives, as a factor in assembling an entirely renewed left." In the presidential election, the LCR put all its hopes in a bloc with Charles Fiterman, a former PCF minister in Mitterrand's government, and other PCF "dissidents" who hope to negotiate with the ecologists and the PS a prime place in their hoped-for popular front.

Lutte Ouvrière also dreams of playing a pivotal role in a new "broad left party." In the municipal elections LO participated in some areas on common lists with the PCF. One can just imagine LO administering municipalities in alliance

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with the PCF, which is notorious for favoring limitations on the number of immigrants in the municipalities it controls to a "tolerance level." Last year, the LO leadership lined up behind the bourgeoisie's racist campaign to exclude from public education young girls wearing the Islamic headscarf. LO even organized a countermobilization against high-school students who went on strike to defend a student threatened with expulsion.

LO members, as well as much of the rest of the "far left," were exhilarated by LO's vote total of 5.3 percent in the presidential elections, which was not far behind the 8.6 percent who voted for the PCF. However, far from using the elections to win workers to the program of socialist revolution, LO simply offered up the same populist pablum as always. The fact that some 1.6 million people voted for LO as a "protest vote" is an unmistakable sign of the discontent felt by a large part of the working class toward their reformist leaders and reflects a clear impulse to fight back against the bosses' attacks.

For a May '68 That Goes All the Way!

From the French "Popular Front Against Fascism" in the 1930s to the Chilean Unidad Popular in the 1970s, the popular front, by tying the working class to the bourgeoisie and paralyzing its combativity, has always paved the way for the worst reactionaries. And Mitterrand's regime was no exception. In the climate of racism, anti-Sovietism and economic crisis, the fascists centered around Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front became a significant force. In last June's municipal elections, the FN won the mayoralty in several cities—including Nice, the fourth-largest city in the country. The FN had the highest first-round vote totals in 114 cities and demonstrated the deep inroads it has made among sections of the working class: in certain working-class bastions, including some suburbs of Paris, the FN got first-round totals of 30 to 50 percent.

The fascists' growth was greatly enhanced by Mitterrand's racist anti-immigrant attacks and Cold War anti-Soviet campaign which provided the FN with a mantle of "respectability." It was in this climate of racist consensus that LO spokesman and perennial candidate Arlette Laguiller had a nationally televised debate with a leader of the fascist FN! Today Chirac is trying to attract part of the Front's base by inflaming chauvinist prejudices and launching all-out racist attacks, but the failure of his populist promises could drive increasing sections of the petty bourgeoisie, desperately fearful of growing economic competition, into the arms of the fascists.

The bourgeoisie is presently keeping the fascists in reserve, without a popular front in place to absorb the shock of a working-class explosion. Yet there is a considerable portion of the population which would eagerly respond to a drive to do away with these vermin. During the period leading up to last spring's presidential election, fascist goons went on a rampage, brutally murdering three people of African or North African origin. Such outrages give the lie to those like LO and the British-based Workers Power group, who pretend that the FN is not fascist. There were repeated demonstrations against these atrocities as well as mobilizations against FN election meetings. The situation cries out for a revolutionary leadership capable of mobilizing the multiethnic working class, together with the immigrant community and all potential victims of the fascists, to drive these racist scum off the streets.

CFDT

Workers and students filled stadium in Paris for mass protest during May 1968 general strike. Social democrats and Stalinists sabotaged revolutionary opportunity, channeling working-class discontent into support for parliamentary popular front.

The situation in France is moving toward a major confrontation, pitting a combative working class against a bourgeoisie intent on inflicting a major defeat on the workers. Chirac has little room for maneuver since he is getting fierce arm-twisting from the German bourgeoisie, which is using the 1991 Maastricht Treaty for a single European currency as a club to enforce financial and budgetary stability on its more profligate neighbors. In that treaty, France promised to eliminate more than half of its budget deficit by 1997, which would mean massive layoffs and gutting of social services.

With capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet bloc, interimperialist rivalries—which were held down during the Cold War in order to maintain the anti-Soviet alliance—have today broken out in force. The sharp resurgence of these rivalries has been a rude awakening for French imperialism. The Cold War division of Germany allowed France to play a role in European and world politics grossly disproportional to its real economic weight, exemplified by the Gaullist regime of the 1960s flaunting its "independence" of Washington. Today French companies find themselves under fierce pressure from U.S. competition in the Near East and even in their former African colonies, while Germany takes a commanding lead in East Europe.

Consequently, the French bourgeoisie has jettisoned its grandiose pretensions and is seeking to cultivate a "special relationship" as a subordinate partner to the German Fourth Reich. They have seized upon the prospect of a single European currency as a way of "sharing" control over Germany's financial wealth and exerting a modicum of control over Bonn's ambitions (a fantasy which has long been pushed by French social democrats like recently retired European Union head Jacques Delors). When Chirac's resumption of nuclear testing this fall provoked a worldwide barrage of protests, he "offered" France's nuclear capability to Germany in the form of a "European" bomb.

Despite the traditional enmity between France and Germany, there is a long tradition of French rulers looking to Germany as a last resort to bail them out *in extremis*. This goes back to the French Revolution when King Louis XVI tried to flee to Germany; he was arrested and later beheaded. In 1871, during the Franco-Prussian War, the French bourgeoisie collaborated with the Prussians, who were besieging the capital, to crush the Paris Commune. In 1940, the reactionary regime of Marshal Pétain was brought in to collaborate with Hitler, as French rulers preferred a German occupation of France to the prospect of proletarian revolution. And in May 1968 de Gaulle, confronted by a prerevolutionary situation in France, secretly flew to Germany to ensure support in the event of civil war from the French generals stationed there.

Today, the French bourgeoisie is forced to carry out an all-out offensive against the working class at a time when its own camp is hesitant and when the traditional class-collaborationist mechanisms for enforcing class peace by integrating the working-class leaders into the state apparatus have been used up and not yet renewed. The widespread fears among the bourgeoisie of a new May '68 are far from groundless. But that historic struggle demonstrated graphically that even the most powerful explosions of working-class power can be absorbed by the bourgeoisie as long as they do not lead to a struggle for state power. In 1968 the workers occupied the factories, but the reformist leaders were able eventually to get the strikers to return to work in exchange for a wage increase, which, moreover, was eaten up by inflation.

The lesson of May '68 is the necessity to go forward to socialist revolution and a workers government to expropriate the capitalist class. The bourgeoisie will not fall of its own accord—it must be thrown out. But this requires the forging of a revolutionary party like Lenin's Bolsheviks, with deep roots in the working class. As we wrote last year:

> "Given the bourgeoisie's assault on the welfare state, reformist schemes have little credibility. When today the bosses and the reformists talk of 'reform,' they are promising less work for less pay, and for more and more people, no work at all. The need for socialist revolution is placed in front of the European workers movement. For class-conscious workers the question is not just 'will there be another 1968?' but how to achieve a May '68 that goes all the way, to the taking of power. The key is building Trotskyist parties."
>
> —"Workers Struggle Across Europe," *WV* No. 591, 7 January 1994 ■

Corrections

In the article "Racist Backlash Against O.J. Simpson Acquittal" (*WV* No. 631, 20 October), we stated that no one was ever tried for the murder of 14-year-old Emmett Till, who was lynched in Mississippi in 1955. In fact, amid a racist furor claiming the murder had been plotted by the NAACP, there was a sham trial of two white racists, Roy Bryant and J.W. Milam, who were acquitted by an all-white jury after an hour's "deliberation." "If we hadn't stopped to drink pop, it wouldn't have taken that long," one juror later said.

The article "Cuba, Castro and Che: The Mystique of the Guerrilla Road" (*Young Spartacus* pages in *WV* No. 630, 6 October) referred to the precursor to the Spartacist League, the Revolutionary Tendency, as "a left opposition in the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party." The SWP by that time had abandoned Trotskyism for *centrism*, expressed in no small measure in their response to the Castro regime in Cuba (see *Marxist Bulletin* No. 2, "The Nature of the Socialist Workers Party—Revolutionary or Centrist?").

Wiretap...

(continued from page 3)

programs, which allow telephones and computers to electronically scramble communications so that only the intended recipient can decipher them.

The inventor of the most popular of these programs, Phil Zimmermann, has been targeted by federal investigators on the grounds that his "Pretty Good Privacy" (PGP) software violates munitions export laws. And while the Clinton administration has had to drop its "Clipper chip" proposal, which would have given the state a "back door" into personal computers and telephones, it continues to work on an alternative device (see "Government Hands Off Cyberporn!" *WV* No. 631, 20 October).

The police agencies want to ban any encryption systems that they don't control, but this isn't going to happen in the real world of capitalist business secrets and economic rivalry. Furthermore, there are easy ways to bury encrypted data in commonly used software files containing other data.

What has the FBI and White House freaked is that the state cannot play "Big Brother" at will as high-speed digital phone lines and software like PGP become universally available. After FBI stormtroopers raided 125 homes and offices in September for receiving "pornography" on the Internet through the America Online service, FBI chief Freeh whined that the snoops could not read some of the information they confiscated because the files had been encrypted. On college campuses, the Internet, which was originally developed as a communications network for the U.S. War ("Defense") Department in the 1960s, has become an organizing tool for protests. Now many universities are wiring dormitories with high-capacity digital telephone lines, while mainframe computers on the campuses form the backbone of the Internet.

The FBI's typically ham-fisted attempts to police electronic communications exemplify the drive of the capitalist state—which exists to repress the struggles of the exploited and oppressed—to insinuate itself more and more into the daily lives of the population. In this case, the immediate needs of the police forces even run counter to the business interests of a section of the ruling class. In vastly increasing government surveillance of the population and the use of the death penalty, in its attacks on fundamental democratic freedoms like the right to possess guns, the U.S. ruling class is proving the truth of Friedrich Engels' description of the capitalist state made over a century ago: "arisen out of society but placing itself above it, and alienating itself more and more from it...." Proletarian revolution to sweep away this repressive apparatus will be a giant step toward real human freedom, allowing the collective utilization of the means of production, including the most advanced technology society has to offer. ■

Labor...

(continued from page 5)

an Alabama Perdue chicken plant last June—on the eve of a union recognition vote—underlines that union rights and black freedom can only march forward together.

Aiding the racist anti-labor crusade is a growing corps of professional goon services like Vance International, run by a former Secret Service agent, whose jackbooted and heavily armed thugs have been attacking the picket lines of Detroit newspaper strikers for the past three months. The revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky wrote in the 1938 Transitional Program:

> "Scabs and private gunmen in factory plants are the basic nuclei of the fascist army. *Strike pickets* are the basic nuclei of the proletarian army. In connection with every strike and street demonstration, it is imperative to propagate the necessity of creating *workers' groups for self-defense*."

The Spartacist League has fought to implement this program with the call for labor/black mobilizations against the Klan and Nazis, whose fascist violence targets the integrated unions. In January 1994, the labor/black mobilization to stop the Klan in Springfield, Illinois tapped the deep concerns of white, black and Hispanic workers in labor's Midwest "war zone" of strikes and lockouts; pro-capitalist AFL-CIO leaders, however, stridently opposed it as a threat to the racist status quo.

WV Photo

Spartacists fought for militant strike action against 1979 mass layoffs in auto that led to devastation of labor/black Detroit.

In this deeply racist country, racism is the biggest obstacle to achieving class consciousness. Successful workers struggle requires a strategic commitment to the fight to smash black oppression. The profit system is racist to the core, keeping blacks at the very bottom of the economic ladder where they are ravaged by unemployment. Organized labor must take up the cause of the unemployed, demanding 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay—divide the available work among all those seeking jobs, at the bosses' expense! For a program of public works, at union-scale wages! The unions must mobilize to break down the barriers of segregation, fighting for quality integrated education and housing for all.

To galvanize labor's potential power requires the absolute independence of the proletariat from the bosses' state. Only by fighting against government intervention in the unions can the basis be laid for genuine trade-union democracy. The fight for the political independence of the working class from the bourgeoisie is critical. The present anemic condition of the trade unions is the bitter fruit of decades of union misleaders playing by the bosses' rules.

As we noted last issue, "The struggle to defend the working class and minorities must be waged against the entire labor bureaucracy, which is committed to upholding capitalism and tied to the Democratic Party" ("AFL-CIO Convention: Recycling the Sellouts—Labor Traitors vs. Class Struggle," *WV* No. 632, 3 November). To resuscitate the unions, to organize the unorganized, to fight for the rights of women, minorities and immigrants requires first and foremost a *political* fight within the labor movement itself to sweep away the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. In the course of the class battles to come, it is necessary to undertake the difficult task of building anew a Marxist wing of the labor movement—a class-struggle opposition in the unions which fights down the line against the class collaboration of the AFL-CIO tops and is committed to the principle that those who labor must rule. This task is inextricably linked to the struggle to forge an authentic Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party.

Black workers, long in the forefront of labor's battles, must and will play a leading role in forging the kind of class-struggle workers party that's needed, a party that mobilizes workers and all the oppressed in revolutionary struggle to do away with the racist profit system, replacing the boom-bust system of capitalist anarchy with a rationally planned economy organized through a government based on workers councils. ■

Israel...

(continued from page 1)

Bank. The Labor Party directly encouraged the construction of settlements by right-wing revanchists as a means of displacing and policing the Palestinian inhabitants of the Occupied Territories, a policy which continues to this day.

In the language of fascists everywhere, Amir justified killing Rabin because "He had no national honor." But Rabin was hardly a leftist. Confronted by right-wing hecklers during his 1988 election campaign, Rabin boasted: "I've kicked out more Arabs than anyone you can name." As a young army officer in the 1948 "War of Independence," Rabin personally directed "Operation Dani"—one of the bloodiest massacres in the Zionist campaign to carve out *Lebensraum* (living space) for a "Jewish state" through the "cleansing" of Arab population centers. On 12 July 1948 Rabin ordered: "The inhabitants of Lydda must be expelled quickly without attention to age." Even by Israeli accounts, some 250 people were killed and many more wounded in a slaughter—other estimates range as high as 1,700 dead. Hundreds more died as up to 100,000 Palestinians from Lydda and the neighboring town of Ramle were forced on a long trek through the desert, stripped of their valuables by Israeli soldiers as they fled.

The bourgeois press has painted Rabin as a soldier who learned the ways of peace, and portrays the new acting prime minister, Shimon Peres, as a "dove." Peres is a dyed-in-the-wool Zionist chauvinist who oversaw the construction of Israel's massive nuclear arsenal. And the 1993 Israel-PLO "peace" accord engineered by Rabin and Peres has meant that Arafat's PLO is being used by the Zionists to police the Palestinian masses in a string of ghettos in the Occupied Territories. The upshot of the vaunted interim accord ("Oslo 2") signed two months ago is that the PLO will gain "sovereignty" over all of *3 percent* of the West Bank, with another 27 percent to be administered by the PLO under the bayonets of the Israeli army. Fully *70 percent* of the West Bank will remain under total Israeli control. And now the turnout of international leaders, including from the Near East, at Rabin's funeral has served to legitimize the Zionists' claim to "Greater Jerusalem" as Israel's capital.

Meanwhile, Arafat's cops have proven themselves the equal of their Zionist puppet masters in torture and terror. Where the Israeli army found itself in a stalemate with the militant youth of the *Intifada*, the PLO has by and large succeeded in demoralizing and suppressing any resistance. Largely as a result of draconian repression, the reactionary Islamic fundamentalists of Hamas, who capitalized on Arafat's capitulation to proclaim themselves the sole true opponents of the Zionist occupiers, have been significantly weakened. Surveys have shown a sharp drop in popular support for Hamas, from 40 percent two years ago to 11 percent today. And radical nationalists like Habash's PFLP and Hawatmeh's DFLP are scarcely heard of these days.

At the same time, Rabin's deal with the PLO succeeded in eviscerating what passed for a left in Israeli society. The "left" Zionist Meretz/"Peace Now" bloc is a loyal component of the Labor government. Indeed, as the bourgeois press has harped on, Rabin's last act was to speak at a "Peace Now" demonstration. The Communist Party-led Hadash parliamentary group, whose base of support is among Israeli Arabs, vowed earlier this year to "do everything it can not to jeopardize Rabin." The small fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Communist League, after years of tailing "radical" Palestinian nationalism, extended "critical" support to Rabin's anti-Palestinian "peace" accords.

A revolutionary leadership would champion the national rights of the Palestinian people from the standpoint of proletarian internationalism. What is needed is a *class polarization*, seeking to break Israeli workers from the stranglehold of Zionism which, as Trotsky warned, is a deathtrap for the Jewish people. For the fundamentalist fascists who would turn Israel into an Old Testament theocracy are a danger not only to the Palestinian masses but to the Hebrew-speaking working people. The International Communist League recognizes the right of self-determination of both the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples. But where there are two peoples inhabiting the same territory, there can be no just and democratic resolution of their competing national claims short of a socialist revolution which sweeps away the Zionist capitalist state as part of the fight for a socialist federation of the Near East. Key to this is the forging of Trotskyist parties as part of a reborn Fourth International. ■

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Saturday, November 18, 7 p.m.: *Farrakhan's Million Man March—A Reactionary Deed End; No to Sexism, Nationalism! For Revolutionary Integrationism! Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!*
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Saturdays, 2 p.m. Next classes, November 18: *Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution;* December 2: *The Fight for a Revolutionary Party;* Boston University, CLA (College of Liberal Arts) Room 418, 725 Commonwealth Avenue
For more information: (617) 666-9453

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Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Thursdays, 7 p.m. Next class, November 30: *Marxism vs. Feminism: Women's Liberation through Socialist Revolution;* University of Illinois-Champaign/Urbana, Illini Union, Room 211
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LOS ANGELES

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Monday, November 20, 12:00 noon: *Capitalism Means Racist State Terror!—Battle for Mumia Abu-Jemal's Freedom!*
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NEW YORK CITY

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Next classes, *Black and Red: Black Liberation through Socialist Revolution; The Fight for a Revolutionary Party;* call for dates and times; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren Street (one block below Chambers Street)
For more information: (212) 267-1025

SAN FRANCISCO

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Saturdays, 3 p.m. Next classes, November 25: *Marx's View of Economics;* December 2: *The State: Lessons of the Paris Commune of 1871;* call for location
For more information: (415) 777-9367

SANTA CRUZ

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Tuesdays, 7 p.m. Next classes, November 21: *Marx's View of Economics;* November 28: *The State: Lessons of the Paris Commune of 1871;* UC Santa Cruz, Student Center, M.C. Williams Lounge
For more information: (510) 839-0851

Trotskyist League/Ligue trotskyste Events

TORONTO

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Mondays, 7 p.m. Next class, November 27: *The Bolshevik Revolution;* International Student Centre, 33 St. George Street (north of College)
For more information: (416) 593-4138

VANCOUVER

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series
Alternate Thursdays, 7:30 p.m. Next class, November 23: *Capitalism, Socialism and Communism;* Britannia Community Centre, Room L4, 1661 Napier (off Commercial Drive)
For more information: (604) 687-0353

S.F. Elections...

(continued from page 12)

American Latinos has made San Francisco a "majority minority" city. Its demographic composition has changed, but its political character hasn't. In this parochial, nasty, racist yuppie town, those with black and brown skins aren't welcome.

Currently SF has the highest rate of juvenile felony convictions per capita of any county in California, filling the jails with mostly black and Latino youth. The capitalists are *cutting* the public housing stock, which will throw more poor and black people into the streets. Low-income residents in Bayview/Hunters Point, the largest black neighborhood in the city, have vociferously complained for years about being poisoned with toxic dumping. And recently, the San Francisco Public Health Department found that "African American women under age 50 in Bayview/Hunters Point had a rate of breast cancer twice that of women in the Bay Area as a whole" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 22 September). A new youth curfew targets minority youth for police harassment (although a more draconian version Jordan had placed on the November 7 ballot was voted down).

The city cops are kill-crazy and their main object is terrorizing poor black and Hispanic neighborhoods to keep San Francisco "safe" for the yuppies and the wealthy. On September 6, black 28-year-old William Hankston was shot in the back of the head at pointblank range by a black cop named Jessie Washington. The SFPD had targeted the mainly black neighborhood of Ingleside where Hankston was killed for a "war on drugs," that is, *war on blacks*. William Hankston Sr. was right when he said his son's murder was "an outright assassination."

Hankston's murder followed the brutal beating death of 35-year-old Aaron Williams at the hands of the SFPD this past June. On November 1 the police killed again, this time blowing away an unarmed white man in the poor Tenderloin district for allegedly fleeing arrest on a parole violation. This summer, cops staged mass arrests of hundreds of protesters who marched on behalf of Mumia Abu-Jamal, framed-up black journalist on Pennsylvania's death row. And last January they brutally broke up an AIDS benefit, beating guests while spewing anti-gay slurs.

Jordan is campaigning for re-election with stepped-up repression. "Matrix II," a vicious new edition of his notorious campaign against the homeless, has police sweeping the homeless out of city parks. He has also launched a racist, union-busting campaign against the Muni transit workers of TWU Local 250A, a 60 percent black union and a key bulwark of integrated San Francisco labor. Scapegoating Muni drivers for the bosses' financial starvation of public transit, the capitalist papers blare headlines about "rich," "goof-off" city workers "stealing" money—while drivers have to endure buses which constantly break down and hostility from yuppies, as well as assaults by lumpens *and* racist cops. We remember Greg Wiggins, the black bus driver crippled by a beating from SF's "finest" in 1988. Now Jordan is threatening to "privatize" 20 percent of Muni, a direct attack on all city unions.

While Brown garners support from minorities, workers and the poor, he is a well-heeled wheeler-dealer who boasts of his connections with the rich and powerful, like his friend Walter Shorenstein, the downtown magnate. By making the central pitch in his campaign pro-police "law and order," calling Jordan "soft on crime," Brown is both pursuing financial district support and competing for a piece of Jordan's white racist base. He actively pursued *and got* the endorsement of both the Police Officers and the Deputy Sheriffs Associations—promising them not only more money and more cops, but also increased immunity by endorsing a plan favored by the POA to allow "officers who face discipline" to appeal to "an outside arbitrator who would have final say" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 26 September).

Most of the unions in town, from the ILWU Local 10 longshore union, Muni drivers, Hospital Workers Local 250 and SEIU Local 2 (the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union) to the SF Labor Council, have not only endorsed Brown but are going all out to get him elected. So has the arch-reformist Communist Party, which called him "pro-labor" and praised his campaign's "breadth and response to community concerns" (*People's Weekly World*, 28 October). Meanwhile, the ex-CPers of the Committees of Correspondence called for a vote to the "progressive" candidates in the first round and are now openly plumping for Brown. Brown's November 7 election-night rally was held in the Local 10 hiring hall. It is a truly disgusting spectacle for the union tops, most of whose unions are heavily integrated, to be embracing a big-time Democratic Party liberal who boasts that he will crack down on the same neighborhoods their members are likely to live in.

After the Hankston killing, the Ingleside neighborhood erupted in two nights of angry protest, met with brutal police mobilizations. City officials and black misleaders alike launched a vigorous campaign to keep a lid on social tinder ready to explode. But no whitewash investigation will do anything to stop police terror—a point made ominously clear when over 200 cops, in a show of bonapartist police power, rallied in support of killer cop Washington at the POA headquarters. And as the Hankston case shows, it's not a matter of a killer cop's skin color. The job of *all* cops, as the armed fist of the capitalist state, is to defend the interests of the capitalist class, which rests on the exploitation of working people and the racist oppression of blacks.

Macor/SF Chronicle

SF cops assault "Food Not Bombs" protesters as part of Mayor Frank Jordan's racist campaign to drive the homeless off the streets and out of the parks.

Last August, a one-day strike by the longshoremen's union shut down the *entire* West Coast in a rare display of union power (see *WV* No. 627, 25 August). If the Muni drivers and ILWU had had a similar response to the Hankston murder and shut the city down, it would have been a powerful blow in defense of the unions and oppressed. Instead of angry but powerless black youth facing phalanxes of riot cops alone, thousands of black, white, Hispanic and Asian workers with the power to stop the flow of profits could have sent the racist cops a message impossible to disregard.

But the conservative union bureaucrats fear this kind of political mobilization as much as the corporate and financial establishment does. Instead, desperate to keep workers tied to the Democratic Party, the trade-union bureaucracy mobilized on the streets to...elect the cops' favored candidate! Of course, SF Labor Council head Walter Johnson & Co. are the same bureaucrats fawned over by reformist fake leftists, from Socialist Organizer and Socialist Action to Labor Militant, for talking about a "labor party"—which for the labor tops is nothing but a cynical scheme to pressure the Democrats.

And for what? For 14 years as speaker of the assembly, the second most powerful office in the state, Willie Brown was one of the leading architects of cutback state budgets and devastated social services coming out of Sacramento—his partnership with a series of reactionary Republican governors was a California edition of Clinton/Gingrich reaction in D.C. What this "friend of labor" has in store for San Francisco workers was shown in 1993 when Brown intervened to stop a threatened strike by the Los Angeles teachers union, helping force a 10 percent wage cut down the union's throat. This was a real service for the ruling class, which worried that a militant labor struggle could galvanize the anger of the oppressed in L.A. following the 1992 upheaval over the racist acquittal of the cops who beat Rodney King.

Remember Wilson Goode, the black Democratic mayor of Philadelphia who ordered the dropping of the bomb on the back-to-nature group MOVE, incinerating eleven black people, including five children. And Tom Bradley, the black ex-police chief and mayor of Los Angeles who oversaw the LAPD's unbridled terrorization of blacks, Latinos and militant trade unionists to keep L.A. an open shop town. We don't need black front men for racist capitalist rule. The Democrats are no "lesser evil." Both the Democratic and Republican parties have together carried out devastating attacks on the working people of this country, turning it into an increasingly immiserated, right-wing, weird and racist society.

It really will take a revolution in this country just to fulfill basic human rights, such as not being murdered for the color of your skin, and the right to eat and to have shelter. What working people desperately need is a *multiracial workers party* capable of fighting against these all-sided attacks on working people and minorities, and leading a political struggle inside the unions against the treacherous, pro-Democratic Party union misleaders that stand as the major obstacle to necessary social struggle. For the political independence of the labor movement from the capitalist parties! Build a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

Pittsburgh...

(continued from page 12)

office testified that Gammage had multiple cuts and bruises on his face, buttocks, knee, wrist and finger; internal injuries including multiple bruises on his back, neck and upper chest; and hemorrhages in his larynx and eyes caused by pressure on his neck, causing his brain to swell. After identifying Gammage's body, Ray Seals remarked, "When I looked at him, I had to do a double take so I could tell who he was [because of] the swelling" (*Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 14 October). The cops contrived stories about how Gammage was supposedly out of control, although each one of them singly was bigger than Gammage. As usual, they claimed Gammage was going wild on drugs. But autopsy toxicology reports showed there was not a trace of any drugs in his system and only a minimal amount of alcohol.

The nightmare cop lynching of Jonny Gammage adds Pittsburgh to the growing list of American cities which have recently come under the media spotlight for police brutality. An NAACP review of civilian complaints against the Pittsburgh police last year showed that out of 400 complaints, *not one* was sustained. On April 28, 30-year-old Anthony Starks of Rockville, Maryland, was killed after Pittsburgh cops rained kicks to his stomach and nightstick blows to the head. Gammage's killing occurred as a Pittsburgh court was hearing a challenge by death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal against prison officials who have victimized him for his writings exposing the system of racist "justice" and cop terror.

The cops are the armed front-line guardians of the racist capitalist order. America's Mark Fuhrmans aren't just some "bad apples" or out-of-control "rogue cops." They're the norm in police departments around the country. Justice for all the countless black men and women who are daily entrapped by lying prosecutors in court and thrown into prisons to sweat out their young lives, and vengeance for those simply gunned down or beaten to death on the streets by the cops, will come through a revolutionary struggle for workers power which will put an end to the entire criminal system of racist capitalist repression and its murderers in blue. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

S.F. Labor Tops Back Black Front Man for Capitalist Rule

AP

SF Democratic mayoral candidate and former state assembly speaker Willie Brown hobnobbing with racist Republican governor Wilson.

SAN FRANCISCO—For the past four years Democratic mayor Frank Jordan has made it his mission to drive the "undesirables" out of town or at least out of sight. Though nobody much likes him, the ex-police chief has garnered support from the white racist vote and downtown big money for his efforts to "clean up the streets" by persecuting the city's 10,000 or more homeless people and unleashing the police on black neighborhoods and demonstrators. Now he is being challenged for mayor by black Democratic Party power broker Willie Brown, former speaker of the California state assembly. But Brown's entire campaign is centered on trying to outdo the ex-cop mayor in being "tough on crime"—a code word for cracking down on the poor, and primarily blacks—while appealing to blacks, other minorities, workers and others to vote for him as the "progressive"!

In the first round of the mayoral election on November 7, Brown came out on top with 36 percent to Jordan's 33 percent, while Roberta Achtenberg, the openly gay, yuppie former member of the board of supervisors, who quit a Clinton administration job to run for mayor, ran third with 28 percent. The district breakdown, as published in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (9 November), ran along the city's race and class fault lines: black neighborhoods like Ingleside and Hunters Point and integrated working-class districts went to Brown; Jordan stayed solid in the white ethnic enclaves of the Sunset and upscale districts like the Marina and Pacific Heights; Achtenberg pulled in the gay/white liberal vote from the Castro and Mission districts. Brown is counting on pulling most of Achtenberg's base to win the December 12 runoff against Jordan (she endorsed Brown in the second round of voting).

Despite its reputation as a liberal city, this town in fact has historically been dominated by an arrogant, rich white upper crust and the ethnic white middle-class neighborhoods. They have always made it uncomfortable for blacks to live here, and the black population has never climbed above 9 percent. In contrast, the city of Oakland across the Bay is 43 percent black. In the last two decades an influx of Asians, mainly Chinese, and a smaller number of mainly Central

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Pittsburgh: Outrage Over Racist Cop Murder

At 1:46 a.m. on October 12, a black man driving a Jaguar alone through the predominantly white Brentwood area on the outskirts of Pittsburgh was stopped by cops, supposedly for a traffic violation. Seventeen minutes later, an ambulance was summoned to the scene, and around 4 a.m. Jonny Gammage was pronounced dead, victim of a savage beating by a gang of five police thugs. Unlike Rodney King, whose brutal beating was videotaped and seared into the memory of the nation, no one had a camera at this scene. But there were witnesses and Gammage did have outspoken friends and family, including a cousin, Ray Seals, who is a defensive lineman on the Pittsburgh Steelers football team.

This hideous murder has put the issue of racist cop terror front and center in Pittsburgh. Hundreds have demonstrated in protest against Gammage's killing. Reporters were stunned at how the anger has cut across race lines. One poll showed that *fewer* whites than blacks defended the cops' actions. Here the impact of the O.J. Simpson trial is clearly seen. As a letter to the local black newspaper acridly noted, "In lieu of not being able to get their hands on O.J. Simpson, the Brentwood police borrowed a page from Mark Fuhrman's book and 'lynched' Jonny Gammage" (*New Pittsburgh Courier*, 4 November). On November 3, a coroner's jury unanimously recommended that the suburban cops who killed Jonny Gammage be charged with homicide, a first for a coroner's jury in Allegheny County.

But three days later, Pittsburgh district attorney Robert Colville announced his refusal to bring first or second degree homicide charges against the killer cops, and that he was "considering" involuntary manslaughter charges on the grounds that the cops hadn't intended to kill Gammage. This is despite the admission during the inquest by Officer John Vojtas that he had sneered, "I hope you die," as Gammage lay fighting for his life. Outraged demonstrators again protested on November 12 and 13.

Thomas Jefferson

Pittsburgh Tribune-Review

Pittsburgh, November 3: Hundreds gather outside inquest for Jonny Gammage, lynched by racist cops.

Jonny Gammage was 31 years old, a graduate of Buffalo State University. He had been a partner in a small business in Syracuse, his home town, as well as a social caseworker. When he died, Gammage was managing a business Seals started, Athletic Promotions Inc., which produced black and gold Steelers' T-shirts with the inscription, "60-Minute Men." Gammage gave out Thanksgiving baskets to poor people in Pittsburgh last year on behalf of the company.

Gammage was driving Seals' car when he was set upon by the cops. "He was a black man in America, driving a nice car at late hours, and there was an assumption," said one person attending an NAACP dinner in Pittsburgh. And that's all it took for the racist cops to target the 5-foot, 7-inch man. Eyewitness testimony at the three-day inquest brought out the horror of the last minutes of Gammage's life. The cops threw him to the ground, tied his legs and handcuffed him. They drove their knees into his back, pinning Gammage and choking off his air supply until he died.

Dr. Abdulrezak Shakir of the coroner's

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 634

1 December 1995

For a Workers Party that Champions the Cause of All the Oppressed!

WV Photo

Demonstration for black death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal in Philadelphia, August 12. Mobilizing the social power of the integrated labor movement is key to the struggle against racial oppression.

Class-Struggle Road to Black Freedom

We print below, in slightly edited and abridged form, a presentation by Spartacist League Central Committee member Don Alexander at a November 18 SL forum in Berkeley.

For Revolutionary Integrationism

Following the capitalist counterrevolution in East Europe and the Soviet Union, the U.S. ruling class believes it can do *anything* to the workers, the poor, the elderly, blacks and Hispanics, without the slightest danger of social unrest. During the Reagan/Bush years, the period of the anti-Soviet war drive, racism became increasingly "respectable." The capitalist mouthpieces, black and white, pounded away at the "dependency" of blacks on the government and denounced "welfare cheats." Black liberals like William Julius Wilson and his book, *The Declining Significance of Race*, were hailed as truly erudite in order to justify increased racist cutbacks and reaction. Recently, neoconservative darling Dinesh D'Souza authored a book, *The End of Racism*, which said that slavery wasn't racist. He has also advocated the abolition of not only affirmative action but the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

The racist scapegoating of blacks has become the bipartisan bourgeois consensus, reflected in one out of every three black youth being in jail or under the thumb of the racist judiciary system, the wholesale dismantling of welfare and job programs, the growing number of black and Latino youths gunned down by the murderous police, the malign neglect of the victims of AIDS and TB epidemics in the ghettos and barrios, and of course the attempts to roll back affirmative action—a minimal gain won through struggle

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Imperialist "Peace" Means More Bloodshed

U.S./NATO Get Your Bloody Hands Off the Balkans!

Following the imposition of an American-dictated "peace" deal on the warring nationalists in Bosnia on November 21, an occupation force of 60,000 NATO troops, including 20,000 from the U.S., is set to descend on the Balkans. The agreement was initialed by the leaders of Serbia, Croatia and the Bosnian Muslims after three weeks of strong-arm "negotiations" at a U.S. Air Force base near Dayton, Ohio.

Some 2,000 troops are now about to move in to establish the "logistical and communications framework" for the NATO expeditionary force, joining more than 20,000 "United Nations peacekeepers" already in place. Hundreds of American soldiers are also currently stationed nearby in the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia. Clinton menacingly vowed to use "immediate and decisive force" in Bosnia, while his national security adviser Anthony Lake threatened, "If anybody fools with our forces, they will get hit.... They will get hit very hard."

The imperialists who today proclaim "peace" in Bosnia are the same war criminals who waged mass murder against the people of Iraq, and who perpetrated torture and massacres in the racist occupation of Somalia. Workers and the oppressed around the world must demand: All U.S., NATO and "UN" troops get out of the Balkans—and stay out!

The U.S.-imposed pact and NATO occupation will produce yet more bloodshed, while further hardening nationalist hatreds among the South Slav peoples. The big winner is Croatia, which retains lands captured from the Serbs in last summer's military offensive and has effectively annexed large parts of the so-called "Muslim-Croat federation" in Bosnia, leaving a rump Muslim-run statelet under Croatian suzerainty. The imperialist "peace" redraws various boundaries in order to carve out geographically contiguous Muslim-Croat and Bosnian Serb republics, while the projected "unification" of Sarajevo will place about 120,000 Bosnian Serbs under Muslim control. This will engender yet more forced population transfers, on top of more than *three million* refugees already displaced by "ethnic cleansing."

The civil war in the Balkans grew directly out of the imperialist-fomented counterrevolution which destroyed the Yugoslav deformed workers state, pitting the various South Slav peoples against one another in a four-year orgy of bloodletting. The International Communist League opposed all sides in this internecine warfare, while simultaneously opposing all imperialist and "UN" intervention, including the crippling economic embargo against Serbia. But with last summer's massive NATO terror-bombing of the Bosnian Serbs, preceded by a U.S./German-sponsored Croatian offensive which drove 200,000 Serbs from their homes in the Krajina region, the character of the conflict shifted to become an imperialist war against the Bosnian Serbs. The ICL held emergency protests in the U.S., Germany and elsewhere calling to defend the Bosnian Serbs against the attacks by U.S./NATO imperialism and its puppets of the Muslim-Croat alliance.

In contrast, many liberals and even self-styled socialists, like the Socialist Action group in the U.S., have enlisted in the imperialist crusade over "poor little Bosnia." Screaming for more aggressive intervention to "defend Bosnia,"

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Tenth Annual Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

"The labor movement must be awakened from its slumber and must be roused to the menacing significance of the attempt of the capitalists to break the morale of the working class by imprisoning its best fighters. The workers must not be allowed to forget those who lie in prison for them, but must be stirred into action in their defense.

"The International Labor Defense will take the initiative to organize a wide-spread campaign for the unconditional release of imprisoned fighters of the class struggle and will endeavor to unite all the forces of conscious and militant labor for this fight."

—from the Resolutions of the First Conference of the International Labor Defense, 28 June 1925

This year marks the Partisan Defense Committee's tenth "Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners." Our annual Holiday Appeal fund drive sustains the monthly stipend payments to our class-war prisoners throughout the year and also provides for individual holiday gifts for prisoners and their families. In the ten years since the PDC's first Holiday Appeal, the children of some of our foremost class-war prisoners—like Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) and Mumia Abu-Jamal—have become young adults, while the struggle for their fathers' freedom continues.

Jennifer Beach WV Photos

Victims of capitalist repression: Mumia Abu-Jamal, Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), Jerry Dale Lowe. Their fight is our fight!

In initiating the stipend program and annual Holiday Appeals, the PDC revived a tradition of the International Labor Defense (ILD) and its founder and early leader, James P. Cannon. The ILD, the American affiliate of the International Red Aid, was born in discussions between Cannon and Bill Haywood in Moscow in 1925. Haywood, an early Industrial Workers of the World leader, had gone into exile in Moscow after being convicted—along with thousands of other members of the IWW and the antiwar wing of the Socialist Party—for his opposition to World War I. These discussions resulted in a fusion of the internationalism of the Russian Revolution with Haywood and Cannon's shared IWW heritage of militant labor struggle and nonsectarian defense embodied in the slogan, "an injury to one is an injury to all."

The class-war prisoners who receive stipends from the PDC today are fighters against racist and capitalist oppression from many different political backgrounds. They include:

Death row political prisoner **Mumia Abu-Jamal**, a founding member and spokesman for the Philadelphia branch of the Black Panther Party, award-winning journalist known as the "voice of the voiceless" and supporter of the MOVE organization. Over 800 pages of FBI files obtained under the Freedom of Information Act confirm that Jamal was a target of the FBI in collaboration with the Philly cops, because he was a powerful spokesman for the oppressed and vocal critic of racist cop terror. In the face of overwhelming evidence of Jamal's frame-up, on September 15 Judge Albert ("king of death row") Sabo turned down Jamal's motion for a new trial. Jamal's attorneys began the appeal process on October 10.

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), former Black Panther leader and victim of a racist FBI COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program) frame-up. Geronimo has spent 25 years in prison for a murder the government knows he did not commit. Former FBI agent M. Wesley Swearingen, in his recently published book, *FBI Secrets: An Agent's Exposé*, reveals that there were no less than *three* different sets of FBI wiretaps on the Panther offices—by the Oakland, San Francisco and Los Angeles Bureau branches—revealing that Geronimo was in Oakland at the time, 400 miles away from the scene of the murder for which he was framed and sentenced to life.

Jerry Dale Lowe, United Mine Workers (UMWA) member framed on federal charges in the shooting death of a scab contractor in Logan County, West Virginia. On September 20, the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit turned down Lowe's appeal, condemning him to nearly eleven years in prison for the "crime" of defending his union.

Ed Poindexter and **Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa (David Rice)**, former Black Panther supporters and leaders of the Omaha, Nebraska Committee to Combat Fascism. Also victims of COINTELPRO, they were framed up for an explosion in 1970 which killed a cop. Both were convicted on perjured testimony and sentenced to life. Poindexter is at Lino Lake, Minnesota and Mondo is at Lincoln, Nebraska.

Jaan Laaman and **Ray Luc Levasseur**, of the Ohio 7, arrested in 1984 and 1985 respectively. Radical activists, they share a history of opposition to racism and imperialism. The two were sentenced to 45 years to life under the RICO ("racketeering") conspiracy laws on allegations of attacks targeting symbols of U.S. imperialism in the late '70s and '80s. Jaan Laaman is at Leavenworth, Kansas and Ray Luc Levasseur is at Florence, Colorado, one of the high-tech "supermax" hellholes.

Hugo Pinell, the last of the San Quentin 6 still in prison. A militant anti-racist, he was a leader of prison rights organizing along with George Jackson and has spent over 30 years in prison. He is currently serving a life sentence at Crescent City, California.

Over the years, we have counted among our class-war prisoners numerous members and supporters of the controversial MOVE organization. Some were imprisoned for defending their homes from cop assaults in 1977 and 1978. Many of their loved ones outside prison walls, including children, were murdered in the savage 13 May 1985 Philadelphia police bombing of their Osage Avenue home.

We send stipends to nine MOVE members who are serving sentences of 30-100 years in prisons throughout Pennsylvania: **Chuck Africa**, Graterford; **Debbie Sims Africa**, Cambridge Springs; **Delbert Orr Africa**, Dallas; **Edward Goodman Africa**, Camp Hill; **Janet Holloway Africa**, Cambridge Springs; **Janine Phillips Africa**, Cambridge Springs; **Merle Austin Africa**, Cambridge Springs, **Michael Davis Africa**, Graterford; and **William Phillips Africa**, Dallas.

Each of these class-war prisoners has fought, in his or her own way, in the interests of all of the working class—against racism, union-busting and capitalist oppression. Our duty to them now is solidarity, to take up their cases and causes, to fight for their freedom.

Jaan Laaman of the Ohio 7 recently wrote about the stipend program: "The PDC's non-sectarian political and material support helps sustain us in our daily struggles behind prison walls. Many people may not be aware that prisoners have to purchase most of their necessities (stamps, envelopes, pens, soap, toothpaste, vitamins, pay for phone calls, etc.) and at prices often higher than outside. The material support aids our lives. Probably more importantly though, is the knowledge that at least a small core of people who share our concerns and hopes for justice, freedom, peace, and a better life for our children, have not forgotten us."

We encourage *WV* readers to participate and be proud of your part in sending a message of solidarity from those outside prison walls to these victims of capitalist state repression. Send your Holiday Appeal contributions now. Support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send donations to: PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013 ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Capitalist Decay and the Bankruptcy of Reformism

The capitalist world today exhibits an ever wider chasm between the wealthy few and the impoverished many. Writing amid the ravages of the Great Depression of the 1930s, on the eve of World War II and the Nazi Holocaust, Leon Trotsky refuted the reformist cynics who dismissed the Marxist program of the Fourth International, founded in 1938, as "sectarian dogma." Against the liberals and social democrats who argued that the problems of the boom-bust profit system could be rectified through piecemeal reform, Trotsky emphasized that the only road out of continued capitalist decay lay in the struggle for world socialist revolution under the leadership of an internationalist proletarian vanguard party.

In the good old days, when people referred to the crisis of Marxism they had in mind some specific proposition of Marx which had allegedly failed to withstand the test of facts: namely, the theory of the sharpening of the class struggle; the so-called "theory of impoverishment," and the so-called theory of "catastrophic collapse" of capitalism. These three principal points served as the target for bourgeois and reformist criticism. Today it is simply impossible to engage in a controversy over these issues. Who will undertake to prove that social contradictions are not sharpening but rather softening?... Those lines in *Capital* in which Marx speaks of the polarization of capitalist society, the accumulation of wealth at one pole and of poverty at the other—these lines, which have been indicted as "demagogic," now simply prove to be a picture of reality.

The old liberal democratic conception of a gradual and universal rise of prosperity, culture, peace, and liberty has suffered decisive and irreparable shipwreck. In its wake, there has been bankrupted the social reformist conception, which represented in essence only an adaptation of the ideas of liberalism to the existing working class conditions. All these theories and methods had their roots in the epoch of free trade and competition, that is to say, in the past beyond recall, a time when capitalism was still a relatively progressive system. Capitalism today is reactionary. It cannot be cured. It must be removed....

It will be recorded in the annals of history that capitalism, before sinking into the grave, made a tremendous effort at self-preservation over a protracted historical period. The bourgeoisie does not want to die. It has transformed all the energy inherited by it from the past into a violent convulsion of reaction. This is precisely the period in which we are living....

Yet the conditions which have prepared the present wave of reaction are extremely unstable, contradictory, and ephemeral, and they prepare the ground for a new offensive by the proletariat. The leadership of this offensive will justly belong to those whom the rationalists call dogmatists and sectarians. Because "dogmatists" and "sectarians" refuse to renounce the scientific method so long as nobody, absolutely nobody, has proposed anything superior in its place.

—Leon Trotsky, "Once Again on the 'Crisis of Marxism'" (March 1939)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 634 **1 December 1995**

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Protectionism vs. Class Struggle
Exchange on Boeing Strike

IAM District Lodge No. 24
Portland, Oregon

1 November 1995

Dear Editor:

During our strike rally at Boeing Portland on Saturday, October 21, I was told that someone from your newspaper wanted to interview me. We did not make connections, but I did read the article in your October 20 issue which someone left at our strike headquarters trailer.

I was disappointed that the bulk of your article entitled, "Victory to the Boeing Strike!" was devoted to a strident attack on those of us fortunate enough to be in leadership positions in the Machinists Union, whom you chose to characterize as "bureaucrats," "tops," and other pejorative terms. You particularly criticize us for criticizing Boeing's off-loading of the jobs of our members to overseas subcontractors, who exploit their workers while our members' livelihood disappears.

We are used to Boeing and the rest of Corporate America preaching the virtues of free trade to us, while at the same time claiming they are being blackmailed into sending our jobs overseas in order to sell their planes. Our position is that existing trade laws prohibit the kind of "offset" demands Boeing claims it is being forced into granting to other countries. Besides, we think Boeing is pretty willingly "blackmailed" into sending its work to countries like China, where the average skilled aerospace worker earns $50 per month.

Sure, we realize that the long-term solution to keeping multi-national corporations from playing off workers in one country against workers in other countries is to raise the wage standards in the low-wage countries. Our union has been actively engaged in meeting with union leaders representing aerospace workers around the world to shape common strategies against multi-national aerospace corporations like Boeing. Last October, Machinists Union leaders, including myself, met with other affiliates of the International Metalworkers Federation in Hamburg, Germany, to coordinate our efforts. IAM President George Kourpias, who you excoriate in your article, is president of the Aerospace Division of the IMF, and has taken a lead role in working with unions involved in the aerospace industry around the world.

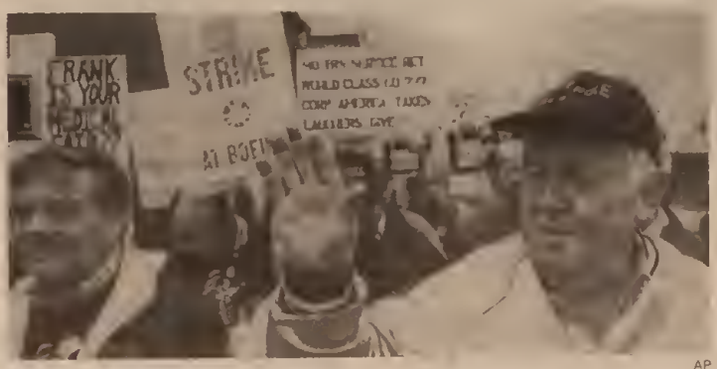
Unfortunately, though most of Boeing's off-loading of work involves Asian countries, no union leaders from Asia, except for a Japanese delegation and a lone delegate from India, were present at the Hamburg IMF Aerospace Conference. The fact is that most of the Asian countries where Boeing is sending our work do not allow free trade unions, which accounts for the absence of delegates from China, Indonesia, Malaysia, etc.

Our members are currently at war with a corporation that is used to ordering governments (including our own) around. It is not much help to have the alleged "workers vanguard" preaching the virtues of free trade to us. We've heard enough of that tripe from the Boeings of this world.

During the Great Depression, an economist who spoke out for the necessity of government intervention to revive the economy was told by the classical economists of the day (who also believed in "free trade") that the economy would right itself "in the long run" if government just left things alone. John Maynard Keynes gave the proper response to his critics: "In the long run, we shall all be dead."

We in the leadership of the Machinists Union don't want to wait until our members are all dead to try to prevent their jobs from being sent overseas. A study we commissioned in preparation for this year's negotiations with Boeing predicted that, by the year 2013, four-fifths of the 500,000 current American aerospace jobs will be shipped overseas. While that gloomy prediction may not bother the "workers vanguard," it does concern our union's leaders, all of whom came out of the shops themselves. Our members told us their number one issue was job security, and we will not ignore their concerns for themselves and their children.

In labelling us "chauvinists," you defame our members and blast the wrong target. We believe that workers around the world are equally intelligent. We also think that if Boeing is allowed to ship its technology and state-of-the-art machinery overseas, workers in low-wage countries will be capable of producing airplanes just as efficiently as American workers. It is Boeing that really displays a racist attitude, when they tell us not to worry—those Asian workers will never be able to manufacture a whole airplane without Boeing's managerial and technical expertise.



AP

IAM president George Kourpias (left) and new AFL-CIO chief John Sweeney at November 12 Boeing strike rally, Everett, Washington. Union tops sabotage class struggle while pushing nationalist appeals to line workers up behind U.S. bosses.

I haven't really kept up with the Marxist splinter groups in recent years. But as someone who knows a little about the historical "Spartacist League," I believe Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht would be rolling over in their graves if they knew their purported heirs were carrying the "free trade" water for the likes of Boeing. Instead of levelling your broadsides at the IAM leadership, you should try focusing your criticism on Boeing, which is determined to destroy the jobs of its American workers by exploiting the opportunities for cheap labor in countries where real workers' organizations are prohibited. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* recently reported (31 August 1995) that the pay of those $50 per month Chinese aerospace workers was being docked if they reported making an error, causing quality problems for Boeing because inspectors didn't report their fellow workers' mistakes out of compassion. Perhaps you should be criticizing the leadership of the party-led Chinese unions.

In your article, you tell us we should have our members occupy Boeing's factories. But at the same time, you don't want us to keep the work performed in those factories from being shipped overseas because that is "protectionist poison." Just what do you propose our members do in those occupied factories when the work they have formerly done has been shipped to China?

Sincerely,
Dave Plant
Directing Business Representative

WV replies.

Dear Brother Plant:

The current strike by aerospace workers at Boeing poses fundamental questions for the political future of American labor. This is one of the few remaining American high-technology industries, one which is vital to the capitalist rulers of this country in their competition for markets worldwide. Thus the drive by the aerospace bosses to boost their profits, both through ratcheting up the exploitation of labor at home and through "outsourcing" abroad, is inextricably bound up with the present sharp rise of interimperialist rivalries—here centrally with Japan.

Our differences with you are not mainly about strike tactics, but about the broader political perspective from which such tactics must necessarily flow. At its core, your letter is an attack on the perspective of a struggle for socialism in America and internationally, written from the standpoint of a defense of narrow, nationalist "simple trade unionism." Our politics flow from understanding that the fundamental division

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On Reactionary Mobilizations of the Oppressed

9 November 1995

Dear Comrades,

The article "Why Did Rulers Applaud Million Man March?" in *WV* No. 632 (3 November) made an analogy between the march and Hindu-chauvinist BJP mobilizations in India. While I wholeheartedly agree with *WV*'s central point, that "the Million Man March was a *reactionary* mobilization of the oppressed, something rarely seen in the United States," I think the BJP analogy is misleading, obscuring far more than it reveals. The Hindu-chauvinist BJP mobilizes lumpen and petty-bourgeois masses *for action*, often with the immediate aim of real ethnic violence against the Muslim minority. In any case, the BJP's fascistic program represents the *dominant oppressor nationalism* of India. In contrast, the Million Man March was not a mobilization for race war but for reconciliation with the racist capitalist order. Its program was one of black capitalism, the program of the black petty bourgeoisie, while dishing out as a palliative anti-woman ersatz racial pride and feel-good spiritualism representing the nationalism of an *oppressed minority*. These distinctions are crucial. The logic of the BJP analogy is to portray Farrakhan and the Million Man March as fascistic—a position which we argue against in the same issue of *WV*.

Comradely,
Emily T.

For the Right of Tamil Eelam!

Sri Lanka's Bloody War on Tamil People

India Today

Financial Times

Tamil nationalists slaughtered by Lankan army. Sri Lanka president Kumaratunga wages war of terror against Tamil people.

The following article is reprinted from Workers Hammer *(No. 148, November-December 1995), newspaper of the Spartacist League/Britain.*

For 12 years, since the horrific government-instigated anti-Tamil pogroms of 1983, the island of Sri Lanka has been one of the bloodiest places in the world. Now, after a major offensive, including aerial and artillery bombardment, the army is reoccupying the town of Jaffna, which for the last five years has been the bastion of the de facto Tamil mini-state run by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). The People's Alliance (PA) government, headed by President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga's populist, capitalist, Sinhala-chauvinist Sri Lanka Freedom Party, is demonstrating that it is every bit as committed to drowning the struggle of the oppressed Tamil minority in blood as the previous United National Party (UNP) governments were. We say: Army out of Jaffna! For the right of Tamil Eelam!

Despite the heavy bombardment, government spokesmen have issued claims that civilian casualties have been limited to a mere handful. In September, one day after the government imposed censorship on reports of the war, planes bombed a crowded school yard in broad daylight, killing more than 30 children. Half a million or more refugees have fled their homes before the advancing army. The government continues to block relief supplies to Jaffna residents, who have been forced to endure an economic blockade and now face the prospect of starvation and disease. The army may have succeeded in planting their Sinhala Lion flag over Jaffna, but the only way it will hold the territory is through indiscriminate communalist slaughter.

The capture of their Jaffna bastion is a major strategic blow to the Tigers. But these ruthless and effective guerrilla rebels will remain a contending military force. Since April the "Sea Tigers," with a large component of women fighters, have destroyed more than a third of Sri Lanka's small navy, threatening fragile supply lines to the north. While the army has concentrated its troops in the Jaffna peninsula, the Tigers operate freely through wide areas of the Eastern province and government leaders continue to live in fear of suicide bombers like those who assassinated Indian prime minister Rajiv Gandhi and UNP president Premadasa.

The People's Alliance came to power in August 1994 amid a wave of popular anger against 17 years of bloody, corrupt UNP rule. It promised a negotiated peace in the north, abolition of the bonapartist executive presidency, ending unemployment and lowering prices for essential foodstuffs. When Kumaratunga's peace efforts, strongly opposed by both Sinhalese chauvinists and Tamil extremists, were blown out of the water this April—along with a good deal of her navy—the government turned around and negotiated a $500 million purchase of aircraft, boats, armoured vehicles and infantry weapons. Kumaratunga's fragile eight-party coalition now faces a spiralling defence budget along with IMF/World Bank demands for further attacks on living standards.

The *Lanka Guardian* (15 October) reveals that the PA's "'brains trust'...was assisted, if not tutored, by a small well-knit group of NATO diplomats." Despite its populist rhetoric, the PA government is beholden to its imperialist overlords. Kumaratunga desperately hopes that victory over the LTTE and her government's anti-Tamil bloodbath will appease the reactionary forces lining up against her. She also hopes to drown mounting popular unrest against the regime's austerity measures.

President Kumaratunga is truly an heir of the Bandaranaike dynasty. Her father S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike rode to power on the basis of "Sinhala Only" chauvinism in the 1950s. This targeted Tamils and English-speaking Burghers (people of mixed European and Sinhala or Tamil stock). Moreover, it was an "anti-imperialist" measure which never prevented the elite's children (including the Bandaranaike family) from learning English. But it did cut off whole generations from the market and international communication, and fuelled the frustrated and atavistic communalism of Sinhala youth, whose revolt in the late '80s was drowned in blood. Her mother (the present prime minister) led the anti-Tamil popular front which butchered the 1971 youth uprising of the then-leftist and now extreme Sinhala-chauvinist JVP.

Contrary to the Sinhala-nationalist myth, Sri Lanka only truly became a "unitary state" under British colonial rule. The national and communal divisions are a direct product of British divide-and-rule policy. Since independence the drive of Sinhalese nationalism has been remorseless and bloody. A cycle of anti-Tamil communalist outbreaks culminated in the 1983 pogroms, a watershed which signalled the effective partition of the island.

The Tamils of the north and east have the right to establish an independent state of Tamil Eelam. At the same time the east has an interpenetrated population, consisting not only of Sinhalese but also of Tamil-speaking Muslims, who have asserted an identity of their own in the face of both Sinhalese Buddhist and Tamil Hindu-centred nationalism. The only equitable resolution will come through socialist revolution. Within the framework of capitalism, the contending nationalist forces will determine what constitutes the territory of Eelam through communalist bloodletting, as happened with the 1947 partition of India. This "battle for the land" is already being carried out with Tiger massacres of Sinhalese and Muslim villagers. In some places, as in the Weli Oya settlements in the northeast, the hapless and poverty-stricken Sinhalese villagers are settlers who are used to break up contiguous Tamil areas, drive Tamils from their land and shield army bases. But the massacres of unarmed villagers, women and children included, are indefensible atrocities, mirroring the worst excesses of the Sri Lankan armed forces and pogromists against Tamils.

The Tamil population of the Sri Lankan capital of Colombo, swollen with refugees, is held hostage to the warmongering and communalist hysteria. Frequent police sweeps and roundups lead to the "disappearance" of Tamil youth. Recently, police admitted that over 20 decomposing bodies, found in lakes near Colombo and other towns, were Tamils tortured to death in the headquarters of the notorious police Special Task Force.

On this island there were once fertile possibilities of joint class struggle across ethnic and religious divisions. Today the working class is battered and terrorised along communal lines. No group epitomises this tragedy more than the overwhelmingly lower-caste, mainly women workers of the upcountry tea plantations. Superexploited by state corporation, private estate and imperialist tea marketing houses, they are a prime target of the Sinhalese pogromists. The petty-bourgeois nationalists of the LTTE have no answer to their plight, except population transfers to "Tamil Eelam." Moreover, they are lumbered with the communalist leadership of the Ceylon Workers Congress, led by Thondaman, an ancient nepotistic landowner and profiteer who has served in both UNP and PA governments. In the recent period, plantation workers have carried out a series of strikes in opposition to the government's privatisation plans threatening jobs and homes. They have had to confront strikebreaking police and

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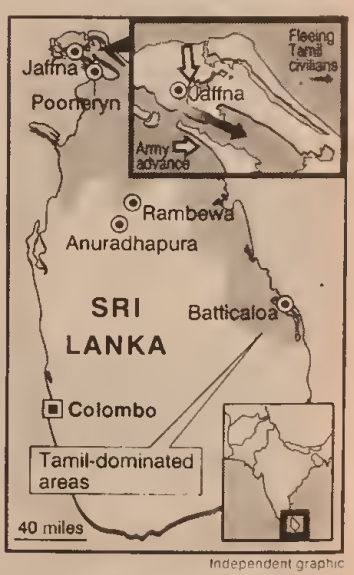

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Hands Off Argentine Leftists and Worker Militants!

The following protest statements from the Grupo Espartaquista de México were distributed by the Spartacist League/Britain at a November 13 protest in London against the repression in Argentina.

The recent escalation of state repression against left and labor activists in Argentina is an attack on the entire workers movement and all those who seek to resist the Menem regime's International Monetary Fund-ordered onslaught against the working people and the poor. This witchhunt comes in response to labor and student protests that have extended from Tierra del Fuego to the northern province of Tucumán, where on October 29 police violently repressed demonstrations against the new governor, ex-general Antonio Bussi, one of the bloodiest figures of the former military dictatorship.

In the southern province of Neuquén, on October 2 police attacked a demonstration of 500 unemployed for the "crime" of demanding that their poverty-level unemployment checks be paid. This was followed by the arrest of unemployed leader Horacio Panario, a member of the Movimiento al Socialismo (MAS), and the threat to imprison him for up to ten years, as well as the issuing of arrest warrants against MAS members Alcides Christiansen, Ruth Zurbriggen and Jorge Toledo, Movimiento Socialista de los Trabajadores (MST) members Héctor Etchebaster, Hipólito Arameda, Enrique Gómez and Jorge Chiguay, and Partido Obrero (PO) members Alberto Vidal, José Mara and Norberto Calducci. The MST local hall was raided, as were homes of individual leftists.

The protests in Neuquén are part of a series of protests by workers and the poor that have occurred in Argentina over the past years, beginning with a revolt by public workers in Santiago del Estero in late 1993, that led to the burning of government offices. In Ushuaia, Tierra del Fuego, after police killed the worker Victor Choque while repressing a protest by unionists at a television factory in April, the authorities charged MAS member Oscar Martínez and other metalworkers union (UOM) activists with "inciting to violence." In the wake of worker and student protests in Córdoba in June, police arrested members of the youth group of the Partido de Trabajadores por el Socialismo (PTS). Anti-left purges have occurred in several important factories and industries.

This crackdown comes in the context of escalating repression against unionists and leftists from Bolivia to Mexico. In addition to the state of siege decreed to crush the Bolivian general strike [see *WV* No. 623, 19 May 1995], in Brazil the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso called out the army to break the oil workers strike, while in Rondônia landless peasants were massacred. In Mexico the government dissolved the bus drivers union, which it saw as a nucleus of potential militant opposition, firing all 13,000 workers and jailing their leaders. The urgent need is for internationalist struggle, extending to the powerful North American proletariat, against the brutal austerity and repression dictated by Latin American capitalist regimes and their senior partners in Washington and Wall Street.

Down with the witchhunt against left and labor activists in Argentina! Free Horacio Panario! Drop the charges against MAS, MST, PO and PTS members now! For international working-class solidarity!

Free Argentine Leftist Enrique Gorriarán!

In late October, Argentine leftist Enrique Gorriarán was violently seized by Mexican and Argentine police agents, deported from Mexico and subsequently imprisoned in Argentina's Campo de Mayo military base, where he reportedly has received death threats. Gorriarán is charged with having been a founder and leader of the Argentine Ejército Revolucionario del Puchlo (ERP—People's Revolutionary Army, crushed during the Argentine junta's "dirty war" against the left in the 1970s) as well as leading a guerrilla attack against the La Tablada military base outside Buenos Aires in 1989. He also commanded the group that carried out the 1980 execution of Nicaragua's bloody former dictator Anastasio Somoza in Paraguay. As Gorriarán pointed out in a letter to the Mexico City daily *El Financiero* (10 November), his deportation—and the participation of Argentine agents in his capture—was a blatant violation of Mexico's laws on immigration and political exile. Our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México have protested this new act of repression.

Free Enrique Gorriarán now!

"Child Abuse" Witchhunt in Washington State

Ominous and Demented

Recent soothing media reports to the contrary, the monstrous "Satanic ritual" sex witchhunts which punctuated the 1980s of Reagan reaction have not gone away. Many of the earlier victims of the anti-day-care hysteria, like Kelly Michaels of New Jersey and Robert Kelly Jr. of Edenton, North Carolina, have had their trumped-up convictions overturned, as a layer of the bourgeoisie seeks to inject an element of sanity into public life. But now a frightening new witchhunt is racking the small town of Wenatchee, Washington, recalling the bizarre and hideous episodes which a decade ago wrecked people's lives from Jordan, Minnesota, to Malden, Massachusetts, and most infamously in the six-year-long California McMartin Preschool trial.

The McMartin trial was rife with dark tales of sexual abuse, weird rituals and animal slaughter. Lurid fantasies raged in the media and the courtroom, as young children were pressured into telling "yucky secrets" by therapists who claimed others had already "confessed"—yet in the end, the defendants were found not guilty.

Now this horror has struck Wenatchee, population 24,000, in the apple-growing Cascades foothills of Washington State. For the past two years, the town has been terrorized by an out-of-control investigator and his allies in "Child Protective Services." Since January 1994, when "sex crime" investigator Detective Robert Perez was appointed, scores of townspeople have been arrested and tried on child-molestation charges and their children seized, almost all based on charges by Perez's 11-year-old foster daughter. During one drive around town, Perez's foster daughter pointed to 23 different places where she was supposedly attacked, ultimately naming over 80 adults; as a result, one woman alone was charged with 3,200 counts of child abuse. Over 20 of the accused are now in jail. It is telling that many of those in prison are poor and functionally illiterate, and that no one who has hired private lawyers and fought the charges has been imprisoned.

The hysteria now focuses on the trial of the town's Pentecostal pastor, Robert Roherson, and his wife Connie, accused of leading ritual sacrifices and "orgies" in which as many as 50 children at a time were sexually assaulted by adults—after which, supposedly, they all had hot cocoa and cookies. In an ominous display of force, last spring a SWAT team surrounded the church and dragged away the minister in handcuffs. His wife Connie was arrested and their four-year-old daughter Rebekah was seized by "Child Protective Services" and given intense "recovered-memory therapy." The Robersons, imprisoned for four and a half months before trial, have not seen or spoken to Rebekah since the arrest. As the trial opened on November 20, defense attorneys pointed out that the Robersons were targeted solely because they had helped others caught up in the witchhunt.

Recently, prosecutors lost their two key witnesses: one admitted to falsely charging her own foster father as a rapist, while Perez's foster daughter has entered a psychiatric hospital and won't testify. Now the prosecution has "discovered" two new witnesses. After four intensive, *untaped* interrogations, Rehekah's "child protectors" claim she too was molested by her parents. And the new star "witness" is a "repeat sex offender" whose first-degree rape charge was reduced to assault in exchange for testimony that "Pastor Roherson had stripped and raped children on stage during services" (*Wall Street Journal*, 8 Novemher)!

In the poisonous atmosphere of the demented witchhunts of the past decade, where science—especially evolution—is denigrated and belief is encouraged in everything from angels and Elvis sightings to aliens from outer space (the latter touted by a Harvard professor!), anything resembling a fair trial for those targeted by the "sex crimes" hysteria is impossible. These witchhunts both destroy the innocent and may very well let those genuinely guilty of crimes escape notice.

While the Clinton White House occasionally strikes a pose as rectifiers of the bubbling social pathology of the "Reagan years," it caters to the reactionary forces of Christian fundamentalism, while Hillary Clinton and Attorney General Janet Reno push their own, liberal version of the "child abuse" hysteria. The federal/state network of "child abuse" agencies, a bureaucratic monster which perpetuates witchhunts, is still in place. The laws established by the federal 1974 Mondale Act reward informants with immunity from prosecution, while punishing with criminal penalties teachers and others who "fail to report" suspected child abuse. The predictable result, as a professor of child psychiatry put it, has been "overreporting of even the most absurd and impossible accusations" ("Modern Witch Hunt—Child Abuse Charges," *Wall Street Journal*, 22 February 1993).

Congressional reactionaries like Jesse Helms and the pompous Newt Gingrich, and Clinton as well, all embrace "family values," the code word for continued oppression of women. Reinforcing the institution of the family—where the vast majority of real abuse of children takes place—is seen by all wings of the bourgeoisie as the most effective way to keep an increasingly disenchanted population in line.

Meanwhile, this government intensifies its terrible crimes against the poor and especially against children, consciously condemning an entire generation of minority and poor kids to misery, increasing homelessness, disease and ignorance. These witchhunts against "child abuse" serve to distract from the fact that the biggest abusers of children in America reside in the Fortune 500's capitalist enclaves and the White House.■

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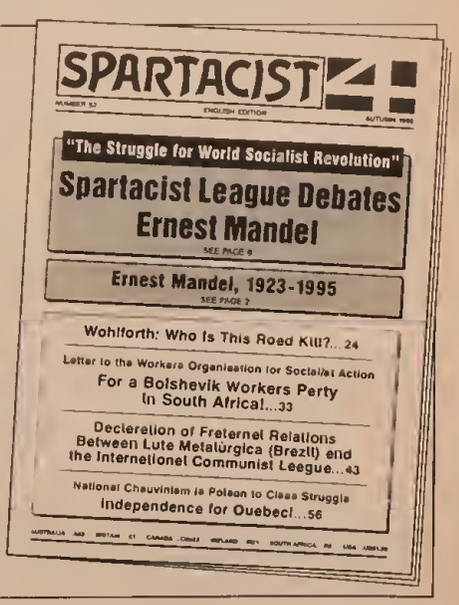


Boeing...

(continued from page 3)

in society is between two hostile classes, the capitalists and the workers, whose interests are irreconcilable. You are for keeping the struggle of the workers limited to national-centered unionism, which necessarily allies them with their class enemy in the name of American competitiveness against imperialist rivals. Your refrain about "American jobs" is really camouflage for this class-collaborationist program of "Keeping America Number One."

The labor bureaucracy is the top layer of the unions which long ago separated itself from its working-class base, and which sees the world through the same lens as the capitalists and their government. The purpose of these top union officials is to ensure the subordination of the workers to the national interests of the enemy class. This collaboration with the capitalist rulers is codified in the labor bureaucrats' fealty to the Democratic Party—and it has led to an unending string of defeats for organized labor.

We are without exception opposed to protectionism in the imperialist countries; but neither are we partisans of "free trade." We are fully aware that companies like Boeing which today demand free access to foreign markets do so for one reason: increased profits. Their mechanism for this is the super-exploitation of cheap, unorganized labor abroad and often, concomitantly, access to an increased pool of buyers for goods. This "offloading" of jobs is not simply corporate policy but is intrinsic to capitalism. Thus it is often the case that these two supposedly counterposed "wings" of the capitalists, the protectionists and the "free traders," turn out to be one and the same corporation. General Motors, for example, squeals for protection from "unfair" Japanese trade practices, only to then appear in China in the garb of a "free market" buccaneer.

The trade-union misleadership is in a bloc with those imperialists who demand that Washington provide protection from "unfair competition." It was all too symptomatic when last year Clinton's White House appointed International Association of Machinists (IAM) president Kourpias to the Overseas Private Investment Corporation. This is a government agency whose task (as described by the IAM's own *Machinist*) is to "stimulate the U.S. economy by pinpointing investment opportunities in developing countries"—i.e., to further the profits of American companies like Boeing, at the expense of their capitalist rivals and out of the hides of working people abroad.

The labor bureaucrats demand that the U.S. government carry out the very same trade practices for which they condemn other governments. Last year, the AFL-CIO tops applauded loudly when Clinton tried to pressure Japan into buying more cellular phones and other American-made goods. In economic terms this amounts to "offloading" Japanese jobs to the United States. And Clinton here was acting in the name of opening up the Japanese market to "free trade."

UAW

Democratic president Roosevelt sent troops to smash strike at North American Aviation in Inglewood, California, June 1941. FDR declared "national emergency" as U.S. geared up for war against Japan.

It is not a big step from complaining that "they" are stealing "our" jobs to the demonization of "them" as the enemy. In the end, trade wars lead to shooting wars, the ultimate means for rival capitalist states to secure a monopoly of foreign markets and spheres of exploitation. That, writ large, is the essence of imperialist capitalism in the 20th century. Its price is millions of corpses.

This was shown clearly in the case of World War II in the Pacific. With the onset of the Great Depression in the early 1930s, trade barriers were thrown up against the Japanese "trade menace," as it was then called. Most damaging to Japan was the prohibitive Smoot-Hawley tariff in the U.S. and protectionism in the Asian colonies of the European imperialist powers. So Japanese imperialism retaliated with the brutal military occupation and colonial exploitation of Manchuria, China and other regions. To counter Japanese moves in the Far East, the U.S. and Britain resorted to economic warfare by cutting oil shipments to Japan in July 1941 (five months *before* Pearl Harbor). Washington thus provoked Japan into war, and then ended it with one of the most cold-blooded atrocities in modern times: the A-bombing of the defenseless civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

For decades now, the AFL-CIO leadership has agitated for trade protectionism, especially against Japan and other East Asian countries. In so doing they appeal to blatant chauvinism and "yellow peril" racism, including evoking the old World War II battle cry, "Remember Pearl Harbor." Such nationalist rhetoric played a big role in the defeat of the recent Bridgestone-Firestone strike, during which various Rubber Workers officials raved that "It's America against Japan" and talked of "another sneak attack."

You couch your own call for protectionism as an attack on "cheap labor" abroad. First of all, "cheap labor" also exists in this country—indeed, the U.S. union movement exists in large part because at one time low-paid workers (notably including black workers and immigrants) poured into its ranks. Today, the attitude of the AFL-CIO to such workers is far worse than "benign neglect." Many of the union tops openly support racist anti-immigration laws. Many more have sought to "protect" their dues base by agreeing to "cheap labor" in the existing unions via the two-tier wage system. Thus your statement that "the long-term solution to keeping multinational corporations from playing off workers in one country against workers in other countries is to raise the wage standards in the low-wage countries" has to be taken not with a grain of salt but with several tons.

You raise the call for "free" trade unions in such countries, notably China. This has long been the rallying cry of the various "free labor institutes" like the American Institute for Free Labor Development and the Asian-American Free Labor Institute which, in conjoint operation with the CIA, promote pro-capitalist "company unions." Beginning in post-WW II Europe, then in Latin America and South Korea and most recently in East Europe and the ex-USSR, the activities of the "AFL-CIA"—as it is known to millions of workers abroad—have often been carried out in league with military dictatorships and outright fascists. These operations are seen, with justice, by class-conscious workers as a Trojan horse for American imperialism. And they have been a key weapon in suppressing and subverting the struggles of workers in those countries for higher wages and better working conditions.

Today, the IAM leadership has placed itself at the center of an anti-Communist campaign against "totalitarianism" in China. This dovetails all too neatly with the counterrevolutionary designs of U.S. imperialism. As Trotskyists, we recognize China as a bureaucratically deformed workers state, in which capitalism has been overthrown while the working class is denied political rule by the suffocating monopoly of a parasitic Stalinist caste. The workers there must chart a struggle to maintain the gains of the 1949 social revolution against the party bureaucrats (many of whom are either now capitalists or are preparing to be so upon the triumph of counter-revolution). That requires proletarian political revolution led by a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party. The course toward counterrevolution in China championed by the American labor bureaucracy is the diametric opposite of this. Not only would the restoration of capitalism in the most populous country on the planet mean even more "cheapening of labor," it would necessarily bring to white heat the rivalries over the spoils between U.S. and Japanese imperialism.

You state that the number one issue in the present strike is job security. But the IAM tops explicitly pose this as a defense of "American interests" against working people abroad—e.g., "U.S. aerospace giants don't seem concerned about giving it all away. They feed the Asian tiger, and the competition gains" (*IAM Journal*, cited in *Washington Post*, 26 November). Closer to home, the American labor misleadership has accepted the loss of *millions* of union jobs in recent decades, leading to the precipitous decline of organized labor.

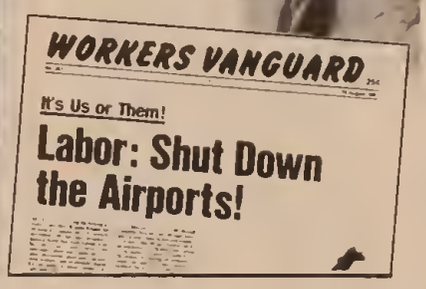
In your concluding sentence, you argue against factory occupations by Boeing workers, implying that such militant tactics could only lead to their work being shipped out to China. Today's union bureaucracy is for "informational" picket lines, impotent consumer boycotts, moral-witness "protests" at stockholder meetings...just about anything except the kind of hard class struggle that is necessary to win even in defensive battles. Militant mass pickets, factory occupations, strikes against suppliers of struck plants, against the plants where materials are produced, against the companies which transport the goods—these are all shunned because they are "illegal." So strong are the bureaucrats' ties to the capitalist order that they have renounced the very means by which unions were built in this country. Those unions were forged in *opposition* to the bosses' cops and courts. Leaders, then, went to prison and died for the union cause. Strikes were virtual wars. But today's union "leaders" abandon militants like mine worker Jerry Dale Lowe and Teamster Jesse Acuna, jailed for their courageous defense of their unions.

The class collaborationism of the union officialdom has sapped the organized strength of the working class. Nor is that all. The savage attacks on the living standards of working people and on the very ability of the poor and helpless to

AP

Merkle Press

Leaders of 1981 air traffic controllers strike hauled off in chains. IAM chief William Winpisinger (right) knifed PATCO strike, refusing to call out Machinists to shut down the airports.



Spartacist Events

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

BOSTON
Saturday, 2 p.m. Next class, December 2. *The Fight for a Revolutionary Party*; Boston University, CLA (College of Liberal Arts) Room 418, 725 Commonwealth Avenue
For more information, (617) 666-9453

NEW YORK CITY
Tuesday, 7 p.m. Next class, December 5: *The Fight for a Revolutionary Party*; Spartacist Public Office, 41 Warren St., between Church St. and West Broadway
For more information, (212) 267-1025

SAN FRANCISCO
Saturdays, 3 p.m. Next classes, December 2: *Marx's View of Economics*; December 16: *The State. Lessons of the Paris Commune of 1871*; call for location
For more information, (510) 839-0851

SANTA CRUZ
Tuesday, 7 p.m. Next class, December 5 *Capitalism, Socialism and Communism*; UC Santa Cruz, Student Center
For more information, (510) 839-0851

Trotskyist League Classes

VANCOUVER
Thursday, 7:30 p.m. Next class, December 7: *The Bolshevik Revolution*, Britannia Community Centre, Room L4, 1661 Napier (off Commercial Drive)
For more information: (604) 687-0353

Strikers Reject Sellout Deal

Boeing Workers: Win This Strike—Occupy the Plants!

NOVEMBER 24—Chanting "No give-backs, no way!" and "Stop Boeing greed," Boeing strikers defied the company, federal mediators and the arrogant leadership of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) with over 60 percent voting down a miserable contract this week. This was the first time Boeing Machinists had ever rejected a strike settlement, a stinging repudiation of the union tops who had unanimously recommended the contract. Workers were furious that the IAM bureaucrats tried to stick them with a deal that was substantially the same as one that had been soundly rejected before their strike began over six weeks ago.

A 17-year-seniority precision assembler told *Workers Vanguard* that when the contract was brought before a union meeting at the Boeing plant outside Portland, Oregon, "a lot of the members wanted to just burn it." It is a measure of the bankruptcy of the U.S. labor bureaucracy that they tried to ram a give-back contract down the throats of workers at this aerospace giant rolling in money. Boeing profits are pouring in at *$300 million per quarter* and existing orders amount to over $80 billion. During the strike, Singapore Airlines agreed to pay almost $13 billion for a batch of new 777 jets, and Boeing executives haughtily awarded themselves millions of dollars in bonuses just before the contract vote.

Workers were outraged at the proposed copayments for medical care, one-shot bonuses aimed at sweetening a wage freeze for the next two years, and especially the prospect of continued job losses. But the IAM International and their loyalists in the local unions have done everything in their power to divert workers' anger away from Boeing and into reactionary calls for "American work for American workers." This protectionist drivel is particularly aimed at Japanese and Chinese workers. It is deadly poison which feeds a long history of anti-Asian racism on the West Coast. And it fits right in with the U.S. rulers' anti-Communist drive to open China to unbridled capitalist exploitation and "free market" misery.

WV Photo

Strike rally at Gresham, Oregon Boeing plant, October 21.

At root, the IAM bureaucrats, like their counterparts in the UAW, seek to discipline the membership of the unions in order to "make U.S. companies competitive again." IAM chief George Kourpias dreams of standing at the center of a tripartite alliance with the corporations and their government, like his fellow social democrats in Europe, arguing: "If we are going to become competitive as a nation, we have to have more labor-management cooperation, ... It is ludicrous to think that we can compete without government involvement" (*Industry Week*, 5 July 1993).

Kourpias' class-collaborationist program dovetails with Boeing's campaign of labor-management "cooperation," "World Class" training and increased productivity, which has meant massive layoffs in the plants. Kourpias, like the rest of the AFL-CIO officialdom, is committed to defense of the profit system, expressed through the bureaucracy's complete loyalty to the capitalist Democratic Party. Boeing strikers have to oust these labor cops for the bosses and forge the kind of class-struggle leadership that can *win*. One striking Machinist told *WV*:

> "We've already lost 29,000 Machinists over the course of the last six years. It's like a slow train getting ready to crash, and you have to decide if you're going to do something to stop it. We have to go back to those tactics when workers had to use force to defend their jobs."

Boeing strikers must appeal to the 22,000 engineers organized in the Seattle Professional Engineering Employees Association (SPEEA) to stop crossing IAM picket lines. Even as SPEEA's contract expires next month, its leaders are helping Boeing to defeat the IAM strike by keeping the engineers at work. What's needed are mass pickets that seal off the plants, combined with plant occupations that ensure the Boeing bosses are unable to move a single plane. Teamsters, rail workers, all transport workers should be called on to "hot cargo" all supplies to Boeing. *Victory to the Boeing strike!* ■

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no credit

Ronald Reagan entertaining former AFL-CIO head Lane Kirkland. Union tops act as "labor" front men for CIA in pushing anti-Communist "company unions" overseas.

live, the slashing of health care at all levels, the McJobs and empty futures of youth, the rampant racist attacks and massive incarceration of blacks (a social agenda neatly fitting with that of the Ku Klux Klan) are, no less, the products of this treacherous collaboration. Those you defend, with the bosses, have made this bed. Others, however, must sleep in it.

It was the destruction in 1981 of the PATCO air traffic controllers union—unchallenged by the rest of the labor movement and above all by the IAM tops who pushed a toothless consumer boycott—that cleared the path for the current onslaught against the unions. The smashing of PATCO was not preordained. We note you do not respond to the charge in our article that the IAM bureaucrats' refusal to organize *strike action to shut down the airports* was key to permitting this historic defeat. Six years later the IAM leadership, among others, saw to it that the Eastern strike went down to defeat by refusing to organize solidarity strike action.

We well understand that defense of the livelihoods of working people against powerful capitalist corporations like Boeing is no easy task. A militant workers movement is going to come up against the full arsenal of the ruling class, from anti-strike propaganda in the press to naked repression. But it is necessary to fight, and to remove the roadblocks to class struggle. That means a political battle to oust the "labor lieutenants of capital," in the apt phrase of the early American Marxist Daniel De Leon.

Two possible roads lie before the working class. There is the bureaucracy's acquiescence to what is possible and "practical" under capitalism, which over the last two decades and more has led to disaster. Or there is the revolutionary strategy proposed by us Marxists. In the course of sharp class struggles and through patient education, the workers will become imbued with the consciousness of their historic interests as a class fighting for itself and for all the oppressed.

Finally, we were bemused by your reference to Luxemburg and Liebknecht, who died fighting the chauvinism of "their" bosses in the interests of the international working class. These revolutionaries were executed at the behest of the German social democrats in the service of their imperialist masters. It was Liebknecht who, in the face of rampant chauvinist hysteria amid World War I, proclaimed, "The main enemy is at home!" And it was Luxemburg who in 1916 denounced the workers' misleaders of her time:

> "In view of the betrayal of the goals and interests of the working class by the official representatives of the socialist parties in the leading countries; in view of their turn from the ground of the proletariat International to the ground of bourgeois imperialist politics, it is a vital necessity for socialism to create a new workers' International which in all countries would assume the role of directing and uniting the revolutionary class struggle against imperialism."

That is the Rosa Luxemburg that we find in history.

In today's post-Soviet world of heightened imperialist rivalry, the road of the labor bureaucracy leads inexorably toward World War III. The struggle for the political independence of the unions from the capitalist state—itself a recognition of the counterposed interests of capital and labor—requires a *political* expression. That means a workers party based on the theory of the class struggle, a party whose purpose is not to provide an electoral shill for the Democrats but to give conscious leadership to the struggle of the workers, not only to improve their present conditions but to do away with the entire system of capitalist wage slavery. This must be an *international* fight. Our watchword is not the deadly dangerous trap of "defending American jobs" against foreign competition, but the words which Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels inscribed on their banner nearly 150 years ago: "Workers of the world, unite." We look forward to the further permeation of these views through the Boeing workers.

Sincerely,
Ed Clarkson
for *Workers Vanguard*

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Young Spartacus

The Fight for a Leninist Vanguard Party

Young Spartacus is pleased to publish the following presentation by comrade Al Nelson of the Spartacist League Central Committee to the San Francisco Bay Area and Eugene, Oregon Spartacus Youth Clubs last month.

The first sentence of the founding document of the Fourth International, written by Leon Trotsky, who was the co-leader of the Russian Revolution with Lenin, reads, "The world political situation as a whole is chiefly characterized by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat." Writing on the eve of the slaughter of World War II, the second interimperialist war, which ended with the dropping of two atomic bombs by U.S. imperialism that destroyed two whole Japanese cities, Trotsky said that, "The objective prerequisites for the proletarian revolution have not only 'ripened'; they have begun to get somewhat rotten. Without a social revolution, in the next historical period at that, a catastrophe threatens the whole culture of mankind."

The construction of revolutionary leadership capable of leading the working class internationally—that's what we mean by the "party question." Without a revolutionary party no socialist revolution can succeed, no matter how favorable the circumstances. Until the working class solves the problem of creating the revolutionary party as the conscious expression of the historic process, the issue remains undecided. For Marxists, therefore, it is the most important question of all—the question of the party.

Everywhere you look today you can see the effects of the absence of revolutionary leadership. There's Louis Farrakhan's Million Man March, which is both a perverted response to rising black oppression and also very similar in its reactionary patriarchal ideology to the very large and mainly white male Christian "Promise Keepers," currently holding mass meetings around the country. Or look at the very important Detroit newspaper strike. The workers have shown no lack of combativity and courage yet have been systematically betrayed and demobilized by a treacherous union bureaucracy that fundamentally believes in the interests of U.S. capitalism and knows that strikes are not in the interest of capitalism.

Or look at South Africa. If you read *Workers Vanguard*, it's clear that we aim to construct a section of the International Communist League, a Trotskyist party, in South Africa. Reports of the various comrades who have been traveling through in the last couple of years have had the same theme: the extreme contradiction between revolutionary-minded workers who yearn for fundamental social changes that can only be brought about by social revolution and the leaders of their parties and trade unions who say, "No, no, revolution is not necessary, nor is it possible; we can accomplish our goals gradually by supporting the African National Congress." Meanwhile the ANC's real goal is to stabilize South Africa politically so that foreign capital can exploit black South African labor even more intensely than has been the case in the past.

Mayall/Progress

Karl Marx

M.S. Nappelbaum

V.I. Lenin at founding conference of the Communist International, March 1919.

Stalinism finally succeeded in destroying the Soviet Union and ushering in capitalist counterrevolution in the land of the first workers revolution, a historic defeat for the world proletariat. No longer having a common enemy, the major imperialist powers are drifting apart like great tectonic plates as they seek to divide up the world into competing trade blocs. We've had two interimperialist world wars that prove that trade wars lead inevitably to shooting wars for the redivision of the world markets.

Why the Working Class Is Key

Only the industrial proletariat, led by Bolshevik-type vanguard parties, can prevent another world war by destroying the rule of capital once and for all. So what does it actually mean when we say that the revolutionary party is the "conscious expression of the historic process"? The *Manifesto of the Communist Party* was written in 1848 by two young revolutionists named Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. They were, respectively, 29 and 27 years old at the time—just to give a little perspective. With the addition of an updating of the *Manifesto*, written by Trotsky in 1937, many of the *Manifesto*'s most important sections read as though they were written yesterday.

Its fundamental propositions can be summarized in brief as follows: in every historical epoch the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange and the social organization following from it form the basis upon which the political and intellectual history of that epoch is built up. In other words, consciousness is formed in an environment of social institutions created and controlled by the ruling class of that period.

The whole history of mankind, from the period of slavery through feudalism through the emergence of capitalism, has been a history of class struggles—contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes. As a propertied new class arising initially in the Middle Ages, the nascent bourgeoisie was able to develop its own economy, its own culture, religion, schools and so on, i.e., its own social institutions expressing its own social consciousness, *within* feudal society itself. The bourgeois class was able to develop organically within the feudal order. It was driven to overthrow the feudal political system and its social order only when the institutions of the old regime—the monarchy, the nobility, the church—prevented the natural expansion of the institutions of capital. The famous "Rights of Man," one of the main documents coming out of the great French Revolution of 1789, meant at that time the rights of the capitalist class to buy and sell all property, including land, as opposed to the hereditary rights of the old feudal order. It was an assertion of a new property-owning class for which competition was the driving force.

But the proletariat is not a propertied class, and therefore it is not able to construct the institutions of a new society within the framework of capitalism. All it possesses is its labor power which it must sell piecemeal to the owners of industry in order not to starve. With all other productive classes driven out, the proletariat is the special and essential product of capitalism. So society has been split into two great and hostile camps: the working class and the bourgeoisie. They are the main forces in modern society.

Capitalism has concentrated workers in large factories and created great urban concentrations. In so doing it has created the instrument of its own destruction as an exploiting class. The working class cannot therefore emancipate itself from the yoke of capitalist exploitation without at the same time emancipating society at large from all exploitation, all class distinctions. This is what Marx referred to as the materialist conception of history.

Socialist Consciousness vs. Trade-Union Consciousness

To accomplish this act of universal emancipation is the historical mission of the modern proletariat. But the history of all countries has shown that the working class, exclusively by its own effort and day-to-day experiences, is not able spontaneously to develop a consciousness any higher than trade-union consciousness, the need to unite in unions for economic struggle against the employers and the government. But trade-union consciousness is bourgeois consciousness. Unionism in and of itself does not challenge the capitalist mode of production but only seeks to better the immediate conditions and wages of the workers in struggles with individual employers.

Revolutionary class consciousness, represented by the theories of scientific socialism, has to be brought into the working class from the outside through the instrumentality of a revolutionary party which embodies a higher consciousness of these historically necessary tasks than the working class possesses itself. That is the only way the struggles of the workers become *class struggle*, when the most advanced workers become conscious of themselves as a single class whose actions are directed against the *entire* class of capitalists and their government.

The founders of Marxism, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, and their followers

BBC Hulton

Soldiers declare support for Bolsheviks on eve of 1917 October Revolution. Splitting the army was key to working-class seizure of power.

like Plekhanov, Lenin and Trotsky, in fact most of the Bolshevik leadership, all came from the educated classes. As such they were the bearers of scientific socialism into the workers movement because they were educated and were able to study history and study economics and put together the understanding of historical materialism. These revolutionists were the instruments for bringing the theories of scientific socialism into the working class from the outside.

As long as the working class is not mobilized by a party based on revolutionary theory, its consciousness remains determined by bourgeois ideology and culture, leading it to see capitalist society as fixed and not open to fundamental change by workers revolution. This "false consciousness," as Marx called it, is what we see and confront every day, all over the world. Furthermore, the working class is not some uniform average but is itself very stratified, ranging from very advanced, knowledgeable workers to the most backward layers, blinded by racism, ethnic hatreds and general social piggishness. For the working class to move from an existence as a class in itself—that is to say, simply defined objectively by its relationship to the means of production—to a class *for* itself—one that is fully conscious of its historic task to overthrow the capitalist order—requires revolutionary leadership.

These are the classic Marxist propositions that Lenin argues for in *What Is To Be Done?* (1902) against a current then called Economism. The Economists belittled the role of the conscious factor. Instead they projected class consciousness arising "organically" and "spontaneously" out of the day-to-day economic struggles of the workers. This infatuation with spontaneity was paralleled by a movement to criticize the revolutionary principles of Marxism as dogmatic and obsolete. Essentially, Lenin said, these socialists are adapting bourgeois criticisms of Marxism in order to transform the struggle for social revolution into a struggle for social reforms. In practice this meant tailing and seeking to pressure the bourgeois liberals while limiting the struggle of the workers to union struggles.

Lenin made a particularly powerful argument against the Economists that is fully applicable today, especially in the United States. For socialists to adapt to the existing trade-union consciousness of the workers keeps the workers in a lower state of consciousness insufficient for revolutionary activity and results. Whether intended or not, this adaptation strengthens the authority of the existing union bureaucracy and thereby strengthens the influence of bourgeois ideology upon the working class. In other words, if you don't break out of the framework of simple trade unionism, you simply reinforce the authority of the treacherous misleaders of the trade-union bureaucracy.

This basic lesson is not remote in time, by the way. It is, for example, at the heart of our criticism of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) in the current *Workers Vanguard* regarding their role in the recent newspaper strike in Detroit. They formed an ad hoc committee external to the union which based itself purely on a call for more militant strike tactics: mass picketing, defying injunctions, etc. That's all very fine; these are necessary tactics. But the RWL omits completely any *political* characterization of the union bureaucracy and any *political* explanation of why the union misleaders were consciously and deliberately seeking to defuse the militancy of the workers and to wear them down and suffocate them with legal restrictions. Therefore the RWL never raised the workers' consciousness above union consciousness and actually sowed illusions that a new leadership simply has to be "more militant."

But in many unions the existing bureaucratic leaderships were the militants of yesterday. Look at the president of the Teamsters union, Ron Carey. He's supported by an outfit called the TDU, Teamsters for a Democratic Union, which is an organization created by the International Socialists a long time ago. Or in the mine workers union, the Trumka leadership was hailed by all manner of fake socialists as representing a new, more militant leadership. And now he's got miners—who used to know how to deal very effectively with strikebreakers—out on the tracks holding hands, singing, "We Shall Overcome." Disgusting.

And the reason that these militants of yesterday become the careerists of today is because they share and have never broken from the same pro-capitalist outlook of their predecessors. So for the RWL or anyone else to simply keep their criticisms of a given strike on the level of strike tactics and not characterize politically the existing leadership retards and damages the consciousness of the workers. Nothing is learned out of these defeated strikes except demoralization and cynicism.

Socialist consciousness therefore does not simply grow out of the economic struggle. In reality they exist side by side. The role of the revolutionary party is to saturate the working class with the consciousness of its social position and historic tasks in order to mobilize its most advanced layers in a revolutionary assault on the capitalist system itself. Against the attempt to degrade revolutionary Marxism, Lenin called for the building of a new kind of party, a combat party composed entirely of professional revolutionists. Such a party was not counterposed to the unions. The unions, he said, should be the mass organizations—a kind of united front of the mass of the workers—seeking to build as broadly as possible, to unite the greatest number of workers in defensive struggles against the employers.

But to build the kind of highly disciplined, professional organization necessary to lead the proletariat in the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism required that the party recruit only the most advanced workers, who would then be systematically trained in all the necessary intellectual skills to be effective organizers and agitators able to travel broadly and organize other units of the party. In this party, he said, there shall be no distinctions between worker-Bolsheviks and the revolutionary intellectuals. This requires on the part of the intellectuals that they leave their class and come all the way over to the side of the proletarian party, where their intellectual skills are most valuable.

Vezenberg and Co

Lenin (seated at center) with other leaders of Russian Social Democracy in 1897. The future Menshevik Julius Martov is seated far right.

The 1903 Split Between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks

This period from 1899 to 1902 was the beginning of Lenin's campaign to build a centralized party based on a comprehensive political program. His desire for a narrower definition of membership was motivated in those early days by a general desire to exclude opportunists and to weed out dilettantes who had been attracted to the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party because of its very loose circle nature.

Later, in 1903 a split took place over Lenin's insistence on an organizational rule that party membership be limited to those who are willing to actually participate in an organization of the party, as opposed to the much looser criteria advanced by the right wing of the party of someone who merely renders personal assistance to the party—basically describing a kind of a sympathizer. Lenin wanted members who were going to devote their lives to the cause of proletarian revolution.

This split was the origin of the Bolshevik (Russian for "majority") faction and the Mensheviks ("minority"). While the split corresponded roughly to a left and right wing, the clarifying issues did not occur until later. It is a commonplace error to state that in 1902-1903 Lenin was fully conscious that his conception of the party was a definite break from social democracy and that Bolshevism began after the split in 1903.

In fact, the forming of the Iskra group in 1900 (around the newspaper of the same name), of which Lenin was the organizer, was the coming together of some of the older Russian Marxists, like George Plekhanov and Vera Zasulich, with younger members like Lenin, as a revolutionary grouping within Social Democracy to defend and restore the basic revolutionary principles of Marxism. The period from the forming of the Iskra group to the final split with Mensheviks and the founding of the Bolshevik Party as such in 1912 marked the transformation of the Bolshevik faction from a revolutionary social-democratic one into an embryonic communist organization.

When reading *What Is To Be Done?*, it's not immediately obvious that until the February Revolution in 1917 Russia was ruled by the Romanov absolutist

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Gubb/IB Pictures

For South Africa's oppressed black masses, the red flag of communism continues to be a symbol of the fight for freedom and social equality. Build a Bolshevik party to lead international proletarian revolution!

Vanguard Party...

(continued from page 9)

monarchy, and all Marxists agreed that the immediate tasks were essentially democratic, the overthrow of tsarism. However, there was an assumption on the part of the Menshevik right wing that this necessarily meant an extended period of capitalism. Basically, this rejected a revolutionary proletarian perspective in favor of a parliamentary opposition in a capitalist government.

Lenin agreed that overthrowing tsarism was the immediate task. But he vehemently disagreed with the perspective that the Marxists should form a bloc with the liberal bourgeoisie. What he posited was an alliance between the revolutionary proletariat and the poor peasantry. As opposed to the Mensheviks, he was trying to draw a class line between the proletariat, and the toiling classes in general, and the capitalist class. However, this theory that Lenin called "the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" was essentially flawed in the sense that it posited a dictatorship, a state power, of two classes, one of which—the peasantry—is a property-owning class. But it did serve his main purpose of drawing a line against the Mensheviks and their purely democratic perspective. So that was the framework in which these arguments took place.

Lenin's perspective was that the overthrow of tsarism in Russia by the revolutionary proletariat and peasantry would serve as a spark for proletarian revolution in the more advanced countries, where the situation was much more ripe for socialist revolution. He saw the democratic revolution in Russia leading rather immediately to socialist revolution in West Europe, especially in Germany.

In this period up through 1912, Lenin's consistently revolutionary thrust frequently led him to break with opportunism well before he had generalized it theoretically or internationally. Until 1912, the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks were sometimes forced to exist as factions in the same party. While building his Bolshevik faction in a very disciplined manner, Lenin had not yet broken in principle with Karl Kautsky's conception of "the party of the whole class." This conception meant that the movement should not be split and that all shades of difference, including opportunism, could exist in one party. Karl Kautsky was the pre-eminent leader of German Social Democracy at the time. The German party was far and away the largest party in Europe. Lenin greatly respected Kautsky, and in fact in *What Is To Be Done?* you'll find Lenin quoting Kautsky on the basic propositions of Marxism.

War and Revolution

It was not until the outbreak of the first interimperialist war in 1914 and the total political collapse of the Socialist (Second) International that Lenin began to realize in hindsight the implications and effects of his earlier course. With the start of World War I, the parliamentary fraction of the German Social Democratic Party, on August 4, 1914, voted unanimously in favor of war credits for the government, supporting the German bourgeoisie in the war. This act had an absolutely shocking impact upon the revolutionists in the Second International. Lenin at first refused to believe the report.

W.W. Norton & Co.

Russian troops killed during World War I imperialist slaughter. Collapse of social-democratic parties in orgy of national chauvinism led Lenin to call for a new, Communist International.

But this single event was to transform Lenin from the left-wing leader of Russian Social Democracy and an embryonic communist into the founding leader of the world communist movement. Following the collapse of the German party, all the other socialist parties in Europe collapsed in the same orgy of social-chauvinism, each one urging the working class in each country to support the war aims of their own ruling class, totally ignoring their historical opposition to imperialist war. World War I was the most horrible slaughter yet seen on the face of the earth. Millions of the working class of each country were killed, German workers killing French and English workers and Russian workers and vice versa, all being urged on to fight for their respective fatherlands. It was a shocking betrayal of fundamental socialist principles.

Lenin's basic policy toward the war and the international socialist movement was developed within a few weeks. His policy had three elements: 1) Socialists must stand for the defeat, above all, of their own bourgeois state. 2) The war demonstrated that capitalism in the imperialist epoch threatened to destroy civilization itself. Socialists therefore must work to transform the imperialist war into revolutionary civil war, into proletarian revolution. 3) The Second International has been destroyed by social-chauvinism. A new revolutionary international must be built through a complete split with the opportunists in the socialist movement. These principles, these three policies remained central to Lenin's activities right up to the Russian Revolution of October 25, 1917.

Lenin understood that he was advocating splitting the international workers movement into two antagonistic parties: one revolutionary, the other reformist. While in 1903 he had split Russian Social Democracy before it had acquired a mass base, he did not at that time fully realize what he had done. Previously, he saw it as a split of proletarian socialism from petty-bourgeois democracy, i.e., that the influence for opportunism was coming from *outside* the party. Understanding the material basis for opportunism *within* social democracy was one of the main conclusions of his book, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, written in 1916. It is in this period, from 1914 to 1917, that Leninism arose as a qualitative extension of Marxism.

Examining the total collapse of the German Social Democratic Party, Lenin came to understand that the source of opportunism came from within the German party itself. Its top leadership was based on a labor aristocracy—a privileged layer that was enjoying the benefits of imperialist exploitation of colonies all around the world. The political outlook of the party leadership had become totally bourgeoisified as a result of their social position in German society.

Now Lenin realized that in practice his Bolshevik organization had in fact *not* been built according to the Kautskyan formula. The selecting, testing and training of Bolshevik cadre was fundamentally different than the social-democratic model of Germany. In 1912 they had completely broken politically and organizationally from the Russian opportunists, the Mensheviks—two and a half years before the outbreak of the war. Lenin now took the Bolshevik Party as a model for the new Third International that he was calling for. Following the victory of the Russian Revolution, the Third, Communist International was founded in 1919. All over the world, including in the United States, the Socialist parties split and the left wings founded new Communist parties, organized on the principles, program and practices of the Russian Bolsheviks. That is our model and ultimately where we come from.

The 1917 Russian Revolution

To see in reality the crucial role of leadership and the role of the revolutionary party, you should examine the course of the Russian Revolution between February and October 1917. Trotsky made the statement that the leadership is to the party what the party is to the class. Many years later Trotsky looked back to 1917 and asked, could the Russian Revolution have happened without Lenin? And he said, I would have to say "no."

There was considerable confusion and disorientation in the Bolshevik Party itself at the outbreak of the February Revolution when the tsar abdicated and a capitalist Provisional Government was formed. Side by side with that government were the *soviets* ("soviet" is the Russian word for workers council). These were mass organizations which sprang up in the 1905 Revolution. Delegates to the soviets were elected from the factories and ranks of the army.

So between February 1917 and the October insurrection, Lenin waged a furious political struggle on several fronts simultaneously. On the one hand, to expose and defeat the authority of the petty-bourgeois parties, the Mensheviks and the peasant-based Social Revolutionaries, who in the beginning had a majority in the soviets. On the other, struggling within his own party against a persistent right wing that was adapting to the opportunist parties who in turn supported the capitalist government. Trotsky said that it was only Lenin's far-sightedness and his considerable authority with the party cadre that enabled the Bolsheviks to seize the moment and lead the insurrection.

VAAP

Bolsheviks opposed narrow economism, fought to win Russian workers to revolutionary internationalism. Banner of "Red Putilov" factory workers being presented to army regiment reads: "Long Live All-Russian Revolution as Prologue to Social Revolution in Europe."

In a revolutionary situation, the consciousness of the workers goes through very rapid changes from day to day, and often even the Bolsheviks lagged behind. But finally there comes a time that Trotsky refers to as the revolutionary moment, when the working class has rejected by experience all other possibilities and now has come to be fully conscious that there is no other, lesser course: We must take the power ourselves! Now they looked to the Bolsheviks to lead them.

The other prerequisite for a successful insurrection is the temporary exhaustion and confusion of the ruling class itself and a situation where it is denied the instruments of its own state power, essentially the army. You can't have an insurrection while the powers of the capitalist state remain intact. The capitalist state, as explained by Lenin, is the special bodies of armed men whose purpose is

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to defend the property forms of capitalism. The state, any state, is an instrument of coercion of one class over another. So you cannot have an insurrection without being able to split the army and take away the power of the bourgeoisie to militarily crush the revolution.

By early October 1917, all of these factors came together. The army garrisons in Petrograd refused to take orders from the Provisional Government. They would only take orders from the soviets. Thus the insurrection itself, and the seizure of power, was extraordinarily bloodless.

But as Trotsky says, woe unto any party that flinches at this moment and begins to overestimate the forces of the bourgeoisie or simultaneously underestimates the revolutionary capacity of the working class at the crucial moment. This is what led to the failure of the German Revolution in October 1923, and that failure closed the door for extending the revolution to industrialized Germany and opened the door for German fascism. A frightened ruling class is a very dangerous opponent. Having almost had their power taken away from them, they were going to see that that was not going to happen again. They started financing fascist thugs to break up first the Communist Party and then the labor unions. Then they went after the Jews.

The failure of the German Revolution also ended the revolutionary period that had begun in Russia in October 1917 and left the economically devastated and exhausted young Soviet Republic completely isolated. Lenin and Trotsky knew that for the revolution to survive in backward Russia it must immediately extend to industrialized Western Europe. That was the basic understanding of classical Marxism: You cannot have a revolution remain isolated in one country, especially a backward one; you will be attacked immediately by the other imperialist powers. Therefore, you must take the revolution into the camp of the imperialists.

The closing of that door to Germany demoralized the Russian workers and sections of the Communist Party itself, resulting in a political counterrevolution led by Stalin and his faction in 1924 against the program and leadership of the October Revolution.

Democratic Centralism

The organizational practice of a Leninist party is based on the principle of democratic centralism, which means full freedom in internal discussion, complete discipline and unity in action. As Trotsky put it, without inner democracy, no revolutionary education. Without discipline, no revolutionary action. I couldn't do any better than to read a section from our founding documents to describe the basic conceptions of democratic centralism:

> "The Spartacist League takes its organizational forms and practices from the evolved institutions and experiences of the Leninist movement, and seeks to function according to the best traditions of Leninism. We seek to make use of the widest amount of internal democracy and discussion which is compatible with functioning in an effective and disciplined way. Unlike many organizations, which give only lip service to the idea of factional democracy, the SL recognizes that the right to factions is basic and that factional struggle is not only educational but is, in cases of sharp difference, the only way in which the party can arrive at the correct political line....
>
> "The SL must be primarily an action organization, not a discussion group. Once a position is arrived at, it may always be overturned by a higher body or later reversal, but until then it must be carried out."

Or, as James Cannon put it, "Only a self-acting and critical minded membership is capable of forging and consolidating the revolutionary party and of solving its problems by collective discussion and decision. A loosely knit, heterogeneous, undisciplined, untrained organization is utterly incapable."

Basically, democratic centralism is a simple principle. If there are disputes or differences in the party, they are discussed and debated up through the national conference, which is the highest body of the organization. But after a decision is reached by majority vote, the minority is bound by that decision in the public actions of the party, including in its press. This does *not* mean that you have to abandon or give up your opinions. That was the bureaucratic and destructive practice instituted by Stalinism. They called this practice "criticism, self-criticism," culminating in the concept of unanimity. What it really meant was that if you came up on the wrong side of a question, that wrong side being decided by the leadership, you were required to stand up before the membership and criticize yourself for holding the wrong views. In other words, you had to get up and explain what kind of a bad person you were, some sort of petty-bourgeois dilettante or whatever.

But this kind of false confession, this abdication of one's views, simply guts you as a revolutionist. And that mechanism selected people out. What remained were those that learned to live within the framework of a bureaucratic organization where they were expected not to do their own thinking. Whereas we value the critical thinking of our own membership, and encourage it.

In fact that's the fundamental reason for the creation of a separate youth organization, so that it can be a training ground for the party, learning how to build a local, learning how to run local executive committees, how to be sales directors and organizers and writers and put out a paper and run a whole national organization parallel to the adult party itself. And they do so in a way where they're not surrounded by 20-year members of the party, which makes youth feel like they're the dumbest guys in the room, but amongst their peers. This encourages the fullest kind of critical discussion to take place. This is how you build critical thinking and higher consciousness.

Spartakist

During East German upheaval of 1989-90, Spartacists fought against Stalinist sellout of the deformed workers state to capitalism. Banner reads: "For a Leninist-Egalitarian Party!"

Bolshevism vs. Bureaucratism

Social-democratic organizations, because they do not have a perspective of the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, but rather seek to pressure its so-called liberal wing, denounce Leninist democratic centralism as being the forerunner of Stalinist bureaucratism. That's the standard anti-Communist syllogism, which you hear all the time now since the bankruptcy of Stalinism caused the collapse of the Soviet Union: Stalinist bureaucratism flowed from Leninist democratic centralism.

Anybody can say almost anything they want in a social-democratic organization, reflecting their completely heterogeneous political composition. Except, there *is* a party line. It is carried in the newspaper and someone creates it, generally the ruling clique of the moment, which tends to change without any particular democratic discussions. Centrist and social-democratic organizations are always in practice bureaucratic organizations. Centrism is defined as that current which exists between the poles of revolution and reformism. Even in the most left-sounding of the centrist groups there is a conflict between their stated aims—their paper positions—and their real practice.

Another definition of centrism is: revolutionary in words, opportunist in deeds. In fact this contradiction is the source of all bureaucratism. The Stalinists, from 1924 until the 1989-91 collapse of bureaucratic rule, were a living lie. They published the *Collected Works* of Lenin while seeking to conciliate imperialism by preventing workers revolutions. That profound contradiction was the basis for the police state and for the bureaucratism.

The understanding that the consciousness of the revolutionary party is higher than the consciousness of the working class means that we do not go outside the party seeking to mobilize more backward workers to pressure the party internally. Many years ago, we wrote "that the fundamental principle for communists is that one struggles among one's comrades to gain a majority for one's program, and that anyone who seeks to mobilize backward forces and alien class elements from outside a revolutionary Marxist organization in order to struggle for ascendancy inside that organization is no communist." Building and maintaining the party requires the highest level of conscious effort.

To ensure the revolutionary integrity of the whole party, the leadership must scrupulously guard the rights of all comrades or groupings in the party who have differences with the party. After all, they may be right. We were a left-wing opposition known as the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) in the Socialist Workers Party in the early 1960s. The SWP greatly abused our democratic rights. They kept us from doing public work in arenas of our differences. They kept us off the leading bodies of the party, they denied our right to exist as a faction in the party, and we constantly struggled to simply exist as an organized group trying to bring our views to the party members.

So we learned from this experience, being on the short end of a very bureaucratic stick, and that reflects itself in our organizational rules and guidelines where the rights of factions are codified, the right to proportional representation on leading bodies if the differences are not resolved at a national conference. Once during a debate in the New York local of the Socialist Workers Party, the national secretary, Farrell Dobbs, looked at me, a young supporter of the RT, and said, "The majority is the party!" And that was dead wrong, that was a fundamentally bureaucratic statement. The party is both the majority and the minority.

So we learned from this negative experience. We also understood that these departures from the norms of Leninism were because the SWP had lost its revolutionary perspective and was very rapidly moving toward reformism. They no longer required the practices necessary for a revolutionary party.

I welcome those of you who are joining the youth club this weekend. It is the first important step toward devoting your life to the cause of the proletariat. There is no higher form of service to humanity. ■

Women and Revolution

Spartacist supporters defend abortion clinics in San Jose, California. The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs struggle for a Leninist party which will be a tribune of all the oppressed. Join us!

Black Freedom...

(continued from page 1)

during the civil rights movement. This racist nightmare called America, land of the exploitation of the many by the few, is one big jail where lynch law is administered by racist killer cops. That is an everyday reality.

There are lying, pseudoscientific books like *The Bell Curve* proclaiming the genetic inferiority of black people, which try to justify white supremacy as a matter of innate abilities. We say that racism—the system of beliefs based upon the doctrine of biological "superiority" and "inferiority" of races—developed with capitalism and can only be ended with the overthrow of capitalism. We have to start doing some of the things that the bosses tell us not to do. We have to fight the class war of the capitalists with our own class war against the exploiters—nothing less will win. We must forge an internationalist revolutionary workers vanguard party with our class brothers and sisters from Mexico to Japan to South Africa. The fight for black liberation is tied up with the fight for world revolution to put the murderous racist exploiters out of business once and for all.

When the exploiters start saying nice things about you, it's time to sober up. They don't give out praise lightly, and when they do it's because they can see new ways to tighten the noose around our necks. There is an African proverb which I have remembered over many years: "If you don't know where you are going, any road can take you there." Almost a million men rallying for "atonement" in Washington, D.C. was not "one magnificent day," like the *Wall Street Journal*—the organ of finance capital—said. At a time when the racist rulers are seizing us by the throats, cutting us up, and wiping their feet all over us, the march for "atonement" forgave the capitalist oppressors for beating us down.

I think we'll be seeing some books on this "Million Man March." I can see it now: *Reflections of a Black FBI Agent, Lessons for the Day*, with a foreword written by Strom Thurmond, "The Meaning of Negro Responsibility in the Era of Downsizing." The Million Man March dressed up an oppressed black constituency with the conservative trappings of anti-woman "family values" and segregationist bigotry. Many black workers and youth, with no interest in Farrakhan per se, grabbed hold of the march like a drowning man reaches for straw. Despite the hugs, the back-slapping and the emotional highs following the march, its political character, regardless of what was in the minds of the participants, was to blame black people for the brutal racist oppression of the capitalist parasites. It was a trap for labor and blacks.

Historically, black people have fought for integration into American society. But in times of unrelenting, unchallenged racial oppression, many blacks have turned inward in despair toward dead-end separatism. You hear a lot of talk about "role models." Well, here's a role model: the "Grand Army of Black Men," about 200,000 strong—free and slave—that fought in the Union Army during the Civil War and turned the tide against the slaveholders on behalf of black men, women and children. They fought for social revolution. But the black freedmen were cut down with the defeat of the post-Civil War Radical Reconstruction period. The Northern capitalists betrayed the promise of black equality. "Black codes" were enacted to control black labor, backed up by poisonous segregation and enforced by thousands of lynchings.

Only the Klan and their capitalist masters benefit from an impoverished black population walled off from its objective allies—working people of all races who are ground down by the same enemy and with whom we must join in common struggle. Today there's a lot of talk about how segregation is a blessing in disguise, how black people can be separate and equal, how all we have to do is engage in a little bit of self-help and pool our resources to eliminate racial oppression. Do not believe this. This is a concession to the exploiters, a renunciation of the struggle to overthrow the race-haters and tyrants. It accepts the caste arrangements imposed by the white ruling class, resulting in permanent subordination in this racist hell.

We fight for black liberation through socialist revolution. Our perspective of revolutionary integrationism guides our practical work, from our successful labor/black mobilizations that have swept Klan and skinhead murderers off the street, to our labor-centered campaign to free Mumia Abu-Jamal—to stop racist "legal" lynching—to our struggle to mobilize the integrated labor movement to fight racist police murder. Revolutionary integrationism is a program for a fighting labor movement that champions the cause of all of the oppressed, which requires a revolutionary workers party fighting for an egalitarian socialist America. Black oppression is rooted in the bedrock of American capitalism. Because of their position as the most oppressed and most conscious section of the working class, black workers are slated to play an exceptional role in the coming revolution.

On the other side are the liberal integrationists, who appeal to the moral conscience of the bloody, criminal white ruling class to live up to their "democratic ideals," which consist of the "right" to exploit, humiliate, dehumanize and terrorize the working class and the poor. The liberals want to ensure that the struggle for black freedom stays within the bounds of capitalism. When they speak of "integration," they mean that we've got to go slow, and not too many of you—don't "tip the balance" too far. Tied to capitalism, the liberals necessarily capitulate to white racist reaction.

Chain gangs return to Alabama as racist ruling class intensifies brutal state repression particularly targeting black youth.

Why the Racist Rulers Hailed Farrakhan's March

Today Clinton and Gingrich are ripping to shreds the meager social welfare programs that do exist. But it is the two pillars of Democratic Party liberalism—the labor bureaucracy and the black elected officials—which have made the working class and poor vulnerable to the ever more savage attacks against them. The capitalist class knows what it wants: unbridled exploitation, leaving welfare mothers and their children to starve, driving down the standard of living of workers, smashing all of the gains of workers and the oppressed.

The capitalists loudly denounced the O.J. Simpson verdict, where the integrated jury rejected the evident police and prosecution lies and frame-up. And they have been working overtime to defuse the international movement to free Mumia Abu-Jamal which has so far stopped them from killing Mumia. The ruling class recognizes the *potential* of this movement to mobilize tens of thousands of workers and youth against the whole rotten structure of racist capitalism. In contrast, they praised the Million Man March called by the pseudo-nationalist demagogue Farrakhan and built by black misleaders like Jesse Jackson and Ben Chavis, along with various labor traitors.

Unlike most of the left, the Spartacist League told the truth about this march: that it was a reactionary, poisonous mobilization, sexually exclusionist, segregationist and directly opposed to the fight for black liberation. It was an accommodation to and acceptance of the racist status quo. Also, a key component of the march was voter registration, to remind Clinton, who spat upon blacks during the last elections, that they could deliver the votes to one or both of the property parties of racist American capitalism.

The truth is that we don't have anything to atone for. The criminals are the racist rulers who can't provide jobs, education and health care; who are putting an entire generation of young blacks in jail and on chain gangs; who want to kill Mumia; who have framed and jailed Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) for 25 years; who bombed the Philly MOVE commune; who killed millions abroad—from dropping atomic bombs on the Japanese, to slaughtering Vietnamese, to the butchery of Iraqis led by Colin Powell. Farrakhan invited this mass murderer to address this march. Well, we're not surprised. After all, he had Klansman Tom Metzger sitting in his meeting ten years ago.

Today there is a greater gulf between rich and poor in the United States than in any other Western industrial country. This is also reflected among blacks. Today 20 percent of black families earn almost half of all black income, which is greater than the income inequality among whites. This is the black middle class created by Johnson's "War on Poverty" as a buffer against unrest exemplified by the 1960s ghetto upheavals. This layer was the main beneficiary of the civil rights movement, although they continue to endure the daily humiliation of racism and are watching the openings which they were afforded slam shut for their children. This is the intended audience for the demagogy of Farrakhan, the man who wanted Malcolm X dead. It is interesting to note that 40 percent of participants in the Million Man March had annual incomes of over $50,000.

Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam want to join the big shots, to become brokers for the bourgeoisie. They target the Korean and Arab shopkeepers so that they can corner the segregated ghetto market. For Farrakhan & Co., the ghetto masses are a source of embarrassment and a big weight "holding down the race" (them) from upward mobility. Their battle cry is "black capitalism"—and their favorite song is "don't make waves, make money."

In capitalist society, the petty bourgeoisie, the middle class, has no independent class position and is the transmission belt for capitalist ideology. Increasing numbers of the black petty bourgeoisie have embraced conservative ideology, joining with white racist suburbanites in keeping the black poor from their neighborhoods, like in New Orleans, supporting the racist "war on drugs" and backing increased police-state powers. Over the years, black

Reuters

Sinister demagogue Louis Farrakhan, surrounded by "Fruit of Islam" guards, addresses Million Man March.

Farrakhan's Degrading Pledge for Black Men

I pledge that from this day forward I will strive to love my brother as I love myself.

I from this day forward will strive to improve myself spiritually, morally, mentally, socially, politically, and economically for the benefit of myself, my family and my people.

I pledge that I will strive to build businesses, build houses, build hospitals, build factories, and enter into international trade for the good of myself, my family and my people.

I pledge to support Black newspapers, Black radio, Black TV stations and other forms of Black media.

I pledge from this day forward not to abuse my wife or my children in any way.

I pledge not to use the "b-word" toward any woman.

I pledge not to poison my body with drugs or other substances destructive to my body and health.

I pledge that from this day forward I will never raise my hand with a knife or a gun to beat, cut or shoot any member of my family or any human being except in self-defense.

Beltmann Archive | Schomburg Collection | Historical Pictures Service

Heroes of the fight against slavery: Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass. Militant Abolitionists linked battle for black freedom with the cause of women's rights.

Democratic Party mayors, front men for capitalist rule, have carried out vicious attacks against blacks and working people.

John Lewis, black Democrat, ex-civil rights activist in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), supported Clinton's draconian "crime bill." This is a good example of what I'm talking about, because these types agree with the ideological campaign of the white ruling class—that violent crime equals young blacks—which has filtered down into the black working class. Their message is that they have made it the hard way, they're the "role model," and if you don't make something of your life, it's your fault.

American capitalism has written off working-class and minority youth. Since this country's rulers cannot employ the millions of jobless in a way that produces adequate profits, in their view whole layers of the minority poor are just a surplus population. There's a lot of talk about the "black community," which is increasingly unreal since the ghettos are huge pockets of urban misery occupied by the police. Today, the call for more cops has a resonance among black workers. But the cops are not neutral; they are armed thugs at the core of the capitalist state, protecting the property of the rich.

Today the impotent black reformist and pseudo-nationalist misleadership requires new methods of deception to deflect the anger of the black masses away from the racist capitalist oppressors. Jesse Jackson, "Mr. Fireman," always on the scene to snuff out any militant struggle, is today regarded as the foremost spokesman for old-fashioned "welfare state liberalism." Yet more than any other black leader, Jackson helped create the political climate which allows the Republican right to dominate the Washington scene. During the 1970s, Jackson's Operation Push in Chicago, which was funded by major corporations like Coca-Cola, pushed the fraud of "black capitalism" and lectured impoverished ghetto youth to "pull themselves up by the bootstraps."

Ben Chavis, the former NAACP head, cut a deal with the racist management of Denny's restaurants during our fight against their mistreatment of blacks. The pro-capitalist misleaders exploit the despair, frustration and anger among blacks, who face a relentless, genocidal drive against them, in order to chain black working people to the class enemy. These misleaders cynically bemoan the statistics about how many black men are in jail, how they are an endangered species, but support the "war on drugs" which has intensified racist state repression.

Many participated in the Million Man March not because they believe in Farrakhan's vicious anti-Semitism, immigrant-bashing and anti-gay bigotry. Not because they believe in a racially segregated black capitalism. Not because they want to work with the police or be cops in the housing projects like the Nation of Islam. But in the aftermath of the march, deadly illusions are increasingly being pushed that the cops are on our side, that black youth should work with the police. This is called "community organizing." You try telling that to the family and friends of 28-year-old William Hankston Jr., a black man shot recently in the back of the head by a black cop in San Francisco while he was riding away on a bike.

Labor Defender

Mass mobilizations were key in saving Scottsboro Boys, framed up on charges of raping white women, from "legal" lynching in 1930s.

The Heirs of Booker T. Washington

There is an example of masses of blacks mobilized behind reactionary goals in the past: the Marcus Garvey "back to Africa" movement in the post-World War I period. Fueled by racist violence and mass unemployment following the war, millions of black people looked to Garvey out of despair as a way out of this racist hell.

Some supporters of the Million Man March say: "What's wrong with engaging in a little bit of self-help, what's wrong with pulling ourselves up by our bootstraps?" What's wrong is that the vast majority of black people don't have boots to pull themselves up with. This talk about self-help, which echoes the racist rulers, has historically been pushed by spokesmen for black capitalism, from Booker T. Washington and his National Negro Business League to Marcus Garvey, who was Washington's disciple and whose Black Star shipping lines and Negro Factories Corporation were schemes to line the pockets of a few at the expense of the masses.

Booker T. Washington rose to prominence at the end of the last century on the ruins of Reconstruction, and preached segregation and black capitalism. In his famous address in Atlanta in 1898, he said that blacks and whites could be as separate as the five fingers of the hand in matters social. In other words, blacks should adjust to their second-class status. White capitalists ate this up. While paying tribute to Washington, the liberal W.E.B. Du Bois in *Souls of Black Folks* argued against Washington's "gospel of work and money" and his support for the disenfranchisement of the black masses. Though representative of a layer of black intellectuals who had an elitist conception of the "talented tenth" of blacks naturally leading the rest, Du Bois' conception of training black leadership to fight the caste system was an attack on segregation.

The issue is not the value of individual efforts per se to ameliorate the plight of black people. The burning task is to get at the material roots of black oppression, which is capitalism—a system that puts nothing before profits. We in the Spartacist League, the U.S. section of the International Communist League, struggle to build a multiracial revolutionary workers party that combats segregation, that struggles for jobs for all through a shorter workweek without a cut in pay, that fights for free, quality integrated education and housing. We stand for full citizenship rights for immigrants, which is key, because the anti-immigrant racists behind racist Prop. 187 and "English only" bigotry are the same racists who are destroying the remnants of affirmative action. This fight is inseparable from united class struggle to abolish capitalism and establish a workers government. The massive false consciousness of black workers who supported a march for "atonement" is a product of the bankruptcy of labor and black leadership, which has collaborated with the capitalist enemy to keep us down.

Black Women and Revolutionary Struggle

The exclusion of women was a neon sign of the reactionary nature of this march. A few black women were cynically added to the speaker's platform, but the message was: stay at home, pray, take care of the children, and stand behind the man. Feminist Angela Davis denounced the march, but offers no answers since for decades she has supported the so-called lesser-evil Democratic Party.

In a recent *New York Times Magazine* (12 November) piece titled, "A Manifesto of Sorts for a Black Feminist Movement," Kristal Zook showed where feminism—which claims that the main division of society is between men and women, not exploiters and exploited—leads. While correctly opposing the march as a "seductive mask for old-fashioned sexism," she wants to retry the 1930s Scottsboro case—nine black youths framed up on charges of raping two white women in Alabama—remarking that with all the hype about endangered black males, "black women are left without a way to talk about how some of the Scottsboro 'boys'...actually did commit acts of violence and murder against their girlfriends." This trash is similar to the filth peddled by white feminist Susan Brownmiller years ago in her book, *Against Her Will*, where she tried to justify the lynching of 14-year-old Chicago black youth Emmett Till, who was accused of whistling at a white woman in Money, Mississippi in 1955.

For communists, the degree of progress of women mirrors the progress or lack thereof of society as a whole. Women's oppression is rooted in the institution of the patriarchal family, which is a key prop for the maintenance of the bourgeois order. This oppression must be uprooted through socialist revolution. At bottom, feminism of all hues preaches class collaboration, the union of women of all classes. This is counterposed to a fight to wipe out all forms of social oppression through the elimination of capitalist ownership of the means of production.

The fight against racial and sexual oppression, the defense of democratic rights for gays, the fight against the triple oppression of black working women, are critical to revitalizing the labor movement, to transforming the unions into instruments of class struggle. The radical Abolitionist Frederick Douglass, who was a militant fighter for women's rights up to the last days of his life, proclaimed that "Right is of no sex—Truth is of no color." The program of trying to reform the racist status quo necessarily leads to lining up with the ruling class in the oppression of women and to pitting sections of the oppressed against each other.

Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Nation of Islam, opposed the right of women to have an abortion, warning about the "tricks the devils are using," particularly in relation to birth control. He contended that black women were created by god to serve their husbands and sons, saying, "The woman is man's field to produce his nation." Farrakhan didn't need any encouragement from "Operation Rescue" when he wrote, "When the Black woman kills her unborn child, she is murdering the advancement of her nation."

The Million Man March was not the first attempt to exclude black women from having their voices heard. The organizers of the 1963 March on Washington, which Malcolm X rightfully denounced as the "Farce on Washington," tried to keep militant black women from speaking. Only at the last minute, as a result of challenges from women in SNCC, were they allowed to speak. During the civil rights and "black power" movements, black women were systematically prevented from assuming top leadership positions. Ella Baker, who helped establish SNCC and was a leading activist in M.L. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), was relegated to secretarial positions. What she had to say is very revealing:

> "There would never be any role for me in a leadership capacity with SCLC. Why? First, I'm a woman. Also, I'm not

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Reuters

D.C. mayor Marion Barry with right-wing Republican Newt Gingrich. Black misleaders join in pushing racist, bipartisan "war on drugs."

Black Freedom...

(continued from page 13)

> a minister. And second I knew that my penchant for speaking honestly... would not be well tolerated. The combination of the basic attitude of men, and especially ministers, as to what the role of women in their church setups is—that of taking orders, not providing leadership—and the...ego problems involved in having to feel that here is someone who had more information about a lot of things than they possessed at that time.... This would never have lent itself to my being a leader in the movement there."
>
> —Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter* (1984)

It was hell, too, for many white women in SDS, Students for a Democratic Society, which was a petty-bourgeois New Left organization.

Stokely Carmichael (now Kwame Ture), as a leader of SNCC argued that the position of women in the movement was "prone." He's still trying to live that down. Cultural nationalist Ron Karenga of United Slaves (US), whose organization killed Black Panthers at the time and who now supports the march in D.C., said: "What makes a woman appealing is femininity, and she can't be feminine without being submissive." In the mid-'70s, Karenga did time in San Luis Obispo prison for allegedly torturing women in his organization.

Amiri Baraka, Karenga's sidekick in the 1960s, stated that black females had to internalize "submitting to their natural roles by studying their attitudes toward their 'man, house and children'." Baraka opposed the Million Man March; however, he opposed the exclusion of women on narrow tactical grounds, stating that "I won't go to war and leave half the army home." But it isn't merely a matter of "half the army" being left at home. Militant black women will be among the leaders and generals of the future revolutionary party and proletarian army if we are to succeed in sweeping away capitalist rule.

Join the Labor Black Leagues!

The Labor Black Leagues stand for mobilizing minorities and working people in militant integrated struggle against the brutal system of racist oppression that is capitalist America. The LBLs are fraternally allied to the Spartacist League, and are part of the revolutionary movement of the workers and oppressed against the bosses and for socialism.

There is a crisis of leadership today. Black misleaders and the union bureaucracy are wedded to either pro-capitalist racist Democratic Party liberalism or do-nothing dead-end black separatism. The Labor Black Leagues are multiracial organizations of militant workers and youth fighting for revolutionary integrationism: for black freedom through socialist revolution.

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WV Photo

Labor Black League joins protest against cop killing of black union member in Oakland, California.

From Abolitionist Harriet Tubman—who led a battle during the Civil War—to the civil rights movement, black women have been in the front lines of the struggle for black freedom. Now you have a lot of talk accusing black women of lapping up all of the gravy of affirmative action and taking well-paid jobs from black men. There's this one guy named Claude Anderson, who recently wrote a book, *Black Labor, White Wealth*, which paints a rosy picture of black women under slavery, saying that they had it so good. These are vicious lies that serve the interests of the male-chauvinist, racist bourgeoisie.

Increasingly, we have witnessed the growth of all-black-male schools, and some "Afrocentric" nationalists have called for replacing welfare programs for black women with programs for black men. Farrakhan's opposition to welfare coincides with the racist rulers' drive to teach black women "abstinence" and submission to the head of the household. Pushing the drive for "workfare," they paint black women, particularly single mothers, as "immoral," "promiscuous," not good mothers. And Gingrich is proposing that their children be put in orphanages. Moreover, there exists the "Promise Keepers" movement, a white Christian reactionary crusade promoting male hegemony. The proliferation of all-male groups is part of the drive to reverse the minimal gains of women and to keep them "in their place," that is, barefoot and pregnant. Its most murderous expression has been the terrorist bombings of abortion clinics and the murder of clinic workers and doctors.

The Struggle for Revolutionary Leadership

The multiracial working class must answer the murderous violence of the woman-haters through mass mobilizations relying on our own independently organized strength. We fight for organizing the unorganized, many of whom are women workers, especially Latino and black women; for jobs for all; for free, quality 24-hour childcare; for free abortion on demand and defense of the clinics against anti-abortion terror; for free medical care; for equal pay for equal work. We oppose gun control: the right to bear arms is a great equalizer.

The Spartacist League and Labor Black League, which is an anti-racist, anti-capitalist organization in political solidarity with the SL, fight to unchain labor/black power, to change this racist capitalist system from top to bottom. The reformists, the nationalists, seek to hold the masses in check. Farrakhan's black capitalist schemes and the pro-Democratic Party liberals like Jesse Jackson both represent dead ends.

We have big tasks. U.S. imperialism has been the main international support for South African apartheid, Salvadoran death squads, the Saudi Arabian slave-owning royal family and other bloody crooks in the business of suppressing the workers and the oppressed. Revolutionary black workers and youth, along with Latino, white and Asian workers, men and women, fighting in the spirit of the black men who fought in the Union Army to bury slavery, will be a critical part of a multiracial class-struggle workers party that buries this obsolete system of capitalist wage slavery. ■

Sri Lanka...

(continued from page 4)

government-sponsored vigilante mobs. Meanwhile there have been a succession of strikes and occupations, including by women textile and Free Trade Zone workers. In September, railway workers shut down the entire railway network for a day.

The government has announced a wage freeze, compelled workers to give up a day's pay for the war effort and established special police units to suppress workers struggles. The war on the Tamils and the plight of workers, Tamil and Sinhalese alike, is a product of betrayals perpetrated by the established leaders of the working class. Just as they joined the anti-Tamil, Sinhala-chauvinist popular-front government of Mrs. Bandaranaike in the 1960s, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP) and the Communist Party serve in today's PA government. The Nava Sama Samaja Party (NSSP), a split from the LSSP and the official section of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat in Sri Lanka, has a sordid history of class collaboration. Recently NSSP leader Karunaratne called on the Sinhala-communalist JVP to support "Tamil-speaking regiments" in the army! In fact this demand is raised by certain Tamil quisling groups who actively work with the army in hunting down and killing LTTE supporters.

The Revolutionary Communist League, Lankan section of David North's "International Committee of the Fourth International," while on this occasion raising the demand for the immediate withdrawal of the Sri Lankan troops from the north and east of the island, deny that the Leninist recognition of the right of national self-determination is valid today for the Tamils or any oppressed nation, thus giving backhanded support to "unitary" Sri Lanka. Despite the longstanding links between various left and ostensibly Trotskyist groups in Britain and Lanka, when more than 12,000 Tamils, many of them refugees, marched through the centre of London on 18 November in a militant protest against the onslaught on Jaffna, the only British group in attendance was the Spartacist League.

During WW II, the Ceylonese Trotskyists took the lead in establishing the Bolshevik Leninist Party of India. Then, with Tamil working people of the island and south India serving as a vital bridge, the struggles of the Tamil and Sinhalese working class could have been the catalyst for revolutionary mobilisations throughout India. Today the island is a microcosm of the Indian subcontinent, a prison house of national, caste, sexual oppressions and indescribable exploitation of workers and agrarian toilers. The task throughout the subcontinent must be to build revolutionary working-class parties to lead the working class and its allies in socialist revolution. For the right of Tamil Eelam! For federated workers republics of Eelam and Lanka, part of a socialist federation of South Asia! ■

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Balkans...

(continued from page 1)

they have acted as "left" advisers and cheerleaders for the warmongers in Washington and other NATO capitals. Now they've got what they asked for, as yet more imperialist troops prepare to pour into the Balkans.

Leaders of the Bosnian Serbs initially refused to sign the Dayton accord, denouncing the dispatch of NATO troops as an "imperialist occupation." But they were bullied into submission by Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic, who is acting at Washington's behest in exchange for an end to UN economic sanctions. Meanwhile, up to 3,000 troops from Yeltsin's Russia, which has postured as the big-power champion of Serbia while acting as the "soft cop" for Western imperialism, are set to join the NATO forces based in Tuzla, under U.S. command.

Under the U.S.-engineered partition, tens of thousands of heavily armed NATO soldiers with helicopter support will patrol a narrow buffer zone between the two sides. Meanwhile, the contending nationalist forces will retain their own armies. With national bitterness on all sides, even in the face of widespread war-weariness, the U.S./NATO intervention could turn into a bloody quagmire for the imperialists.

Whatever the immediate outcome of this attempt to impose a U.S. diktat on the contending Balkan nationalists, it will only lay the basis for future wars. Imperialism cannot bring "peace" because it is based on the exploitation and oppression of the workers of the world, leading to a mad competition for profits among the big powers. Lasting peace and national equality for all the peoples of the region can only come through proletarian revolutions leading to a socialist federation of the Balkans, as part of a socialist united states of Europe.

Washington wants to show that it still calls the shots in NATO and has the military might and will to bully the world's peoples into submission. Today there is a temporary convergence of interests over the Balkans between the U.S. and West European (centrally German) imperialists. But in the long run these rivals will necessarily clash. The bloody Balkan conflict, intersecting growing interimperialist rivalries in the post-Soviet world, is stark testimony to the urgent need to resolve the crisis of worldwide proletarian leadership by building Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard parties, part of a reborn Fourth International, which can overthrow the imperialist butchers through world socialist revolution.

Here in the imperialist "belly of the beast," the working class and oppressed must above all else oppose the bloody designs of our "own" capitalist rulers. *U.S. get your bloody hands off the Balkans!* ■

NYC Labor...

(continued from page 16)

with welfare recipients forced into "workfare." It could not be clearer that the fates of the unionized city workforce and the ghetto and barrio poor are inextricably linked. Nor could it be clearer that any serious attempt to beat back the assault on the unions and social services will mean a political struggle to get rid of the bought-and-paid-for labor traitors. An angry clerical aide at the Department of Health captured it when she said that City Hall and the union tops had become "just one big clique." Indeed, the current deal was reportedly cooked up in "cozy personal and phone chats" between Hill and Feldman and Giuliani's labor commissioner (and fellow ex-prosecutor) Randy Levine (*Village Voice*, 24 October).

As we wrote when Giuliani announced his last round of budget cuts earlier this year, "under a class-struggle leadership, strike action by transit, hospital and other city workers could galvanize the deep anger of the working class and minority poor" (*WV* No. 617, 24 February). And there's plenty of anger out there. A week before the new contract was announced, subway and bus fares were jacked up by 20 percent, to $1.50, infuriating millions of working people. Meanwhile, massive speedup and cutbacks in maintenance have made the deteriorating subway system increasingly dangerous and dirty for transit workers and riders alike. Public transport is a basic necessity of life in NYC and should be free. We say: Rip out the turnstiles!

Cohen/Public Employee Press

NYC mayor Giuliani congratulates AFSCME head Stanley Hill (right) after union misleaders agree to wage freeze, layoffs.

But far from seeking to fight the fare hike, the leadership of the powerful and integrated Transport Workers Union refuses to lift a finger even to defend its members in the face of layoffs, speedup, management harassment and forced overtime. Faced with the loss of his dues base, public hospital workers Local 420 head James Butler was one of the few officials to come out against the new contract. But all Butler could do was plead for more "understanding" for his dilemma from Stanley Hill and pray that "God will tell him to redo the contract."

The labor bureaucrats are adamantly opposed to mobilizing their membership *in struggle* because that would upset their cozy ties to the capitalist Democratic Party, which from the NYC City Council right up to the White House works hand in hand with the Republicans in the war against workers and minorities. A succession of Democratic Party mayors, from Abe Beame to Ed Koch to David Dinkins, presided over the loss of 400,000 manufacturing jobs while adding thousands of cops to the payroll. The current offensive against the poor was inaugurated under Clinton's vow to "end welfare as we know it." Yet reformist darling Dennis Rivera, head of hospital workers Local 1199, recently brought out some 20,000 union members—not to fight the health care cuts, but to cheer Hillary Clinton and boost her husband's '96 presidential campaign.

Labor will either champion the cause of all the oppressed or be strangled along with them. What's needed is a class-struggle leadership in the unions prepared to take on the Wall Street bloodsuckers. And that means breaking with the partner parties of capitalism and forging a revolutionary workers party committed to sweeping away this system of racism and poverty and replacing it with a planned, socialist economy to rebuild the cities and provide jobs, housing and education for all. ■

France...

(continued from page 16)

in the mass turnout on Saturday, November 25, when tens of thousands demonstrated in Paris against increasing attacks on abortion rights. The current wave of worker and student protests is particularly significant, coming as it does in the context of a concerted campaign by the regime to defuse working-class discontent by channeling it into anti-"immigrant" racism (in France, "immigrant" is used to refer to everyone of North African or African descent, even French citizens). In the past few months, Chirac has seized on a series of bombings as a pretext to launch "Operation Vigipirate," calling in the army to terrorize the urban ghettos.

As we noted last issue, the French ruling class sees in the current unrest the spectre of another May '68, when a wave of militant student protests set the stage for a general strike by the workers which brought the country to the verge of revolution. It was only thanks to the betrayal of the PCF, then the dominant force in the workers movement, that a decisive showdown was averted. In a leaflet distributed to protesting students last week, the Jeunesse Spartaciste, youth group of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), section of the International Communist League, pointed to the need to link their struggles with that of the working class and emphasized the urgeney of forging an internationalist workers party based on a revolutionary program:

> "In the name of a racist and chauvinist 'sacred union,' the government wants to prepare the population for arbitrary police repression in order to shove its reactionary social measures down the throats of students, youth as a whole, workers, and all sectors of the population oppressed by capitalism. *Down with Vigipirate! Stop the charter flights and deportations! Defend the right of asylum! Down with the racist quotas in the universities! Cops out of the ghetto suburbs! Down with the hunt for clandestine immigrants! Smash the fascists before they smash us! For workers/immigrant defense squads based on the factories! Full citizenship rights for all immigrants and their families! Down with the racist Bayrou circular* [expelling girls who wear the Islamic headscarf from public schools]!...
>
> "What is necessary today is a revolutionary program that links the struggle of the youth for the right to a job, housing and wages—to a decent life—to the struggle of the proletariat to end this capitalist system of exploitation and oppression. We, Jeunesse Spartaciste, fight for free, quality education for all, without any race or class discrimination. We want the proletariat to have access to culture, for working-class youth to have full access to the universities.
>
> "The student mobilizations must link up with those of the working class. To start with, the students in struggle must massively participate in the November 24 demonstration. First, because the working class is under attack by the very same austerity policy the students are victims of, and second, because the working class, because of its position in production, is the only class with the social power to paralyze and overthrow the system ...
>
> *"For a May '68 that goes all the way! For a revolutionary workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie!"*

The present attacks by the right-wing Chirac government come on top of 14 years of betrayal under the previous government of "socialist" president Mitterrand, supported by both the PS and PCF. Today, years of service by the social-democratic and ex-Stalinist trade-union tops as a component of Mitterrand's popular front have generated a wellspring of defiance and scorn toward them by the ranks, undercutting their ability to rein in class struggle. Fearful of unleashing a strike movement that could get out of control, the reformist bureaucrats have carefully refrained from calling out the core of the industrial proletariat, including strategic bastions like the steel workers.

Behind the shameless support by the CFDT tops for Chirac's vicious anti-working-class attacks is the fact that the government is offering them a role as favored interlocutors with the *patronat* (bosses). The government's "reform" of the social welfare system aims not only to cut benefits but to reorganize the system of joint union-management ("parity") committees which have nominal control over the enormous social services fund. This class-collaborationist scheme was set up following World War II as a means of integrating the trade-union leadership into the state apparatus. For example, two-thirds of the committees managing public health insurance are controlled by the FO bureaucracy (including its "far left" component, notably Pierre Lambert's Parti des Travailleurs). As part of his proposed "reform," Juppé announced that trade-union representatives on these committees would henceforth be chosen by the government, successfully playing off one greedy hand of trade-union bureaucrats against another.

The dissension within the union bureaucracy is the mirror image of the vacillation and confusion among their masters in the bourgeoisie. The Chirac regime has alternately threatened anti-working-class attacks and then backed down. This is because the bourgeoisie, while setting the stage for a major confrontation with the working class, is acutely aware that this regime has a narrow base of support and that the proletariat has not been vanquished on the field of class battle. Moreover, the capitalists' loyal servants in the union bureaucracy, particularly in the CGT, are only a shadow of their former selves, and may not be able to contain deep-going working-class unrest. The government is caught in a bind: if it grants concessions to defuse the wave of protest, that may well encourage further expectations and rounds of struggle.

Social situations like that in France today, in which the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are locked in sharp confrontation, with neither side capable of striking the decisive blow, provide a fertile terrain for the fascists, who can appear before the frightened petty bourgeoisie as offering a "radical" way out of the impasse. Jean-Marie Le Pen's fascist National Front was made respectable by the racist campaign of police terror against "immigrants," which was launched by Mitterrand and enormously stepped up by Chirac. While the bourgeoisie is presently keeping these racist vermin in reserve, they could very well unleash them if mounting class struggle becomes uncontrollable. The LTF has fought for mass worker/immigrant mobilizations to drive the fascist scum off the streets.

At the Paris demonstrations, many workers chanted, "Chirac, Juppé, Resign!" But the question is: What would they be replaced with? Within the parliamentary framework, the answer could well be a more right-wing regime unequivocally committed to anti-working-class attacks. But the PCF and the PS, followed by their "far left" waterboys like the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire and Lutte Ouvrière, have no other perspective than seeking to cobble together a new popular-front coalition, whose purpose would be to channel working-class struggle onto the parliamentary plane. As we wrote last issue:

> "The lesson of May '68 is the necessity to go forward to socialist revolution and a workers government to expropriate the capitalist class. The bourgeoisie will not fall of its own accord—it must be thrown out. But this requires the forging of a revolutionary party like Lenin's Bolsheviks, with deep roots in the working class."
>
> —"France in Turmoil," *WV* No. 633, 17 November ■

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(Fourth Internationalist)

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Workers, Students Take to the Streets

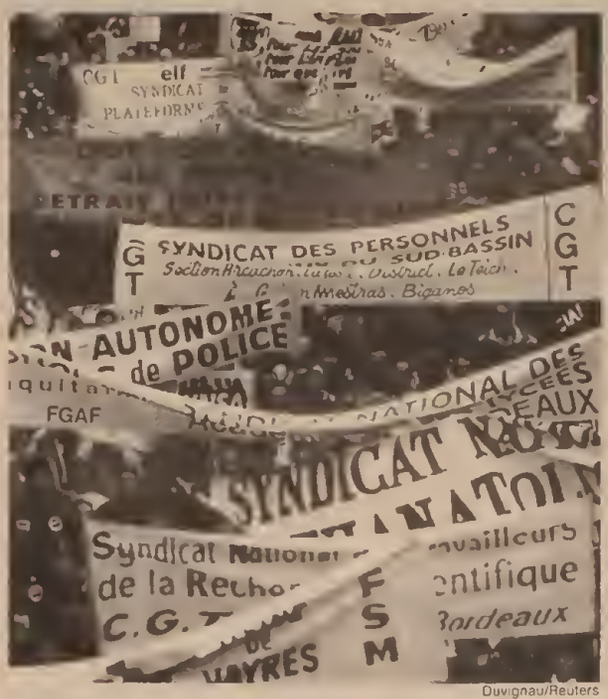
Strikes Paralyze Chirac's France

NOVEMBER 28—For the second time in less than a week, a general strike today by French public sector workers—teachers, transport, hospital, public utilities employees and others—virtually shut down the country in protest against the government's planned attacks on the public health and pension system. Contingents of workers from auto and other heavy industrial plants joined the demonstrations in many cities both days, and today's march in Paris also included a contingent of miners as well as a significant turnout of private-sector workers.

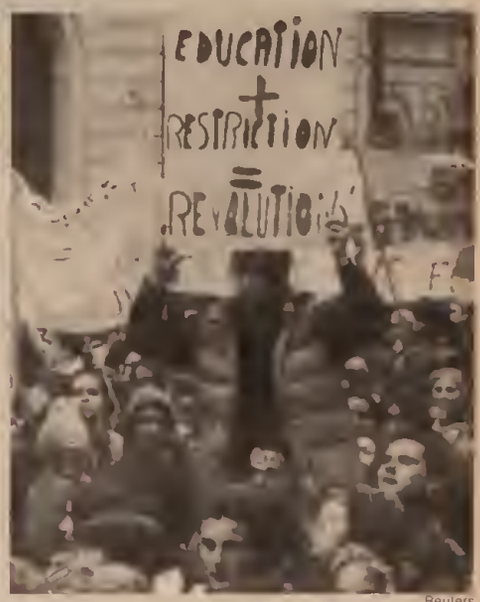
At the same time, a nationwide walkout by railway workers which began on Friday continues to paralyze the entire rail system. Cheers erupted from the sidewalks today as a huge contingent of rail workers marched by. Subway service in the capital was also shut down both today and Friday.

Today's demonstration in Paris, called by both the FO and CGT trade-union federations, drew upwards of 60,000 workers. On Friday, in a CGT-sponsored protest, the wide avenues of the capital were filled by more than 100,000 workers, with some contingents singing the international workers anthem, the *Internationale*. A one-day printers strike that day stopped publication of national newspapers, while virtually all air flights were canceled.

There is evident desire at the base for united struggle against the government's attacks. Although the social-democratic FO and CFDT trade-union federation leaders refused to endorse Friday's general strike call, significant sections of those federations in fact supported the CGT demonstration. FO rail, postal and bank workers organized contingents for the Paris demonstration, as did the CFDT civil servants and metal workers. When CFDT leader Nicole Notat, who had endorsed Chirac's "reform" of social services as "necessary," showed up at the rally, she was unceremoniously driven out by her own members, who seized anything they could get their hands on to throw at her.



Duvignau/Reuters



Reuters

Left: Workers demonstrate in Bordeaux, November 24, as part of nationwide one-day general strike in public sector. Above: Students in Paris demonstrate against education cuts, November 21.

The workers strikes are the backbone of a series of protests against right-wing president Jacques Chirac and his prime minister Alain Juppé, who have already set a record for unpopularity in the 37-year history of the Fifth Republic. A wave of student protests and campus occupations, demanding increased funding and more teachers, quickly spread from Rouen last month to 40 universities throughout the country. On November 21, more than 100,000 university and high-school students turned out in Paris and other cities for a national "day of action."

Significantly, the CGT supported last week's student mobilization, and all the major union federations organized contingents for Saturday's demonstration for women's rights. The student leaders, primarily members of the Communist Party (PCF) and Socialist Party (PS), have sought to limit the campus protests to student-centered reformist demands.

The growing politicization of broad sections of French society was reflected

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Union Tops Push Wage Freeze, Layoffs, Hospital Closures

NYC Labor: Defeat Giuliani's War on Unions, Poor!

Republican mayor Rudolph Giuliani and New York City's municipal union chiefs shook hands and grinned as they announced a new five-year contract on November 17. But the ranks of city labor are seething with anger. You know it's bad when even the haughty *New York Times* declaims in a headline, "Union Members Express Dismay at Terms." An executive board member of AFSCME clerical workers union Local 1549 called it "a slap in the face, totally." "Absolute extortion," fumed one teacher.

The deal being pushed by AFSCME District Council 37 president Stanley Hill, chief negotiator for 130,000 city workers, United Federation of Teachers (UFT) president Sandra Feldman and other union misleaders calls for a two-year wage freeze across the board and millions of dollars in givebacks. Feldman called the deal a "contract for these times," sneeringly dismissing protests from her members, who have to try to teach in miserably overcrowded classrooms often with no supplies other than what they pay for out of their own pockets. A sham "job security" clause does not even pretend to cover public hospital workers. No accident, because the labor traitors have given the green light to Giuliani's plan to shut down or "privatize" what's left of the municipal hospital system. They're cutting the throats of millions of NYC minorities and poor as well as of their own members.

The union bureaucrats are acting as henchmen for Wall Street's drive to slash social services and union jobs. Their pledge of "labor peace," gloats the *Times* (19 November), gives Rudy the Slasher free rein "to pursue the items at the top of his agenda: eliminating the Board of Education and shrinking its budget, removing tens of thousands of people from the welfare rolls and putting the rest to work cleaning the city, cutting the city's Medicaid spending and selling the public hospitals to the private sector."

Giuliani wasted no time in dusting off his scheme, torpedoed after a public outcry two years ago, to dismantle the Department of AIDS Services, the sole lifeline for thousands of AIDS patients. And even as homeless shelters are already filled to capacity even before winter has set in, Governor Pataki is demanding that the homeless be charged "rent" to get into the city's decrepit facilities as they try to escape the cold and the cops who kick them out of the parks and subway stations and off the streets.

With the acquiescence of the union misleaders, Giuliani has slashed 17,000 city workers from the payroll over the past couple of years while replacing many of the jobs at a fraction of the pay

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WORKERS VANGUARD

50¢

No. 635

15 December 1995

Build a Revolutionary Workers Party to Fight for a Workers Government

Explosive Strike Wave Rocks France

AFP

Mass demonstration of striking workers in Paris, December 5. Burgeoning strike wave of railway workers and other public employees has virtually shut down France for weeks.

DECEMBER 12—A crescendo of militant strikes and workers mobilizations has virtually paralyzed France. The railroads have been shut down for almost three weeks as part of the protests against attacks by the government of conservative prime minister Alain Juppé on the social service system. Mass transit in Paris and other major cities has ground to a halt. Last week there were two one-day general strikes, centered in the public sector, called by the CGT and FO trade-union federations. Even official estimates put the number of demonstrators on Thursday, December 7 at more than one million nationwide.

Today, close to two million came out at the unions' call. In Paris, a mile-long stretch beginning from the Place de la République was packed wall-to-wall with demonstrators chanting, "Juppé resign!" Over 200,000 marched in Marseille. The current workers' protests have come at a particularly embarrassing time for President Jacques Chirac, as Paris was to host a summit conference this week to finalize the NATO-dictated "peace" accords for Bosnia. The site of the conference has now been moved outside the strikebound French capital.

Barely six months after the overwhelming victory of a right-wing government, which holds an 80 percent majority in parliament, today large numbers of workers and youth sense that they can stop the government in its tracks. But their leaders are moving to behead the struggle. After trying for weeks to ram through a slew of budget-slashing measures, Juppé has switched to a divide-and-conquer strategy, offering concessions to the rail workers who have been the backbone of the strikes. Over the weekend, FO and CGT union leaders signaled their willingness to accept a compromise, dropping any preconditions for negotiations with Juppé. Now it is reported that leaders of some rail unions are going for Juppé's ploy, saying they are ready to settle.

The present situation cannot long continue. What is at stake here is not simply union retirement funds. The French bourgeoisie is out to inflict a decisive blow against the unions, which would set the stage for a broader onslaught against the working class, as was the case with Reagan's destruction of the PATCO air traffic controllers in 1981 and Thatcher's assault on the British miners in 1984-85. So far, Chirac/Juppé have been stymied. But if the workers do not break out of the stranglehold of the reformist misleaders, then the bureaucracy acting in collusion with the bourgeoisie will either dissipate the militancy or betray the strike outright. There will undoubtedly be "modifications" to the massive takebacks, and Juppé could well be sacrificed by the bourgeoisie as a sop to the workers' anger. But even if the government grants concessions, the capitalists will use other means—like devaluation of the franc and concomitant inflationary devaluation of wages—to try to take back everything they have granted.

The destruction of the Soviet Union has sharply intensified a worldwide capitalist assault on the living standards and organizations of the working class, while exacerbating economic competition among the imperialist powers. The French bourgeoisie is under relentless pressure from Germany to slash social welfare programs and drastically cut the

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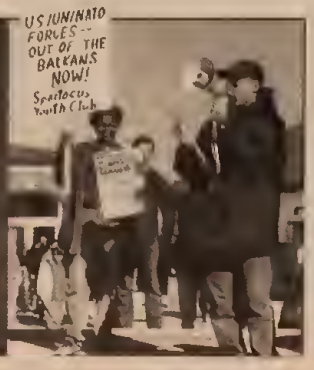
Spartacists Protest Imperialist Occupation of Bosnia

see page 2



Spartacists Protest Imperialist Occupation of Bosnia

As the first of 60,000 NATO troops, including 20,000 from the U.S., began to descend on Bosnia, the Spartacist League held protest demonstrations demanding, "U.S./NATO Get Your Bloody Hands Off the Balkans!" For Marxist revolutionaries, it is an elementary duty to mobilize opposition to this imperialist occupation force. Yet these were the first organized protests in the U.S. against the NATO expeditionary force. Three months earlier, the SL/U.S. and other sections of the International Communist League organized emergency protests against the massive NATO terror bombing of the Bosnian Serbs which paved the way for the current imperialist-dictated "peace" deal.

At the December 5 NYC protest outside the UN building, demonstrators carried signs reading "United Nations—Fig Leaf for Imperialist Slaughter." SL spokesman Len Meyers pointed to other recent imperialist interventions in the name of "peace," "democracy" or "humanitarianism," including the racist, colonialist invasions of Somalia and Haiti, the 1991 attack on Iraq and the continuing starvation embargo which has led to the deaths of *500,000* Iraqi children.

WV Photo

SL protest outside United Nations, New York City, December 5.

Meyers declared: "What this deal promises is more killing, more imperialist slaughter and more of the same kind of 'ethnic cleansing' that was hypocritically denounced a short time ago."

Speaking a day later at a Chicago protest outside the Federal Building, SLer Lisa Brooks pointed to the imperialist-instigated capitalist counterrevolution which destroyed the former Yugoslav deformed workers state and unleashed the nationalist wars that have ripped apart the Balkans. She stated, "Lasting peace and national equality for all the peoples of the region will only come through proletarian revolutions leading to a socialist federation of the Balkans as part of a Socialist United States of Europe." Spartacist signs called "For Workers Revolution to Overthrow All the Bloody Nationalist Regimes!"

Emboldened by the restoration of capitalism in the former Soviet Union and East Europe, the imperialist rulers in the U.S. and West Europe have unleashed all-out assaults on social welfare and education programs while scapegoating minority and immigrant workers for epidemic levels of unemployment. At an SL speakout at the College Park campus of the University of Maryland on December 7, a Spartacus Youth Club member told students: "With such a bleak future for today's youth, this is a time which screams out for socialist revolution."

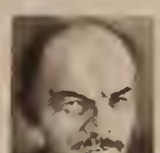
The same theme was underlined by Spartacist speakers in the Bay Area, as 70 protesters turned out December 9 for a demonstration in downtown San Francisco which was covered by three local television stations as well as KCBS and KPFA radio. SL speaker Barbara Francis pointed to the explosive strike wave rocking France, where the Balkans "peace" deal is slated to be signed December 14: "In France, the biggest class battles in 30 years are being waged just as French imperialism prepares to clean out 120,000 Bosnian Serbs from Sarajevo. We stand with the French workers in struggle to bring down the bloodthirsty French imperialists, while in the U.S. we fight to bring down our own racist rulers."

The Bay Area protest also drew a handful of representatives of other leftist groups, including the Freedom Socialist Party. An FSP supporter who addressed the Bay Area demo moaned about how "peace groups and activists are confused and divided over whether to support or oppose Clinton's plan to send U.S. troops to Bosnia." In fact, as a Spartacus Youth Club spokesman pointed out in reply, the FSP itself was "confused" on this fundamental question. Our comrade noted that the FSP's paper castigated Washington for not siding "with the Bosnian resistance fighting for a pluralistic society" and for the phony arms embargo which left the Sarajevo regime "almost defenseless." This was the line as well of the "Workers Aid" campaign in West Europe, supported by various fake Trotskyists, which ran convoys under UN "protection" to the Bosnian city of Tuzla. Now Tuzla is to be the base for 20,000 American troops.

As the New York SL speaker concluded, underscoring the urgency of the ICL's fight for revolutionary leadership: "The International Communist League fights to reforge the Fourth International of Leon Trotsky. This is the fight for workers revolution around the planet, to put an end, once and for all, to racist terror, to imperialist war, to imperialist exploitation. Join us in that fight!" ■

France: Revolutionary Leadership Is Key

TROTSKY


LENIN

The continuing wave of strikes which has paralyzed France in recent weeks points ever more directly toward the question of power: who will rule, the bourgeoisie or the proletariat? The reformist misleaders—the Communist and Socialist parties and the heads of the various labor federations—are the main obstacle to victory. They seek to impose a "solution" compatible with the interests of French capitalism, pleading for piecemeal concessions which even if granted today will be taken back tomorrow. Writing at the time of the 1936 French general strike, Leon Trotsky underscored the urgency of forging an internationalist Bolshevik Party to lead the proletariat to power.

Contrary to the assertions of the leaders of the Second and Third Internationals, present-day capitalism is already incapable of either giving work to all workers or raising the standard of living of the workers. Finance capital passes the costs of social reform onto the shoulders of the workers themselves and of the petty bourgeoisie by means of rising prices, open or concealed inflation, taxes, etc. The essence of the present "statism," of state interference—in both "democratic" and fascist countries—consists in saving rotting capitalism at the price of lowering the living and cultural standards of the people. No other method is possible on the basis of private property....

The mass organizations of the working class remain powerless, undecided, and lost, if they are not inspired and led forward by a firmly welded-together vanguard. The necessity for a revolutionary party is shown with new force.

Thus, all the tasks of the revolutionary struggle unfailingly lead to one task—the creation of a new, really revolutionary, leadership, capable of dealing with the tasks and possibilities of our epoch. Direct participation in the movement of the masses, bold class slogans taken to their conclusion, an independent banner, irreconcilability toward compromisers, mercilessness towards traitors—here lies the road of the Fourth International....

Participation in the living struggle, always in the front line of fire, work in the trade unions, and the building up of the party—all go on at the same time, mutually supplementing each other. All the fighting slogans—workers' control, workers' militia, the arming of the workers, a government of workers and peasants, the socialization of the means of production—are indissoluhly bound up with the creation of workers', peasants', and soldiers' soviets.

—Leon Trotsky, "The New Revolutionary Upsurge and the Tasks of the Fourth International" (July 1936)

WORKERS VANGUARD

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The closing date for news in this issue is December 12.

No. 635 **15 December 1995**

Free Chinese Immigrants Imprisoned by INS!

We reprint below a December 8 protest statement by the Partisan Defense Committee.

District Director
Immigration and Naturalization Service
San Francisco, California

We demand the immediate release of *all* the Chinese immigrants who have been imprisoned for over two years after their nightmarish journeys on ships such as the *Golden Venture*, which ran aground off New York in June 1993.

On 13 September 1993 we telegrammed you to demand their release, including those who had arrived in San Francisco on the freighter *Pai Sheng*, after reports leaked out of a hunger strike "by as many as 60 prisoners some of whom have been subjected to solitary confinement." Now, over two years later, both the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *New York Times* reveal that the imprisonment/torture continues.

The *Chronicle* reported on 18 November that 19 women were in "the sixth day of a hunger strike at the Lerdo Detention Facility in Bakersfield." The 2 December *Times* says up to 22 women "have gone on a hunger strike to protest their detention for more than two years and the Government's plans to deport them," and notes that nine women "had lost an average of 10 pounds." "There is no pain in dying, but it hurts when they keep you in jail," said 25-year-old apparel maker Tin Chin Wang. Another protested that "prison guards have placed her in solitary confinement in an effort to force her to eat."

These women have committed no crime: they are *victims* of a racist policy of the U.S. government which has whipped up anti-immigrant hysteria, including the old "yellow peril" bogeyman which has a long history, particularly in California. It was in fact Democratic president Bill Clinton and his National Security Council which ordered the policy of incarcerating such immigrants, and the well-hated INS eagerly implemented it. It is of a piece with the vicious anti-immigrant Proposition 187 pushed by Republican governor Pete Wilson. It's pure racism, designed to deflect rising discontent with a decadent economic system which, among its many crimes, brutally exploits Asian women under virtual slave conditions in sweatshops from L.A. to New York.

We repeat: Down with the Clinton/INS incarceration of the Chinese immigrants. Release them now! With great hardship, they got here—let them stay here!

Oust UAW Tops, Labor Lieutenants of Capitalism

Betrayal at CAT: Major Defeat for Labor

On December 3, United Auto Workers (UAW) president Stephen Yokich dealt Caterpillar workers and the whole labor movement a stunning and historic defeat by ordering the 8,700 strikers back to work "immediately and unconditionally." To choke off any show of defiance, the UAW tops announced they would cut off the weekly strike benefit checks for recalled workers (even though the union is sitting on a $900 million strike fund)! Justifying this stab in the back, newly elected AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer Richard Trumka declared this "a change of tactics, that's all." But a CAT striker in York, Pennsylvania voiced what thousands of CAT strikers feel in their guts: "It has been your worst nightmare come true." Indeed, the entire labor movement will pay dearly for the bureaucrats' treachery.

Earl Dotter

New AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer Trumka (left) and UAW chief Yokich stabbed Caterpillar strikers in the back.

Mark Pokempner/Impact Visuals

In Peoria, Illinois, strikers from UAW Local 974 voted down the proposal containing Yokich's ignominious terms of surrender by *94 percent*; overall CAT strikers gave thumbs down to the "deal" by a whopping four-to-one margin. After the bitter 18-month battle against Caterpillar Inc., one of the world's largest producers of construction equipment and diesel engines, workers were told that, no matter how they voted, Yokich was calling off the strike. Hardest hit by this sellout are at least 150 unionists who were fired during the strike for the simplest acts of union militancy. They were sacrificed with a handshake between Yokich and the fabulously wealthy, union-busting Caterpillar bosses.

But unknown numbers of strikers may never see the inside of a Caterpillar plant again; the company says they will be called back "as needed." Those who are recalled will have to toil with scarcely a fig leaf of union protection, their seniority, safety and scheduling rights ripped to shreds, forced to work alongside many of the scabs who slithered across the picket lines. Even using the word "scab" will be grounds for dismissal under "temporary" guidelines approved by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), and armed company goons will be ready to act if anyone starts talking union. The whole surrender has CAT bosses and capitalists across the country grinning. "Caterpillar Prepares Rules for Conduct, Including Gag Order on Union Dispute," gloated the *Wall Street Journal* (5 December).

Meet the "new" AFL-CIO: this crushing defeat is the first accomplishment of the "reform" leadership elected at the labor federation's convention barely two months ago. Key among their supporters were the UAW, Machinists and Steelworkers leaders who are presiding over the wholesale gutting of this country's unions. While Caterpillar management kicks returning strikers in the teeth, AFL-CIO chief Sweeney calls for a new "social contract" between corporations and workers, saying he wants "to build bridges between labor and management, so that American business can be more successful and American workers can share in the gains."

From "War Zone" to Killing Field

For the past few years, workers across the country have looked to the Illinois "war zone" struggles as a symbol of resistance to corporate greed. Thousands of unionists trekked to Peoria and Decatur to bolster picket lines and attend mass rallies. CAT unionists themselves have never lacked a willingness to fight. But here workers were hamstrung as one of the most powerful industrial unions in the world, the UAW, prepared its own defeat in one of its Midwest bastions of strength refusing to build *mass picket lines that would shut down production*. With over 5,000 "temporary" strikebreakers and as many as 4,100 scabbing union members waltzing across the picket lines, Caterpillar sales, profits, and even stock prices soared during the strike.

The *New York Times* (5 December) boasts that "Union Capitulation Shows Strike Is Now Dull Sword." But militant union action, which could have shut down production tight, is a sword that Yokich and the rest of the pro-capitalist union brass have never unsheathed. These *labor traitors* fear class struggle like the plague. CAT's profit-gouging, union-busting, scabherding and "outsourcing" is nothing new—nor is anything else that capitalists use to drive down the price of labor and crank up the rate of exploitation.

The union tops sabotage struggles for higher wages and against company takebacks because they embrace the interests of U.S. capitalism, reflected in their treasonous alliance with the Democratic Party. The CAT strike of 1991-92 was called off just 24 hours after the AFL-CIO endorsed then-candidate Bill Clinton. For the next two years the UAW waged an "inside campaign" that didn't seriously affect the company's production but did get a lot of union activists victimized. Membership anger finally flared into a multi-plant strike in June 1994. That summer the conjuncture of striking CAT and Bridgestone-Firestone rubber workers along with locked-out Staley corn processing workers in Decatur posed the possibility of powerful labor action across industry lines.

Noting that the most urgent task was to stop the scabs who threatened all three struggles, *Workers Vanguard* (No. 604, 5 August 1994) called for mobilizing the entire labor movement for mass pickets, to "hot-cargo" (refuse to handle) scab products, and to prepare for sit-down strikes inside key industrial sites. Urgently needed was a class-struggle leadership to transform the workers' will and determination to fight, even in the face of brutal cop attacks, into effective action. Meanwhile, a host of "reform" bureaucrats and mealy-mouthed "socialists" like the International Socialist Organization, Socialist Action and the *Labor Notes* crowd populated a strike support coalition which pushed diversions like consumer boycotts and civil disobedience stunts, allowing the hureaucrats to slowly hut effectively strangle the "war zone" strikes.

The union tops channeled the workers' anger into chauvinist appeals for the "solidarity" of the American government against foreign capitalists and workers. The UAW launched a flag-waving campaign with the slogan, "Defending the American Dream," a direct attack on thousands of potential strike allies working in CAT plants abroad. Even more virulent was the United Rubber Workers' racist Japan-bashing campaign for Clinton to launch a trade war against Bridgestone-Firestone. By last spring, this filthy jingoism had smothered the URW strike, and union bureaucrats sent some 4,000 strikers back to work in another unconditional surrender.

Likewise, it's the union hureaucrats' loyalty to the capitalist system, the government and their Democratic Party which tolled the death knell for the fight against Caterpillar's union-busting. In response to the company's massive scabherding, UAW leaders ordered strikers to obey anti-picketing injunctions issued by the courts while lobbying the Democrats to pass a "striker replacement" bill that would have relegated strikes to binding arbitration. To workers, they offered pie-in-the-sky promises of NLRB lawsuits, although not one of the over 170 anti-company charges upheld by the NLRB has ever been enforced.

Revolutionary Leadership

The price of the UAW tops' betrayal at Caterpillar will be paid in places far beyond the factories of this construction equipment giant. The *Wall Street Journal* (8 Decemher) is crowing that "Caterpillar Inc. wrote the book on how to operate factories profitably during a strike." Hard-pressed newspaper strikers in Detroit and the Machinists fighting Boeing will inevitably feel reverberations of this defeat. Just as the AFL-CIO tops' capitulation to Reagan's smashing of the PATCO air traffic controllers in 1981 gave a green light to a decade and a half of ruinous defeats—from the 1983 copper miners' strike against Phelps Dodge to last year's nationwide Teamsters

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Appeals Court Turns Down UMWA Striker Jerry Dale Lowe

On November 28, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit refused to reconsider its denial of an appeal by United Mine Workers militant Jerry Dale Lowe. Lowe faces nearly eleven years in prison on federal frame-up charges in connection with the shooting death during a bitter 1993 strike of a scab contractor at Arch Mineral's Ruffner mine in Logan County, West Virginia (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 630, 6 October).

Jerry Dale Lowe was singled out because he was known as a defender of the union. But UMWA president Richard Trumka, now secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO, refused to lift a finger in Lowe's defense. Trumka's fellow "reform" bureaucrat, Teamsters chief Ron Carey, has likewise done nothing to defend Los Angeles area trucker Jesse Acuna, who was jailed during last year's national freight strike. The pro-capitalist labor tops do everything in their power to sabotage class struggle and abandon those who do fight on the picket lines to rot in jail.

The Partisan Defense Committee urges labor militants everywhere to fight for their unions to take up the cause of these and all class-war prisoners, as part of a broader struggle against anti-labor and racist repression. Drop the charges against Jerry Dale Lowe!

WV Photo

Lea and Jerry Dale Lowe.

On China

A subscriber in Seattle asks: Is China capitalist?

Dear *Workers Vanguard*:

I have a question concerning China. We have said that the critical date when the old Communist Party of the Soviet Union fell victim to capitalist counterrevolution was the day Yeltsin stood the old guard Stalinist tanks down on the barricades in Moscow. We said it was a definitive historical event.

When we talk about China how do we know there is going to be this publicly observed historical act?

When we talk about China, how do we know there is going to be this same kind of event? The Stalinist Communist Party (CCP) is utterly committed to the establishment of capitalism and when it crushed the Tiananmen Square students (which was a warning to workers) to solidify its control of power, did it not also at the same time establish the dominance of capitalism to which it is committed? Is it not possihle that the Chinese version of Yeltsin's barricade stand in reverse has occurred? Maybe we just didn't notice?

Some observations are called for. First of all, as *Spartacist Canada* has noted, the rate of privatization of industry is already much higher than Russia.

I've been in China twice. The first time was over a decade ago. I recall that the big announcement in the papers at the time was how all Chinese could afford orange sodas as a result of increases in production. The iron rice bowl was firmly in place. There were no public displays of ostentatious wealth or prostitution and people in general were afraid to talk with foreigners—with good reason. As deformed a workers state as it was there was nonetheless a socialist structure and goals.

I also was in China proper last year in places like Chengdu and Xiàn etc. and ethnic provinces like Tibet and Xinjiang. The changes have been phenomenal.

Petit-bourgeois shopkeepers abound. You can go into a restaurant and on the menu you will find listed right after the food dishes, guides for hire, wives for sale via "marriage services" just like the worst hellholes in Manila.

Another stunning sight was huge new houses built in tracts just like middle-class urban America. I'm talking about $300,000 houses in a country where the GNP [per capita] is in the hundreds of dollars. No doubt they belong to the *taizidang* and other capitalist scum.

The Tibetans are becoming the equivalent of American Indians in China. Pool halls and lots of alcohol and tons of racism and spies and a huge Chinese immigration. Tibet reminds me of the "wild east." Even the black market money changers must be Chinese. Truly, cultural genocide is being perpetuated against them and the same is true in Xinjiang with the Uighurs, although I sense with less success. Very unfortunately, the Dalai Lama is the only game in town. Also, sadly, never once did I meet a Chinese person who viewed Tibet or Xinjiang as anything other than as an integral part of China, which they are not. The Tibetans are viewed as the "Chinese man's burden."

The last observation that sticks in my mind is this: again and again the Chinese I met were very concerned that China could break apart into literally separate countries. I realize historically that was often the case but maybe you could explain to me why and how that could occur because I'm at a loss to figure what could actually make that happen.

In conclusion, what I'm saying is that I'm having a hard time seeing China as even a very deformed workers state in any meaningful sense of the word. I'm not a China expert, I'm just a working-class Marxist. It seems to me though, that if it looks like capitalism, smells like capitalism and acts like capitalism—then it must he capitalism.

Red greetings,
Lawrence

WV replies: To address the important questions raised by Lawrence's letter requires going into the situation in China in some depth. Lawrence echoes a view now fairly common in Western bourgeois circles and among many leftists—namely, that the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy has brought back capitalism in a gradual, "cold" manner from above. However, the restoration of capitalism in the Chinese deformed workers state would necessarily entail fundamental changes at the *political level*, i.e., state power. This Marxist understanding was reaffirmed by the recent counterrevolutionary overturns in the former Soviet Union and East Europe. The forces driving toward capitalist restoration in China—both inside and outside the bureaucracy—are undeniably powerful. But they have not yet triumphed.

Lawrence correctly points out that market "reforms" initiated under Deng Xiaoping have regenerated some of the most heinous aspects of life in prerevolutionary China, particularly in regard to women's oppression and the rampant, ostentatious corruption in the state bureaucracy. To be sure, Deng's dictum, "To get rich is glorious," has been taken to heart by many "Communist" officials. Furthermore, the Chinese bourgeoisie was not totally destroyed hy the victory of Mao's army in 1949, but, after looting the country for all it was worth, fled to Taiwan and Hong Kong, setting up shop with the aid and protection of world imperialism. Over the past 15 years, offshore Chinese capital has repenetrated the mainland, especially through joint ventures in the "Special Economic Zones" (SEZs).

A large fraction of the Beijing bureaucracy is consciously striving to turn China into an "authoritarian" capitalist "tiger," à la Singapore or South Korea. This is also the perspective of significant elements in Western and Japanese ruling circles who, hoping to avoid the chaos of post-Soviet Russia and East Europe, would like to see the venal Stalinist officialdom oversee the restoration of capitalism while retaining tight control over Chinese society. Today, ex-Stalinist "hardliners" on the outs in Yeltsin's Russia, along with elements of the Castro bureaucracy in beleaguered Cuba, wistfully look to China as an alternative to the wrecked regimes of the former USSR and East Europe.

But there is a potentially powerful obstacle to capitalist counterrevolution in China: the working class. Far from being smashed, the Chinese proletariat has shown many signs of struggle in recent years, from strikes in the SEZs to demonstrations by workers in state plants fighting to defend the "iron rice bowl" of guaranteed jobs, income and social benefits. In 1993 there was a 50 percent increase in officially recognized labor disputes, totaling over 12,000 strikes and slowdowns. And this does not include wildcat actions unreported in government statistics.

Unlike the workers of Poland and other East European countries, who reacted to Stalinist bureaucratism and the lie of "real, existing socialism" by swallowing Western propaganda that capitalism would give them a life of plenty, millions of Chinese workers have already experienced the harsh reality of exploitation in capitalist enterprises in the "socialist market economy." And workers in state factories know that their livelihoods will be on the chopping block of any capitalist-restorationist government. Key to transforming the massive but amorphous unrest in the Chinese working class into a proletarian political revolution against the decrepit Stalinist regime is the construction of a Trotskyist vanguard party.

Fred Scott

Schwarzbach/Argus

Workers in China's state industry face mass layoffs, while imperialist companies like Volkswagen (right) are invited in by Stalinist bureaucracy.

Deng's China and Yeltsin's Russia

The changes racking China have not arisen overnight. Following the disastrous "Cultural Revolution," Deng took the reins of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1978 with a program to revive the economy by decollectivizing agriculture, extending market incentives and inviting greater foreign investment—all of which had begun under Mao. The bloody suppression of the 1989 Tiananmen protests showed that there would be no political opening, such as Gorbachev introduced in the Soviet Union in the mid-1980s, to go along with economic "liberalization."

To argue that a bourgeois counterrevolution has already occurred buys into the bureaucracy's schema of a gradual, and bountiful, transformation to a market economy. What this scenario denies is the central question of the state which issued out of the victory of Mao's guerrilla forces in 1949. Despite the rule of a hureaucracy, which originally upheld Stalin's nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country" but now embraces the gospel of the (capitalist) market, this remains a workers state, whose military apparatus is the People's Liberation Army (PLA). While even the PLA has delved into the market, generating more revenue through its business ventures than it receives from the state budget, the manifest tensions within the army at the time of the 1989 crisis indicate that this armed force cannot be relied upon to shove the immiseration and deprivation that must accompany the restoration of capitalism down the throats of the workers and peasants.

The Beijing bureaucracy is playing an increasingly precarious balancing act between the working people in whose name they rule and the imperialist powers. While state industry accounted for just over one-third of China's economic output in 1994, and continues to decline relative to private and "collective" township businesses, the industrial core of the economy remains state owned, accounting for 70 percent of state investment and employing 70 percent of all industrial workers. In the face of demands by world bankers that Beijing cut its subsidies, the regime has *increased* its investment in state industries in the years following the suppression of the Tiananmen protests.

In a book on China written a couple of years ago, an American banker in Hong Kong stated with evident disapproval: "Much of the economy remains under the sway of huge state enterprises—such as steel or coal companies that sometimes have more than 100,000 employees. These are run rather like an American post office, with no incentives for efficiency and almost as little ability to fire lazy or incompetent workers" (William H. Overholt, *The Rise of China* [1993]). Similarly, in contrast to the "shock treatment" imposed on the peoples of the former USSR, Poland, East Germany, etc., Beijing refuses to implement a bankruptcy law, passed years ago at the urging of foreign investors, before a package of "social security" benefits for laid-off workers is in place. This is not because the Chinese Stalinists are sympathetic to the interests of the workers. Rather they are fearful of worker unrest and ultimately of political revolution.

As we wrote in "Turmoil Brewing in China" (*WV* No. 618, 10 March), the bureaucracy's policies exemplify a tendency common to all Stalinist regimes, which rest on proletarian property forms while excluding the working class from political power. From "market socialism" in Yugoslavia and Hungary in the 1970s and '80s to Gorbachev's *perestroika*, the Stalinist rulers opted for market mechanisms to correct the bottlenecks produced by bureaucratic mismanagement of the centralized economy. These "reforms" generated capitalist-restorationist forces which, with the full support of the imperialist powers,

Che Guevara and Workers Democracy

Milwaukee
16 October 1995

Great piece on Che and the mystique of the guerrilla! [see "Cuba, Castro and Che: The Mystique of the Guerrilla Road," in the *Young Spartacus* pages of *WV* No. 630, 6 October]. As someone who was caught up in "sandalismo" in the '80s, your article hits the political allure right on the head. The portion on Che and material incentives is also right on. Your critique of Che's position on revolutionary internationalism *clearly* brings theory and practice together. But does this mean that Che did not believe in proletarian democracy or that within the context of a besieged state a deformed workers state was the best they could do? After all Che did split after it became clear that Fidel wanted to run the show.

Please send your pamphlet on Cuba & Marxist Theory and your writings on revolutionary integrationism. ¡Hasta la Victoria!

C.F.

WV replies: In our article, we noted that "Guevara's politics were a particularly idealist, voluntarist brand of Stalinism," and that this reflected the attempt to build "socialism" in a small, impoverished and besieged island. In fact, there is an intimate connection between Che Guevara's program of peasant-based guerrilla struggle led by a tiny *foco* of austere revolutionaries and the hostility of the Cuban Stalinist bureaucracy to direct workers political rule. This hostility was shared by all wings of the bureaucracy, not just the old-line pro-Moscow PSP but also Castro and Guevara personally. Since various pseudo-Trotskyist groups have long tried to portray Che as an unconscious Trotskyist, it's useful to examine his real views and actions.

The program of seeking to overthrow the capitalist state through peasant guerrilla warfare, if successful, necessarily leads to a state apparatus based on the petty-bourgeois cadres of the guerrilla army, not democratically elected organs of proletarian power: workers councils and workers militias. Guevara stated this explicitly. Referring to the experience of the nationalist 26th of July Movement's struggle against the Batista dictatorship, in a 1963 essay on "The Role of a Marxist-Leninist Party" Guevara declared that the guerrilla leaders in "the mountains" were "ideologically proletarian" whereas those in "the plains" (i.e., the cities) were petty-bourgeois. His conclusion: "The Rebel Army is the genuine representative of the triumphant Revolution." While the bureaucratically deformed workers state rests on proletarian property forms resulting from the expropriation of Cuban and imperialist capital in 1960-61, its political leadership has always been rooted in a peasant-derived army rather than the organized working class.

This came through clearly in everything Guevara wrote concerning the working class. In a June 1960 speech on "The Working Class and the Industrialization of Cuba" he declares, "The workers should understand all their duties," adding: "One cannot hide the fact that the revolutionary movement was based first in the peasants and later in the working class." The workers' "duties" are listed as producing, saving and organizing—not to rule society, but to carry out orders from above. "We are not yet certain if the working class has understood the problems we face or how much they will help," he said, graphically expressing the distance of the petty-bourgeois leadership from the proletariat.

The nationalist guerrillas in power became Stalinist bureaucrats, who soon found themselves afflicted with... bureacratism. In a February 1963 article, "Against Bureaucratism," Guevara wrote: "Our revolution was, in essence, the product of a guerrilla movement which undertook an armed struggle against the tyranny and crystallized in the taking of power. The first steps as a revolutionary state...were strongly colored by fundamental elements of guerrilla tactics as a form of state administration." This led to a spate of "administrative guerrilla wars." "As a countermeasure," Che went on, "strong bureaucratic apparatuses began to be formed which characterize this first period in the construction of our socialist state."

Guevara attributed the malady of bureaucratism to three factors: lack of revolutionary consciousness, lack of organization and lack of technical knowledge. His answer was to call for infusing the workers with a permanent "spirit of October," the spirit of unstinting self-sacrifice and urgency that accompanied the October 1962 "missile crisis" when the fate of the Cuban Revolution hung by a thread. This was summed up in his call for "moral incentives" as opposed to material incentives to raise productivity. In contrast to this *idealist* approach, Leon Trotsky's materialist analysis of the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian Revolution located its origins in the scarcity imposed by international isolation leading to the political domination of a narrow, nationalist petty-bourgeois layer. This could only be overcome through extension of socialist revolution, particularly to the advanced industrial countries.

The previous year, speaking before the leadership of the Cuban trade-union federation (speech of April 1962), Guevara asked why there was "apathy" in the working class: "Why do great, enormous tasks which belong directly to the working class always have to come from bureaucratic initiatives?...Why do initiatives arise at the top, and go from the top to the bottom, where they really should have originated, to the entire working class?" He called for the "participation" of "active revolutionary nuclei" who were the "true representatives of the working class." But co-opting a few workers and union leaders has nothing to do with the genuine rule of workers councils as took place under the Bolshevik Revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky.

AP

Che Guevara as Cuban minister of industry, 1964.

Guevara had a clear Stalinist conception of a one-party state. In an interview with Maurice Zeitlin, first published in January 1962, he declared: "You cannot be for the revolution and be against the Cuban Communist Party." He also opposed factions within that party, denouncing as "counterrevolutionary" Trotsky's formation of the Left Opposition against Stalin's usurpation of the revolution. Asked about the printing plates for Trotsky's *Permanent Revolution* being smashed by Cuban officials, Guevara said this was an "error," but went on to slander the Cuban Trotskyists as "acting against the revolution." He was incensed that they had criticized the "Workers Technical Committees," saying "the Trotskyists characterized them as a crumb given to the workers because the workers were calling for the direction of the factories."

The Cuban Trotskyists were jailed in 1963. When a Spartacist supporter raised this during a meeting with Guevara on a trip to Cuba the following year, Guevara labeled the Trotskyists "divisionists" and threw in a dose of CIA-baiting (see "Freedom for Cuban Trotskyists!" *Spartacist* No. 3, January-February 1965). As we pointed out in our two-part article, "For Workers Political Revolution in Cuba!" *WV* Nos. 223 and 224, 19 January and 2 February 1979), "The most active slanderer of Trotskyism in the Cuban leadership has been Ernesto 'Che' Guevara."

Che Guevara was certainly a courageous fighter, who was vilely murdered by CIA operatives as he sought to carry out his program of guerrilla war against the imperialist-backed military dictatorship in Bolivia. He has come to symbolize for many radical youth the self-sacrificing revolutionary they aspire to be. But his petty-bourgeois nationalist worldview was counterposed to a proletarian-internationalist Marxist perspective. There has been much speculation about the reasons for his departure from Cuba in 1965. Yet as we have pointed out, his differences with Castro over economic policy represented at most intra-bureaucratic conflicts within the Cuban Communist Party (see "'Radical Egalitarian' Stalinism: A Post-Mortem," *Spartacist* No. 25, Summer 1978).

The Spartacist tendency originated in a fight within the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S., whose degeneration from Trotskyism into centrism and then hardened reformism was signaled by its abandonment of the fight for a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard and its fulsome embrace of the Cuban leadership of Castro and Guevara. Defending the Cuban Revolution against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution, we have fought from the outset for a Cuban Trotskyist party to lead a proletarian political revolution to sweep out the nationalist Stalinist bureaucracy and establish the rule of workers councils as part of a fight for international socialist revolution.

As Yankee imperialism continues its unrelenting war on the Cuban Revolution, and the desperate Castro-Stalinist bureaucracy multiplies pro-capitalist "reforms," the fight for Trotskyism in Cuba is all the more urgent today. ■

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emerged victorious in the counterrevolutions that swept the USSR and East Europe. The destruction of the Soviet Union enormously increased the pressures of world imperialism on China. Yet the Chinese Stalinists only hardened in their pursuit of "free market" measures.

Nevertheless, if a bourgeois regime were to take power in China, it would have to dismantle the CCP's military/political structure and construct a new state apparatus committed to enforcing capitalist austerity by whatever means are necessary. In China, this could only be a neocolonial regime dependent on foreign capital and subservient to imperialism. That situation would be a far cry from today's "People's Republic," whose growing military power has touched off alarm bells from Taipei to the Pentagon. Significant voices in the U.S. ruling class are today screaming for a harder line against Beijing, often under the guise of promoting "human rights."

It is useful to compare China today with the Soviet Union under Mikhail Gorbachev. After a few years of tinkering with market-oriented "reforms," in early 1988 Gorbachev announced a "500 day plan" for the outright restoration of capitalism. But as the leader of a degenerated *workers* state, Gorbachev could not *implement* this plan. It took the seizure of political power by Boris Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary gang in August 1991 to initiate the destruction of the fractured workers state and the consolidation of a new state power to enforce the laws of the capitalist jungle on the Soviet peoples. The Communist Party was immediately banned; the USSR was officially dissolved that December; the Soviet military was purged of pro-socialist commanders and broken up along nationalist lines in Russia, the Ukraine, etc.; strikes were broken to demonstrate the regime's commitment to its imperialist godfathers.

In the former Soviet Union and throughout East Europe, capitalist restoration has resulted in the collapse of industrial production, the pauperization of millions of workers, the closure of large numbers of big factories and mines and hyperinflation reaching annual rates of 2,000 percent. This is to say nothing of the bloody nationalist, racist frenzies besetting the region. The effects of counterrevolution have been brutally apparent.

This bears little resemblance to China. Whereas the gross domestic product in Yeltsin's Russia has plummeted by 60 percent since 1991, the Chinese economy has been growing at an average annual rate of 10 percent for the past few years. While inflation in China in recent years has been relatively high by past standards, annual price increases are still only about 1 percent of the level experienced in post-Soviet Russia or Poland. (And it is interesting to note that while the anti-Communist purges in Yeltsin's Russia included organized destruction of Marxist classics, Beijing has just announced the publication of new Chinese editions of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin—and Stalin.) Nonetheless, the danger of capitalist counterrevolution is quite real.

Stalinism Undermines Gains of 1949 Revolution

As Lawrence reports, many people in China fear that the country may be torn apart. It is not national separatism that poses this threat, since national minorities make up only 8 percent of the population. Rather, the attenuation of central planning, the growth of "township/village enterprises"—now the fastest-growing sector of the economy—and the opening of whole areas to direct imperialist exploitation have all served to create a species of economic warlords who chafe at the constraints imposed by the central bureaucracy.

The book *China Wakes* (Random

continued on page 11

CONRAD LYNN
1908 - 1995
A TRIBUTE

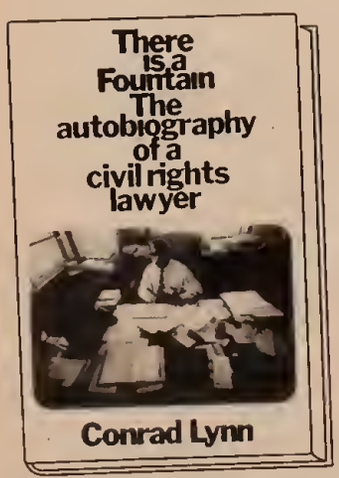
WV Photo

On November 16, the celebrated civil rights lawyer, social revolutionary and fighter for black freedom, Conrad Lynn, died at his home in Pomona, New York, less than two weeks after his 87th birthday. Lynn was a courageous pioneer in the struggle for black rights in the United States this century, in the forefront of many key legal battles against segregation and racist cop terror. It was Conrad Lynn who initiated the legal struggle to desegregate the American army in World War II; it was Lynn who defended the two black children (ages 7 and 9) charged with rape for kissing a white playmate in the infamous North Carolina "Kissing Case" in 1958; it was Lynn who uncovered the frame-up of the Harlem Six, black youth who dared to defend themselves against the cops in the hot New York summer of 1964—to mention only a few of his famous legal battles. Yet with the exception of a respectful obituary in the *New York Times*, Conrad Lynn's death received only perfunctory notice in both the established black and bourgeois press, now enamored of Louis Farrakhan and the Million Man March.

Conrad Lynn was always much more than a lawyer for civil rights causes—he was also an active *participant*, a fighter for radical causes, a believer in the necessity of integrated social struggle against the capitalist American state. As such, Lynn not only took up the explosive legal cases that the likes of Roy Wilkins and Thurgood Marshall refused to touch—he told the truth about the pusillanimous misleadership of black Democratic politicians like Adam Clayton Powell and liberal civil rights organizations like the NAACP. Neither did Lynn have much truck with the Black Muslims' segregationist political program, and he condemned Muslim leader Elijah Mohammed for accepting money from George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party.

Conrad Lynn firmly upheld the right of armed black self-defense against Klan and cop terror. He stood with heroic Monroe, North Carolina NAACP leader Robert F. Williams, who organized black self-defense against the KKK in Monroe in the late 1950s and early '60s. Lynn defended Williams in the bourgeois courts—and he defended him in front of the national board of the NAACP, which threatened Williams with expulsion in 1959 for publicly advocating armed self-defense. When the bourgeois authorities tried to prosecute Williams on phony kidnap charges, Lynn helped Williams escape the country.

Such stands did not endear Conrad Lynn to liberal black civil rights leaders, the bourgeois establishment, or to black nationalists for that matter. But we in the Spartacist League are proud to have considered him a friend and sometime ally. Our relationship with Conrad was established in the first year of our existence as an organization, in united-front action in defense of Harlem during the infamous cop riot in July 1964.



Conrad Lynn's autobiography, published by Lawrence Hill & Co. in 1979.

The 1964 Harlem Cop Riot

The years 1963-64 saw New York's rulers panic-stricken as the Southern civil rights movement moved north into the heart of American capitalism. Rent strikes spread like wildfire through Harlem. Two effective school boycotts galvanized opposition to the racist policies of the New York school board. Self-proclaimed communists were getting a hearing among the black masses, in particular Harlem-based Bill Epton, who was vice chairman of the Maoist Progressive Labor Movement.

Democratic Party mayor Robert Wagner and Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy were intent on confronting and smashing this wave of black protest. In mid-July 1964, after an off-duty police lieutenant shot and killed a 15-year-old black youth, James Powell, the cops decided to use the resulting protest as an excuse to launch a pre-emptive strike against unrest in the ghetto. *Spartacist* No. 3 (January-February 1965) described what happened in the ensuing days as "wave after wave" of the tactical cops "swept through Harlem indiscriminately beating and terrorizing all who crossed their paths."

In the midst of this all-out police assault, Bill Epton's Harlem Defense Council (HDC) issued a leaflet calling for the organization of block committees as basic units of community self-defense, and for a mass demonstration of these block committees in organized defiance of the reign of cop terror. The city administration, backed up by the craven official black "leadership" organized in a Harlem "Unity Council" (including everyone from the NAACP to the Muslims), went all out to stop that march.

Epton was put under intense pressure to call off the action—when he refused, the police banned the march, marshaling an incredible army of 27,000 cops to make sure no one dared protest in Harlem that day. In a singular act of personal courage and defiance of New York's arrogant racist rulers, Bill Epton, surrounded by supporters, went to the march assembly point. At his side, arms linked with Epton's, was Conrad Lynn—probably the only well-known civil rights lawyer in the country willing to stand with Epton at that moment. Epton and Lynn were arrested as they stepped off the curb—the march was stopped.

We in the Spartacist tendency also did our best to defend the embattled black masses of Harlem, seeking to mobilize the social power of the working class. A few days after the abortive HDC march, a rally in the city's garment district sponsored by the Spartacist-initiated Harlem Solidarity Committee drew over 1,000, demanding "Remove the rioting cops from Harlem" and "Support the right of the citizens of the ghetto to defend themselves." Again Conrad Lynn was there—a featured speaker along with Milt Rosen of Progressive Labor and Jim Robertson of Spartacist. In response to the frenzied redbaiting of the bourgeois press, which sought to blame the Harlem protest on a communist conspiracy, Robertson noted, "Unfortunately there aren't many Reds in Harlem now—*but there will be!*"

However, the reign of cop terror and redbaiting managed to put a clamp on the growing protest movement in New York. The witchhunters went after Progressive Labor with a vengeance. Injunctions were issued barring many members of Progressive Labor and other radicals from even setting foot in Harlem. A grand jury investigation was begun. Bill Epton was charged with criminal anarchy and many other PLers were jailed for contempt for refusing to testify before the jury. When in February 1965 Jim Robertson was subpoenaed to appear before the grand jury, we determined to use his testimony to undermine the lurid lies being told by the "red squad." While refusing to "name names," we sought to indict the system and defend our socialist aims and views instead of taking the Fifth Amendment. Robertson's testimony placed the blame for the "riots" the previous summer squarely where it belonged—on the cops.

Conrad Lynn and his partner Gene Ann Condon agreed to serve as Robertson's legal counsel, and assisted in preparing his testimony. Lynn understood well the potential power of our tactic. Called to testify before the witchhunting House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) in 1963, he had refused to take the Fifth Amendment. Indeed, Lynn had gone on the offensive in the HUAC hearing, detailing the injustices against black people which had been perpetrated in each of the Committee members' districts! In his fundamental outlook, Conrad was far from sharing the legalistic prejudices of his profession.

In the following few years we sometimes had cause to consult Conrad over legal matters, and he followed our press and our activities, writing to us a few times (see *Spartacist* Nos. 4 and 5, May-June 1965 and November-December 1965). Even after we developed our own legal apparatus, we continued our connection with him. His complimentary subscription to *Workers Vanguard* began with issue No. 1 and continued to the end of his life.

In 1980, Lynn was threatened with disbarment for exposing corruption in the NYC legal system (see *WV* No. 260, 11 July 1980). Conrad solidarized with the labor/black mobilizations against the Klan and Nazis which we initiated in several cities in the early 1980s. He spoke at the Partisan Defense Committee's first fund-raising benefit at Small's Paradise in Harlem in 1984. Around this time the Spartacist League sued the FBI, forcing them to retract their witchhunting "definition" of the Spartacist League which equated Marxism with terrorism; at our 1985 victory forum in New York, Conrad Lynn was one of the featured speakers.

In 1990 he wrote us, skeptical of *Workers Vanguard*'s report that the military arm of the African National Congress (ANC) had begun negotiations with the army of the white-supremacist South African capitalist state. Like many of those who supported Mandela's ANC, Conrad found it hard to believe that these

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petty-bourgeois nationalists could contemplate a deal with the apartheid ruling class.

The Best of His Generation

Conrad Lynn published his autohiography *There Is a Fountain. The Autobiography of a Civil Rights Lawyer* (Lawrence Hill & Co.) in 1979. It was given little attention in either the mainstream or the left press. *WV* (No. 252, 21 March 1980) reviewed it and the SL helped distribute it. *There Is a Fountain* is quite as useful an introduction to the major battles for black freedom and social justice in this country this century as one is likely to read. We are happy to report that it is currently in print and available in both paperback and hardback editions.

Young people who have been radicalized around the campaign to free Pennsylvania death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal will draw particular inspiration from the first chapter of Lynn's book, an account of how he unraveled the monstrous police frame-up which kept six black youths from Harlem in jail for years on a bogus murder charge. These youth were part of a teenage social club training in karate—they were targeted by the cops because they dared to jump to the defense of some young schoolchildren being beaten by a police tactical squad in the hot spring of 1964.

The "Harlem Six" were charged with the heinous murder of a Jewish shopkeeper and his wife—the cops used the perjured testimony of one of the real murderers to put the six behind bars. Lynn's account of the case reveals not only the depths of the police frame-up system, but the limits and hypocrisy of the bourgeois courts. After the frame-up was exposed, four of the six defendants accepted a deal offered by the district attorney—on the understanding that the two youths already falsely convicted would be released and the other four would plead guilty to manslaughter. Needless to say, the D.A. never lived up to the bargain.

But *There Is a Fountain* is more than just a story of Lynn's major legal cases—it is the odyssey of a black radical, won to communism in his youth, who retained his Marxist convictions and fighting spirit into old age. That makes the book a rare work.

Many young black intellectuals were won, as Conrad Lynn was, to the Stalinized American Communist Party (CP) in the late 1920s and early 1930s. At that time and despite the limits of its program, the CP did some heroic work against the hideous racial oppression that is the bedrock of American capitalism. Many young blacks saw in the party—and the socialist revolution it claimed to fight for—the vehicle for black liberation. But the CP betrayed the promise it had held out to its black comrades, sacrificing the struggle for black freedom after 1935 in favor of craven support to the American government of Democratic president Franklin Roosevelt.

This was part of the policy known as the "People's Front." It was adopted because Stalin looked to the imperialist rulers of the U.S., Britain and France as allies against Nazi fascism. In the name of the popular front, in order not to "frighten" the "democratic" bourgeoisie, the Stalinists bloodily suppressed proletarian revolution in Spain. The CPs *abandoned* demands for independence of British, French and U.S. colonies (from India to Vietnam to Puerto Rico). When Hitler invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, the Kremlin proclaimed World War II a "war against fascism." The American CP denounced struggles for black rights as undermining the war effort. But while class-conscious workers around the world stood for defense of the Soviet Union, WW II for the imperialist countries was a war to redivide the world among themselves.

The Communist Party's consolidation around its popular-front program in the late 1930s, supporting FDR and his "Dixiecrat" allies, abandoned a burgeoning proletarian base in the Deep South, where CP-led struggles for black workers and sharecroppers and against Jim Crow discrimination had won to communism a vanguard layer of young black fighters. CP black intellectuals also began to leave in disillusionment. The experience of this social layer is reflected in the best of 20th-century American literature—works by Richard Wright, Chester Himes, Ralpb Ellison provide fictionalized accounts of the crushing disappointment of this layer of black ex-revolutionists, many of whom became bitter anti-communists. Those who didn't leave the CP became hollow and cynical Stalinist hacks and figureheads, bowing to every twist and turn in the Kremlin's line.

Conrad Lynn escaped both these fates. He was won to the Young Communist League (YCL) in 1928 as a student at Syracuse University (he was the school's first black law graduate). He soon dropped out of the YCL for political reasons. He opposed the idiotic idea—pushed onto the American party by Stalin—that blacks in the "black belt" of the American South constituted a separate nation which should be given the right to self-determination. Lynn reports:

> "I could hardly contain my amusement when we discussed this proposition at the YCL meeting. My contacts with the Deep South were close; in fact, my emotional affinity for Southern blacks was far stronger than for their Northern cousins. In all my reading of Southern Negro expression, and in conversations with acute black thinkers from that region, I had never heard of any demand for a separate black nation in the American South."

Lynn later rejoined the Communist movement, but only in 1934, after the self-determination slogan had been quietly shelved (and before the open class-collaboration of the "People's Front"). He watched in dismay as the party adapted its line to what was acceptable to the "democratic" imperialist powers. He was expelled in 1937 for his insistence that the CP should support a strike of oil workers against British imperialism on the Caribbean island of Trinidad.

Though Lynn resolved never again to join a radical political party, his experience in the Stalinist CP never shook his belief in the necessity for social revolution. He continued to be active in and around the left-wing movement—he was the lawyer who won the rescinding of the 1939 postal ban against the Trotskyist *New International*, theoretical organ of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), for example. He worked with Bayard Rustin and other pacifists as a participant in the first black freedom ride in 1947. He adopted a non-sectarian, if aloof, attitude toward the various groups active on the American left.

During the 1950s, Conrad Lynn led the defense of Puerto Rican nationalists jailed by the U.S. for their fight for independence for the Caribbean colony. Following an uprising on the island and an attack on the Blair House residence of President Truman in 1950, the government jailed Nationalist Party leader Pedro Albizu Campos. At the height of the McCarthyite witchhunt, when few lawyers would touch this explosive case, Lynn defended Albizu Campos in a San Juan court. (It was during this time that Conrad met his future wife, Yolanda Moreno, who had been a nurse of Albizu Campos.) Later, after four Puerto Rican Nationalists staged an armed attack on the U.S. Congress in 1954, Lynn was the attorney for the leader, Lolita Lebrón, and 11 of the 16 *independentistas* who were tried for conspiracy to murder the Congressmen.

POLICE BREAK UP HARLEM PROTEST; 2 LEFTISTS SEIZED

Small Band of Followers Is Dispersed After Defying Murphy and Injunction

PLEAS PROVE FRUITLESS

Negro Leaders Had Sought to Avert Demonstration, but Opposed Ban, Too

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

The police blocked a proposed protest march in Harlem yesterday by arresting the leftists who had organized it.

They had insisted on proceeding with the demonstration against the police despite a ban by Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy, a Supreme Court injunction obtained by the city and the combined opposition of nearly every organization in Harlem.

The march had been planned by the Harlem Defense Council, an offshoot of the Communist-controlled Progressive Labor Movement. City officials had feared that the demonstration would precipitate renewed violence in Harlem.

Those arrested were William Epton, 32 years old, the council's leader and a self-described disciple of the Chinese Communists, and his lawyer, Conrad J. Lynn, 60, who has a long record of associations with left-wing [illegible]

Wide World

New York Times 26 July 1964

Conrad Lynn (right) and Bill Epton (center) were arrested as they tried to lead off July 1964 march against police occupation of Harlem, defying cop ban.

Lynn remained an astute observer on the left. In the early 1960s he was a regular speaker at the SWP's Militant Labor forums, as was Malcolm X. In *There Is a Fountain*, he recounts a discussion about the SWP which he had with Malcolm X shortly before his murder:

> "At this later meeting Malcolm talked with me about the Socialist Workers party. He was grateful that its paper, the *Militant*, was printing his speeches in full because his message was at least being circulated. But he noticed, and I did too, that a strong nonviolent tendency was beginning to show itself in the SWP. This would seem laughable if an individual examined only the group's rhetoric, but it was nonetheless true. The SWP could no more escape the influence of the pervading psychology than most other groups. Only the hungry barbarians at the gates incessantly see their salvation in war."

From their own vantage points, it seems Lynn and Malcolm had picked up on the SWP's slide into reformism, increasingly seeing itself as a white party enthusing from the sidelines for liberal and nationalist leaders of the black struggle. The Spartacist tendency formed inside the SWP to fight against its degeneration in the early 1960s, sharply opposing the failure of the party to intervene in the civil rights movement North and South to fight for Trotskyist leadership.

An early supporter of the Cuban Revolution, Conrad helped arrange Fidel Castro's famous stay in Harlem's Hotel Theresa in 1960. Lynn not only supported the social revolution in Vietnam, he traveled to North Vietnam in 1967 as part of Bertrand Russell's War Crimes Commission in order to expose the terror-bombing campaign of U.S. imperialism against the Vietnamese Revolution. In 1965, when liberal pacifists insisted that "Stop the War Now" be the sole slogan of the New York Fifth Avenue Peace Parade, Lynn praised Spartacist for insisting on the demand for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops. As he wrote: "Any position less than this is objective aid to the Johnson Doctrine of armed intervention against the social revolution where ever it may break" (*Spartacist* No. 5, November-December 1965).

In *There Is a Fountain*, Lynn writes: "It would be hard to deny...that the basic ideas of Karl Marx have afforded a key to understanding the fundamental factors about which the world has been in conflict for the last one hundred and fifty years." Yet although he saw a socialist future as necessary, Lynn stood aside from the fight to forge a Marxist party on the program to lead the working class in the struggle for power. Thus he often adopted an uncritical attitude toward the leaderships of existing social struggles, for example the Stalinist NLF in Vietnam. He preferred to cheer where he himself did not seek to lead. As we noted in reviewing *There Is a Fountain*, "In Conrad Lynn one finds an example of a courageous and principled black radical, but also the self-limitation of that role."

In the epilogue, Lynn expressed the hope that "The struggle of our brothers and sisters in the neo-colonial regions of Africa, Asia, Central and South America will at long last re-arouse the spirit of the working people in the so-called advanced countries." He expressed confidence in a socialist future and hoped that "it will still be possible in the cases I continue to handle to encourage in a small way the building of a base for real civilization." Conrad Lynn's nearly three-quarters of a century of struggle in defense of the persecuted earned him a place in the ranks of honored fighters for the American socialist revolution, to which the struggle for black liberation is key. We honor his memory. ■

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France...

(continued from page 1)

budget deficit in the interests of launching a common European currency by 1999. This would hit hardest at the most vulnerable sectors, "immigrants" and youth. The Italian bourgeoisie, having installed the extreme right-wing Berlusconi cabinet to streamline the government and discipline the workers, then let Berlusconi be swept away by the biggest general strike in that country in several decades. Instead a government headed by former Bank of Italy chief Dini was installed with the votes of the reformist left, to legislate the pension "reform" that Berlusconi and his fascist allies had failed to impose.

The spreading strike wave in France has produced a sharp confrontation between the working class and the bourgeoisie. What's desperately needed in order for the proletariat to throw off the shackles of decaying capitalism is a revolutionary workers party to fight for a workers government. Our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France have intervened in the strike wave, issuing a special supplement to their paper, *Le Bolchévik*, on December 4. (An English translation is printed below.) This supplement is also being published in Arabic for distribution to the large numbers of workers and youth of North African origin. Our comrades call "For a New, Revolutionary Leadership—For a Workers Government to Sweep Away the Whole Rotten Capitalist System!" As an LTF supporter declared at one of the daily strike assemblies of postal workers last week:

> "While the government sends its troops to the Balkans and its army against immigrants and their families, it sent its cops against yesterday's demonstration. Against this, we need a resolute leadership, and that poses the need for a strike committee, elected by the general assembly of strikers, who can also revoke its mandate, to organize and lead the strike, to organize mass pickets and delegations to other sectors to ask them to help us mobilize. A showdown with the government is posed and the question of power is posed."

Many militant workers are already angry and suspicious of the trade-union leaders' willingness to negotiate with Juppé, and fear a sellout. This underscores the urgency of forming factory committees to take control of the struggle out of the hands of the reformist union tops.

Pelissier/Reuters

Coal miners from Gardanne region join students in Marseille protesting government cutbacks.

Biggest Workers Mobilizations Since 1968

The rail strike has caused businesses throughout France to curtail production or shut down. Air traffic has also been hard hit by strikes of air traffic controllers as well as firemen and other airport workers, who battled police on the runways last week. Meanwhile, students are on strike at a score of universities and have participated heavily in the workers' demonstrations. The Paris Gare du Nord train station has become a rallying point for strikers from other sectors and an unofficial organizing center, dispatching delegations to hospitals, post offices and elsewhere to extend the strike.

In Lorraine, thousands of coal miners who are facing layoffs and mine closings engaged in pitched battles with CRS riot cops. In the northeastern town of Freyming-Merlebach, 4,000 strikers set fire to the company headquarters and threw burning trash cans, metal bolts and rocks at police who were attacking the strikers with tear gas and stun grenades. Dockers and naval yard employees in several ports have walked out. In Toulon, where Jean-Marie Le Pen's fascist National Front won the mayoralty last spring, pickets have shut down the military shipyards. In Nantes, the main banner in the strikers' demonstration denounced the government's racist "Operation Vigipirate," which uses the army to terrorize immigrant communities. Strikers in that city have repeatedly erected barricades to counter police attacks, and public utility workers have taken jackhammers to a local police station.

So far, with important exceptions, the wave of strikes has been centered on the public sector. At the same time, last week's strikes and demonstrations, which were particularly strong in industrial cities outside Paris, included contingents from heavy industrial plants—often from the private sector—such as Michelin tires in Clermont-Ferrand, the Dassault aerospace plant in Bordeaux, Peugeot automobiles and Péchiney aluminum in Dijon, Rhône-Poulenc chemicals, Renault trucks and Alsthom industrial machinery in Lyon, and the heavily North African and Turkish coal miners in Grenoble. The paucity of strikes in heavy industry reflects the weakness of the unions in the private sector, for which the trade-union tops are responsible. A leaflet distributed today by the CGT branch in the Renault car factory in Flins argued *against* solidarity with the rail workers and opposed "premature" strikes.

Despite the widespread disruptions, opinion polls show that an increasing majority of the population supports the strikes. Government attempts to organize anti-strike demonstrations have been dismal failures. The union struggles have given expression to a broad discontent within the population, which is fed up after over a decade of austerity and massive unemployment. But in the face of vacillations by the reformist leaders of the working class, frustration among the petty bourgeoisie could boil over into open hostility to the strikes.

Rattay/Reuters

German chancellor Kohl with French president Chirac last week. Assault on social programs in France is part of scheme for D-mark dominated European Monetary Union. French workers must link up their struggles with their class brothers and sisters throughout Europe.

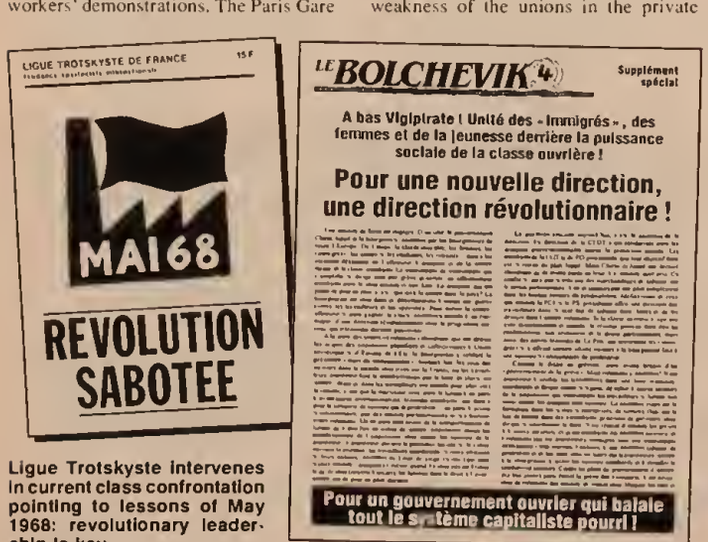
Reformists and Centrists: Roadblocks to Workers Revolution

Increasingly, union leaders Marc Blondel of the anti-Communist, social-democratic FO and Louis Viannet of the Communist Party-led CGT have talked of bringing down "the government"—i.e., Juppé and his cabinet. But they are tacitly appealing to divisions within the ruling Gaullist party, the RPR. Sensing that the government's days may be numbered, several RPR leaders have jumped ship and cynically come out against the "Juppé plan." National Assembly chairman Philippe Séguin met with striking railway workers, and promised to present their case to the president, while former interior minister Charles Pasqua melodramatically declared, "You can't run this country like a hoard of directors. The French need dreams, they need hope and they need passion." This ultrarightist who today talks of "love" is a sinister demagogue and vile racist, who reveled in massive police brutality and murder of immigrants. The fascist Le Pen has also positioned himself to take advantage of the government's unpopularity, as his National Front recently came out against the "Juppé plan."

Meanwhile, the "far left" does little more than echo the rhetoric of Blondel and Viannet. The sizable pseudo-Trotskyist groups supported the "Socialist" president Mitterrand through 14 years of anti-working-class austerity, Cold War anti-communism and racist terror. On this basis, they (and legions of their ex-members) managed to make their way into the middle and lower levels of the trade-union bureaucracy (and in some cases into the upper reaches, such as the FO national organizer, who is a supporter of Pierre Lambert's Parti des Travailleurs). Today these organizations call to "extend the strike" to force "withdrawal of the Juppé plan" (Lutte Ouvrière), or for an "unlimited general strike" to "dismiss this government" (Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire). What this rhetoric amounts to in reality is pressuring the FO and CGT tops to bring about a reshuffling of Chirac's cabinet. This attempt to appear as the most "unlimited" of militants leaves untouched the hard political tasks of articulating a clear program to lead the proletariat and its allies forward toward the conquest of power.

The smaller, centrist Gauche Révolutionnaire-Jeunesses Communistes Révolutionnaires, affiliated with the British Militant group, calls for a general strike to "make Chirac and Juppé resign" and, "as in '36 and '68," to "accumulate a maximum of gains," notably a 35-hour week, retirement at 55, and a 1,500 franc ($300) monthly raise. Yet it was precisely through such economist demands that the Communist Party sabotaged the 1936 and 1968 general strikes. The general strike is, as Trotsky said, "the necessary means for casting off the treachery of the leadership and for creating within the working class itself the preliminary conditions for a victorious uprising." But the GR/JCR et al. instead tail after the existing leadership, and thus are themselves an obstacle to revolutionary consciousness in the working class. This is reflected in their refusal to even mention the racist attacks faced by North Africans, who form a strategic component of the working class in France.

The recent mobilizations are the largest outpouring of combative mass protest in France since 1968. The example of May '68, when a workers general strike and student revolt brought the country to the brink of revolution, has become a widespread point of reference in France, both for the capitalist rulers, who fear a repeat, and for striking workers. However, the differences with the 1968 upheaval are greater than the similarities. The sharp defensive struggles in France today come in the context of a period characterized by momentous defeats: the collapse of the Soviet Union and the capitalist reunification of Germany. The 1968 events took place during a period when the Western imperialist countries were engulfed by political turmoil as a result of victorious national liberation struggles and social revolutions in the colonial world—the Cuban Revolution, the Algerian War of independence and, above all, the Vietnam War. Meanwhile, the bastion of world capitalism, the United States,


LIGUE TROTSKYSTE DE FRANCE 15 F

MAI 68

REVOLUTION SABOTEE

LE BOLCHEVIK 4 Supplément spécial

A bas Vigipirate ! Unité des « immigrés », des femmes et de la jeunesse derrière la puissance sociale de la classe ouvrière !

Pour une nouvelle direction, une direction révolutionnaire !

Pour un gouvernement ouvrier qui balaie tout le système capitaliste pourri !

Ligue Trotskyste intervenes in current class confrontation pointing to lessons of May 1968: revolutionary leadership is key.

Reuters photos

Rail workers in Lille (left), in forefront of mass strike wave. Orly Airport workers battle cops, Paris, December 7.

was shaken by rebellions of the black masses in the Northern ghettos.

But despite the widespread sense of revolutionary potential in May-June 1968, the reformist Communist Party was able to liquidate this massive social upheaval in exchange for short-lived economic gains. This dramatically demonstrates that even under the most favorable conditions, socialist revolution requires the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party which has established its authority in the working class. At that time, the pseudo-Trotskyist groups in France were consumed in student vanguardism and/or trade-union economism. None of these groups fought to forge a revolutionary party to lead the fight for power and therefore necessarily sought other forces to tail after. The project for a new popular front, led by François Mitterrand, originated in a meeting at the Charléty stadium in the last weeks of the May-June '68 events.

The present social explosion in France is the most powerful response to date to the intensified capitalist offensive following the counterrevolutionary destruction of the Soviet Union. After several years in which it was widely taken for granted that brutal austerity and the destruction of welfare programs were the inevitable vision of the future, the working class has boldly stepped to center stage. The outcome of the current French upheaval will have a powerful impact on the class struggle throughout Europe. The shifting climate was captured by British journalist Martin Woollacott: "Europe's resignation, its sense of slowly drifting into worse times, is suddenly confronted by youthful energy and by union resolve, phenomena we had almost forgotten" (London *Guardian*, 9 December).

But energy and resolve are not enough. The key question today, as in 1968, is the struggle to build an internationalist Leninist-Trotskyist party to lead the workers to power. This is what the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) and its French section, the Ligue Trotskyste, fight for.

Smash Vigipirate! Unite "Immigrants," Women, Youth Behind the Power of the Working Class!

For a New, Revolutionary Leadership!

For a Workers Government to Sweep Away the Whole Rotten Capitalist System!

The following special supplement to Le Bolchévik, *newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), was issued on December 4*

France is moving toward a showdown. On one side stands the Chirac/Juppé government and the bourgeoisie, backed up by the bourgeoisies of all of Europe. On the other stands the working class, women, "immigrants," youth and students, pensioners—all the intended victims of the rulers' austerity assaults and racist terror. The burgeoning protest movement is headed toward a general strike, a *political* clash with the bourgeoisie and its state. The question which is increasingly posed is: who will rule? The bourgeoisie is united in its determination to wage war on the workers and oppressed. To fight back, to win, the working class needs a general staff, a revolutionary leadership based on a program that those who labor must rule.

Following the capitalist counterrevolutions which destroyed the gains of the planned, collectivized economies in the Soviet Union and East Europe, the bourgeoisie cheered over the supposed "death of communism." Today, the eyes of workers around the world are riveted on France, where the combative workers have demonstrated that the class struggle *lives*. But what is necessary for the workers to move on to victory is that Marxism live, in the form of an internationalist, Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party which fights for the proletarian conquest of power—a party of revolutionary action, not of parliamentary sellouts and trade-union bureaucrats. Such a party will be infused with Lenin's understanding that it must serve as a tribune of the people, opposing all manifestations of oppression against all sectors of the population, drawing in behind the power of the working class the youth, the besieged North African and black African workers and their children, who are dismissed as "immigrants" even when they are born in France and are French citizens, the women whose right to abortion is increasingly at risk.

The crucial question now is the question of leadership. The CFDT union federation leadership has declared itself at one with the government's assault on the social welfare program. The CGT and FO labor leaders proclaim as their final goal defeating the Juppé plan. But Chirac and Juppé have made it clear that they intend to go ahead at any cost. This conflict will not be resolved through backroom deals on the terrain of parliament. Nor can it win simply within the confines of narrow trade unionism. Beware those like the Communist Party (PCF) and Socialist Party (PS) who claim to offer leadership to the workers only to behead their struggles and divert them into electoral channels. If the working class does not act boldly and audaciously, the result could well be a strengthening not only of the parliamentary right wing but of Le Pen's fascist marauders who terrorize "immigrants" and bid to act as the bourgeoisie's final resort against a revolutionary challenge by the proletariat.

As one strike militant put it, we need a "*government of the strike*." But how to get there? It is necessary to unite the workers in a concerted and coordinated struggle against the regime, to draw in other sectors of the population who support the workers and are also fighting against the all-sided attacks. The first step is the formation, in the factories, of committees elected in mass assemblies of strikers at the shop floor to lead and coordinate the struggle. It is crucial to extend the strikes to other sectors, especially the bastions of industrial workers, where immigrant workers are a strategic component—time and again, the lack of leadership to generalize and link up workers' struggles has allowed the bourgeoisie to isolate combative sectors and suppress the workers' militancy. Against the government's plans to use scab buses to break the transportation strike, it is necessary to mobilize mass pickets which block the streets and to launch flying pickets which extend the strike—especially to the private sector—and keep it solid.

Against the threats to use the army, against the mobilization of the fascists who act as spearheads of social reaction and are waiting to be used as auxiliaries for the bourgeoisie's strikebreaking, it is necessary for the factory committees to organize *workers defense guards*. Disciplined contingents of workers are needed to defend strike mobilizations and protests and to defend the immigrant quarters which are the first target of the fascist gangs and the racist Vigipirate police terror. The workers movement must appeal to rank-and-file soldiers to refuse to be used as strikebreakers.

Factory committees, centralized on a citywide and national level, should control and organize distribution of goods and services, drawing in representatives from among the students, "immigrants," the unemployed, working women and housewives and other layers of the population.

Such factory committees can serve as the nucleus of *workers power*—workers councils, or soviets—which will confront the power of the bourgeoisie. The outcome of the confrontation will depend on the leadership of the working class.

The government's current assault on the working class was prepared by an ongoing racist campaign targeting immigrant workers and their children through deportations and police terror, whose aim was to scapegoat them for the crisis of capitalism and to divide the working class on the basis of racism. It is a matter of elementary self-defense of the entire proletariat that the workers movement uncompromisingly combat all forms of discrimination in employment, wages, education and housing and to demand that all public sector jobs be opened to "non-French" workers—For full citizenship rights for all immigrants and their families! To fight unemployment, we demand a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to provide jobs for all!

The current student protests against cutbacks must join behind the proletariat in struggle. As the Jeunesse Spartaciste, youth group of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), emphasized in a leaflet to students last month: "What is necessary today is a revolutionary program that links the struggle of the youth for the right to a job, housing and wages—to a decent life—to the struggle for the proletariat to end this capitalist system of exploitation and oppression. We, Jeunesse Spartaciste, fight for free quality education for all, without any race or class discrimination. We want the proletariat to have access to culture, for working-class youth to have full access to the universities. For universities open to all and for adequate stipends!"

The assault by the French capitalist regime on the social security system is not unique. The same thing has happened in Britain, it is being attempted in Italy, it is being planned in Germany. The IMF (International Monetary Fund) and the capitalist rulers of Europe have made it clear that the French bourgeoisie must push this through, and the French bourgeoisie is more than prepared to unite with its ruling-class allies across the border to quash the French proletariat, as it has done time and again from the

continued on page 10

L'Illustration

Popular Front leaders, social democrat Léon Blum (left) and Stalinist Maurice Thorez, betrayed general strike of 1936. Thorez crowed: "It's necessary to know how to end a strike."

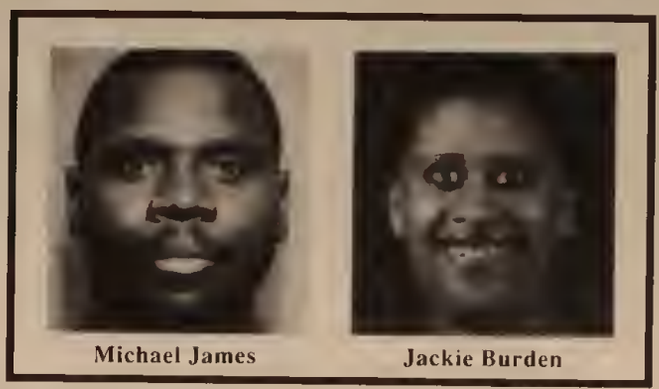
Racist Paratroopers Gun Down Black Man and Woman

Nazi Murder in North Carolina

In a cold-blooded racist execution, three soldiers of the U.S. Army's elite 82nd Airborne Division gunned down 36-year-old Michael James and 27-year-old Jackie Burden in nearby Fayetteville, North Carolina on the night of December 6. The black man and woman were shot at least five times in the head at close range after being stopped by the carload of nightriders as they were walking down the street.

The three killers, all members of the paratroop unit based at Fort Bragg, had a history of cruising the streets "hunting" for black people to terrorize. They openly paraded around in skinhead regalia and had swastika flags as well as right-wing "resistance" propaganda, pamphlets on Hitler and Nazi Germany, and instruction manuals for making bombs. According to the *Washington Post* (9 December), at least one of them "made no secret of his white supremacist views" on base.

Fort Bragg is a hotbed of racist, chauvinist reaction. The 82nd Airborne is an advance guard of U.S. imperialist butchery around the world. This is the home of the "Green Beret" Special Forces, hard-bitten killers who were involved in some of the worst atrocities of the Vietnam War, like the infamous Phoenix "rural pacification" program which assassinated tens of thousands of Vietnamese. The Special Forces were also involved in "domestic counterinsurgency," including in the massive army spy operation which stalked Martin Luther King Jr. in the 1960s (see *WV* No. 582, 13 August 1993).



Michael James | Jackie Burden

Washington Post photos

Fort Bragg is right in the middle of Klan country. Less than 100 miles from Fayetteville is Greensboro, site of the infamous November 1979 massacre of leftist black and labor organizers by Klansmen working in collusion with local and federal police. Today, there are at least two distinct right-wing "militia" movements in the state, and a "Special Forces Underground" publishes a newsletter at Fort Bragg called *The Resister*. This racist rag fulminates against the Congressional Black Caucus as "the vanguards of neo-communist tribalism" and rails against "societal leveling, social equality, and egalitarianism."

From the racist "war on drugs" to imperialist terror abroad, this capitalist ruling class encourages and breeds the fascist marauders who murder black people with impunity. It will take nothing less than a socialist revolution to put an end once and for all to the racist oppression and lynch mob terror which is rooted in the bedrock of American capitalism. ■

France...

(continued from page 9)

Commune to Vichy. Against the Europe of NATO, it is necessary to counterpose a Europe of workers struggle. What is needed is an internationalist perspective that reaches out to the struggling workers of Italy, that seeks to link arms with the student protesters in Belgium, that appeals to the workers of Germany for common struggle against the capitalist attacks. It is particularly crucial to reach out over the Mediterranean to the North African masses beset by imperialist exploitation, whose class brothers are a key component of the proletariat here.

Yet the PCF stands counterposed to such a perspective, with its nationalist-chauvinist appeals to "Produce French" which blame the growing unemployment here not on the French bosses but on foreign workers. The PCF would like to serve as an agency for the bourgeoisie to derail and subvert the combative workers movement, just as it did in '68, when it showed it knew "how to end a strike," throttling the workers' occupations of the factories and the mass student protests on the streets which had brought the country to the brink of revolution. With its grotesque appeals to anti-"immigrant" racism, exemplified by the bulldozing of a hostel of Malian workers in Vitry in 1981, and its support to 14 years of the "socialist" Mitterrand government, whose hallmark was racist state terror against "immigrants," the PCF helped prepare the ground for the growth of Le Pen's National Front, which today prepares to unleash its fascist thugs against the workers movement.

The historic role of the PCF has been to contain class struggle and divert it into the dead end of parliamentarism. Today, the PCF is no longer the hegemonic force it once was within the working class because of the complete bankruptcy of Stalinism in both the Soviet Union and East Europe—where the betrayals of the bureaucracies paved the way for capitalist counterrevolution—as well as in France. But rest assured that PCF chief Hue & Co. have not given up their old game and will do the best they can to derail the workers' struggle.

Emboldened by the world-historic defeats for the proletariat in the destruction of the homeland of the October Revolution, the bourgeoisie today feels it can ride roughshod over the workers at home, with or without the assistance of its reformist lieutenants. It is no wonder that syndicalist prejudices and a mistrust of political parties are so widespread today among militant workers. This is the result of decades of class-collaborationist betrayal by the PCF, perverting the very meaning of the word communism, and of 14 years of attacks on the working class and minority communities by popular-front governments masquerading as "Socialist" (which in fact were class-collaborationist coalitions between the PS, the PCF and bourgeois politicians).

Lacking a revolutionary program and perspective, fake-Trotskyist groups like the LCR and LO seek to appear as more militant than the widely discredited reformist bureaucracies. They issue calls for "indefinite" general strikes, limited to strictly economist slogans. They do not breathe a word of the need for the integrated workers movement to combat racial and sexual oppression, to smash Vigipirate, to mobilize against the fascist threat. Their "revolutionary alternative" stands to the right of a whole layer of the current student movement, exemplified by the St. Denis students who issued a leaflet calling for opposition to the government's racist attacks. At the mass demonstration last fall against the nuclear tests in the Pacific, neither the PCF and PS nor their "far left" tails raised a single word against Vigipirate. Thus they all wind up embracing the campaigns and interests of their "own" bourgeoisie and do nothing to challenge capitalist rule, just as they supported the anti-working-class Mitterrand popular front.

More recently, several of these organizations, such as the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire and Pouvoir Ouvrier, have joined in the hypocritical hue and cry over "poor little Bosnia," demanding imperialist intervention against the Bosnian Serbs. Now they have got what they screamed for. As for Lutte Ouvrière and Socialisme Internationale, they refused to call for the defense of the Bosnian Serbs against imperialist aggression.

The same French troops who besieged the immigrant quarters of Marseille and Paris are now to be sent on a "humanitarian mission" to Bosnia. Yet even as the bourgeoisie prepares to send its army to impose NATO's dictates on the peoples of the former Yugoslavia, they first threaten to use these soldiers to impose the economic dictates of NATO Europe on the working people here. It is necessary for the working class to oppose this imperialist expeditionary force to the Balkans. The jockeying of the big powers in the Balkans underscores the escalation of imperialist rivalries following the destruction of the Soviet Union and ultimately points toward another world war.

We Trotskyists of the LTF have called for defense of the Bosnian Serbs against NATO's onslaught. No to the draft—Not one man, not one penny for the bourgeoisie's army! And in contrast to the capitulation by the reformists and centrists to Chirac's racist crusade, the LTF called a united-front demonstration against the wave of racist and imperialist state terror in France and Tahiti to demand: Down with the anti-immigrant pogroms and Chirac's racist state of siege! Cops and French troops out of the immigrant quarters and out of Tahiti! Our Paris protest was held in front of the Grand Rex cinema, one of the places where on 17 October 1961, hundreds of Algerians were massacred as they demonstrated for independence.

In this way, as in our international struggle to demand freedom for black U.S. death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, we seek to act as the nucleus of the revolutionary workers party which will be a tribune of all the oppressed. A defeat of the Juppé plan today would be an enormous victory for the workers movement. But a bourgeoisie which has been wounded is truly a dangerous animal.

The bourgeoisie is on the attack against the working class. The reformists and class collaborators of the PCF and PS and their centrist tails offer only illusory reforms. They are all incapable of leading the working class in the current struggles and in the struggle to end the system of wage slavery once and for all. Only a party of the Bolshevik type based on a working-class revolutionary perspective can lead the workers forward. The forging in struggle of that party is the urgent task of the hour. ■

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CAT Strikers...

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strike—the massive betrayal of CAT strikers today can't help but accelerate the precipitous decline of the unions, particularly in the private sector, where barely 10 percent of the workforce is organized.

The defeat at Caterpillar will also fuel the growth of the Ku Klux Klan and Nazi race-terrorists who have increasingly targeted Midwestern cities like Decatur and Springfield. It's no coincidence that during this strike Caterpillar shipped scabs from the KKK-infested and open shop backwoods of Mississippi to its Illinois factories. In January 1994, the Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle defense organization affiliated with the Spartacist League, organized a union-centered mobilization to stop a Klan provocation against the Martin Luther King Jr. holiday in Springfield. This anti-fascist action drew significant support from unionists in the area, but the Illinois AFL-CIO worked overtime to sabotage labor support.

In the wake of the historic surrender at Caterpillar, the key lesson for militant unionists who want to get the labor movement off its knees is the necessity for a political struggle within the unions to oust the pro-capitalist misleaders. As we wrote shortly after the latest CAT strike was launched (*WV* No. 604, 5 August 1994), workers must "forge a leadership that will unceasingly combat the poison of national chauvinism that sabotages labor struggle, a leadership that will push the fight for black freedom to the forefront. What's needed is a class-struggle workers party fighting for a workers government that will expropriate industry and replace the capitalist boom-bust cycle—the bankrupt system that produced the Midwest 'rust bowl'—with international socialist economic planning." ■

China...

(continued from page 5)

House [1994]) by Nicholas Kristoff and Sheryl WuDunn recounts the tale of a village chief who had made a small fortune in local "collective" factories exploiting labor from other villages. He armed and organized what was essentially a private militia which was able to fend off police from the nearby industrial city of Tianjin who had come to investigate the murder of an accountant. While he was eventually made to submit, such stories immediately bring to mind the warlord-ridden country that emerged after the overthrow of the Qing dynasty in 1911. The warlords were only vanquished when Chiang Kai-shek's Guomindang (Kuomintang) regime was sent packing by the 1949 Revolution, which secured the national unification of China. Today, capitalist counterrevolution would be a huge impetus to latter-day successors to the warlords to carve out zones of exploitation in league with imperialist moneymen.

This is already beginning to happen in Guangdong province, where the first SEZ was established in Shenzhen. Local state officials have presided over the steady integration of Shenzhen and other cities springing up nearby into Hong Kong, the international banking metropolis just across the border, which dominates foreign investment in the region and shares a common language with the area's Cantonese population. Trumpeting the slogan, "One country, two systems," China has declared in advance that its takeover of the British colony on 1 July 1997 will not threaten imperialist investors in the least. At a recent conference in Beijing attended by leading Hong Kong business executives, a Chinese official stressed that Hong Kong would remain "financially independent," so much so that the central government would not even collect taxes in the territory!

The answer to the threat of warlordism is not the backward-looking nationalism put forward by the sclerotic bureaucracy.

Peter Turnley

Tiananmen Square, Beijing, 1989: Demonstrators against Deng regime surround and fraternize with military units ordered to suppress mass protests.

dependence for Soviet republics in Tibet and other minority regions, while advocating a socialist federation with China. On the other hand, we understand that the imperialist-inspired call for an independent Tibet—which prior to the Chinese Revolution was a hideously backward, monk-ridden region incapable of leading an independent existence—has since the 1950s been a fig leaf for counterrevolution.

The biggest threat to the social stability craved by the ruling Stalinists and capitalist investors alike may well be the peasantry, which makes up three-fourths of the population. The liquidation of the rural communes under Deng and the reversion to private farm plots—dubbed the "Family Responsibility System"—created a vast "surplus" population

WV Photo

Migrant workers outside Shanghai railway station, October 1995. As result of decollectivization of agriculture, over 100 million rural laborers have flooded into China's cities.

While the minority peoples of Xinjiang, Tibet, Inner Mongolia and the hill regions in the South have gained enormously since 1949, Mao and his heirs, like all Stalinist regimes, have aped the chauvinist policies of the prerevolutionary ruling class in discriminating against minority peoples. This stands in sharp contrast to the internationalist policies of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik regime, which granted the right of self-determination, i.e., separation, of the non-Russian nations, while recognizing that this democratic question was subordinate to the overriding necessity to defend the workers revolution.

A China of workers and peasants councils would recognize the right of in-

which formed the initial labor pool for the capitalist SEZs. Today, *over 100 million* laborers from the countryside are estimated to be flooding the cities, looking for work in the construction boom taking place from Beijing in the North to Shanghai and Guangzhou (Canton) along the southeastern seaboard. Other displaced peasants scrape by as part of the huge class of petty proprietors spawned by market "reforms."

While the 1949 Revolution laid the basis for an agricultural revolution by expropriating the capitalist-landlord class, the People's Republic could not on its own, with China's backward technology and infrastructure, mechanize farming to the degree necessary to sustain efficient large-scale collective and state farms. So now Mao's heirs have turned the historical clock back, putting forward a policy that *encourages* class differentiation in the countryside, where more successful (or well-connected) peasants will shortly be hiring others to labor for them.

The Stalinists have also begun encouraging Confucian beliefs and even religious practice. This particularly threatens women, who before the revolution were literally enslaved in the traditional Chinese family. Today, many rural women joining the influx into the cities are preyed upon by pimps and kidnappers seeking to sell them into slavery as "wives." Thus, the Stalinists are recreating some of the brutal conditions of rural life which spawned countless peasant rebellions through the centuries, leading to the collapse of major dynasties.

For Proletarian Political Revolution in China!

The stark alternatives before the Chinese proletariat are the sweeping away of the decrepit Stalinist regime through workers political revolution or the coming to power of a counterrevolutionary government. The latter would spell a social catastrophe for the hundreds of millions of Chinese toilers. It would also set off a fevered competition between U.S. and Japanese imperialism over the spoils, sharply exacerbating the drive to a new interimperialist war.

The struggle for political revolution was posed pointblank in the Tiananmen upheaval in May-June 1989. Since Lawrence believes that the wave of terror that suppressed these protests marked the emergence of a capitalist regime, it is useful to review what happened then.

First of all, to say that the bureaucracy brutalized the students as a message to the working class misses the key point—it was the entry of the workers onto the streets, not only in Beijing but throughout the country, that put a deathly fear into the regime. The ensuing repression was first and foremost directed against the workers who mobilized in solidarity with the students and to advance their own demands, raising the prospect of a proletarian political revolution. But the workers lacked the Trotskyist leadership necessary to organize a fight for political power. This would have required, among other things, drawing a sharp line against all pro-capitalist elements in the protests and winning over the ranks, and many officers, of the PLA. In the upshot, while some army units refused to move on the demonstrators, the regime was able to mobilize other detachments to put down the rebellion in blood.

The bureaucracy then sought to ensure social peace by staging public executions of workers, while most student activists were able to flee or go underground. A few purges in the military and party apparatus were sufficient to enable the bureaucracy to rule more or less as before...but not for long. As we wrote in the 1992 conference document of the International Communist League:

> "The conditions which led to near civil war in 1989 have in no way been mitigated. China is today a seething cauldron of contradictions and discontents barely suppressed by an octogenarian Stalinist regime ... When Deng dies, if not before, the succession crisis likely will lead to a situation in which proletarian political revolution or capitalist counterrevolution are posed pointblank, thus determining the fate of the most populous country on earth."
>
> —"For the Communism of Lenin and Trotsky!," *Spartacist* No. 47-48 (Winter 1992-93)

This underscores the decisive factor of leadership, especially in the workers movement. Following the Tiananmen crackdown, some pro-imperialist "dissidents" like Han Dongfang turned to "independent" union organizing. Last March, a petition circulated to the National People's Congress hailed the United Nations—an imperialist den of thieves—as a force for "democracy" and "human rights." As we wrote then, "Abstract calls for 'democracy,' in the absence of any declaration of defense of the Chinese workers state, however deformed, against capitalist forces, amount to a program for bourgeois rule, which would be anything but democratic" (*WV* No. 618, 10 March). Giving a "left" cover to "democratic" counterrevolution, the Hong Kong journal of the pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat, *October Review*, has printed appeals for U.S.-backed "dissident" Chen Ziming, hailed Tibetan "independence" demonstrators and lauded the recent UN Women's Conference in China, where Hillary Clinton fatuously told Third World women that the way to escape their horrendous oppression was by going into business!

Time is running short in the struggle to prevent the re-enslavement of the Chinese masses by imperialism. But as Trotsky insisted in his 1940 "Letter to the Workers of the USSR":

> "It is the duty of revolutionists to defend tooth and nail every position gained by the working class, whether it involves democratic rights, wage scales, or so colossal a conquest of mankind as the nationalization of the means of production and planned economy. Those who are incapable of defending conquests already gained can never fight for new ones."

We Trotskyists stand for unconditional military defense of the Chinese deformed workers state—including its right to a nuclear arsenal—against imperialism. To stop the drive toward internal counterrevolution requires mobilizing the Chinese workers, at the head of the peasantry, to oust the bureaucracy, expropriate the imperialist enterprises and extend the struggle for socialism to the industrial powerhouses of Korea and especially Japan. This points directly to the need for a Leninist-Trotskyist party, which would be faced with the difficult task of introducing the program of revolutionary Marxism to a working class whose consciousness has been numbed by decades of Stalinist lies that passed for "Communism," whether in the guise of Mao's peculiar peasant nationalism or of Deng Xiaoping's gospel of the marketplace. Only such a party can draw the bitter lessons of the destruction of the Soviet Union for all those struggling to prevent a similar disaster in China. ■

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***Workers Vanguard* skips a week in December.**

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WORKERS VANGUARD

1995 SUBJECT INDEX

13 January to 15 December 1995 (Issues Nos. 614-635)

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject Index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1995, from issue No. 614 (13 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 635 (15 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly, except skipping three alternate issues in June, July and August
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heeds are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

  The COINTELPRO Files, #624, 2 June (16, 13, 14)

  means the headline of the article, issue No. 624, 2 June, beginning on page 16 and continuing on pages 13 and 14
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types. those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semicolon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma Thus

  Prisons—See **Abu-Jemel: Defense Campaign, Message from Death Row; Immigration; Partisan Defense Committee; U.S.: General**; ***Workers Vanguard***.

  means that articles about the prisons can be found by going to the subject head **ABU-JAMAL** and looking under the subcategories **Defense Campaign** and **Message from Death Row**, by going to the subject head **UNITED STATES** and looking under the subcategory **General**; and by going to the subject heads **IMMIGRATION, PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE** and ***WORKERS VANGUARD***.
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person.
- Articles relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Unless listed separately for some unusual reason, all foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names
- Articles on the various countries in the Confederation of Independent States (the former Soviet Union) are now listed under their individual names (e.g., **RUSSIA**); the Soviet Union category exists only as a cross reference to articles that relate to the country prior to the triumph of counterrevolution Articles on the various countries that once comprised Yugoslavia are now listed under **BALKANS**
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Fight for Open Admissions! (YSp), #628, 8 Sept. (4, 5)

Boston Schools. Liberals Attack Affirmative Action, #631, 20 Oct (4, 10)

AFL-CIO—See **Immigration; Labor.**

AGRICULTURAL AND FOOD WORKERS—And see **Labor.**

California Supermarket Strike Beats Back Attack on Health Benefits, #621, 21 Apr. (15)

Cross-Burnings and Anti-Union Terror, #628, 8 Sept. (3)

AIDS—See **Police.** See also **U.S.: General.**

Anti-Semitism—See **Death Penalty; Fascism; World War II.**

Archives of the Marxist Movement—See **Quote of the Week.**

ARGENTINA

Hands Off Argentine Leftists and Worker Militants!, #634, 1 Dec (5)

Free Argentine Leftist Enrique Gorriarán!, #634, 1 Dec. (5)

Armed Forces—See **Fascism.**

Asian Americans—See **Affirmative Action; Police.**

Atlanta—See **Civil Rights; Immigration.**

Auschwitz Commemoration—See **World War II.**

Australia—See **France.** See also **Abu-Jamal: Defense Campaign.**

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